

CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control : 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries ; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis ; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist ; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed :—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

* * Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

CALENDAR
OF
STATE PAPERS,
IRELAND,
ELIZABETH,
1598, January—1599, March.

LONDON:
Printed by H. T. and G. W. at the Stationers' Hall, in St. Dunstons Church-yard.
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CALENDAR

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OF THE REIGNS OF

[Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and]
ELIZABETH,

[Vol. 7]

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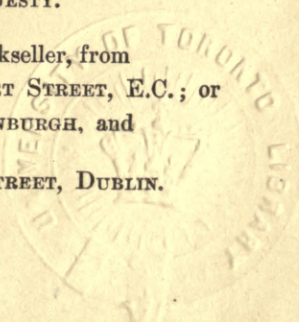
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CALENDAR

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RELATING TO

IRELAND

OF THE REIGN OF

VICTORIA

1838, January—1899, March.

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HERBERT GEORGE ATKINSON

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PREFACE.

THE present volume covers a period of fifteen months, from January, 1598, to March, 1599. It was during this period that the battle of Armagh was fought, whereby the Welsh prophecy was in some measure fulfilled, that “the Earl of Tyrone should prevail against the English nation.” Vacillation, corruption, and division marked the course of the State. The height of its peril was reached, and nothing remained but to use what Elizabeth called, “the last but worst of all remedies, the sword” (p. 469).

The administration of Ireland was being carried on over barrels of gunpowder. This was true figuratively; it was also true literally. Writing from the Castle of Dublin, the Lords Justices and Council say (p. 472):—“We have also given order to the Master of the Ordnance to remove such powder as is here, from the tower, where it was laid for safety before, to the old place of store always used for the office of the Ordnance, though with some hazard of danger and inconvenience, by reason it is directly under the public Courts of Law and Justice within the Castle. And where your Lordships have very gravely noted that the stowage of all Her Majesty’s store of powder and munition is directly under the same roof, where the ordinary terms are kept, and therefore dangerous, through the concourse of people having cause to follow their business there, in which respect

“ your Lordships require us to take present order for the
“ terms to be kept in some other convenient place in the
“ town; we know not for the present of any means to
“ remove the terms out of the Castle.” This did not,
however, trouble their Lordships much, for they add in
the same despatch, “ We see not that there will be as yet
“ any great danger by the terms, for that as, through the
“ troubles in the realm, they have discontinued lately, so,
“ by the same necessity, they are like to be put off still,
“ till it shall please God to send calmer times.”

When the volume opens, another parley with Tyrone was over. His submission had been made and received. He had tendered his book of grievances, and this too had been received, though only after a fashion, for the book was “ pestered with such arrogant matters.” The Council show by their letters that they were anything but satisfied with the demeanour and proposals of the rebel chief. Ormonde had given him a truce for two months from December 22, 1597, and, by this means, had managed to victual the Blackwater fort for five or six months. Such relief could not have been effected otherwise, for, on Ormonde’s own showing, the companies were so extremely weak, that, out of eighteen of them, which he had with him on the borders, he could not draw 600 men fit to take the field. The companies in other parts of Ireland were in like condition. Ormonde was of opinion that, if he had had absolute authority to conclude with Tyrone, and to give him peace for two or three years, as the latter desired, he would not have been so arrogant in his demands. Ormonde gathered, and so did his fellow Commissioners, the Bishop of Meath and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, that Tyrone’s meaning in asking for such a prolonged truce was, that he might fully recover Her Majesty’s favour, and grow by degrees into an assurance of his

personal safety, which he then much doubted ; also that Tyrone's confederates might be wrought to their wonted duty and obedience. The Irish Council could not agree with these conclusions, and argued that Tyrone's object was to make the Queen weary of the great charge of her army in Ireland, in the hope that she would withdraw some part of her forces, and that thus the realm would be more open to his rebellion, and to the invasion of the Spaniards. Fenton supported the surceasing from war for two or three years, on the ground that it would "do more to reclaim the rebels, and recover the Government to some good way of stay and settling" than would another war. However, the Council besought that, whatever was to be done, whether for peace or war, they might know the Queen's resolution out of hand ; and they prayed for full supplies of men, money, victuals, and munition. The 900 soldiers promised out of Picardy had not been heard of, nor were there any news of the 2,000 written for by the Council in the beginning of November, 1597. It was the old story over again : the Government in Ireland unable to decide what course to pursue, and flinging all responsibility on the home Government ; the latter retorting, pretty much in Elizabeth's words, that the Irish authorities were "advertisers, and not advisers ;" further particulars of the situation being wanted in England, and some one from Ireland going to report to the Privy Council ; despatches coming and going, and time passing without anything definite being done ; troops and supplies sent over, in more or less quantities, but often wasting away whilst the authorities were talking ; some fighting decided on and fresh supplies needed ; fighting taking place, spoiling and burning being generally practised alike by friend and foe ; then divers negotiations, bringing one back again to the indecision and the despatch making. So the wheel would

go round, and this was called "government" and "war." No wonder Fenton said (p. 7) that he was in "no humour " to persuade to war, which," he adds, "for these three " years I have seen hath brought forth nothing but con- " sumption of Her Majesty's treasure, and a dangerous " disjoining of this Government, which, in many years, " cannot be put in joint again, what good endeavours " soever be used."

Word came from the Queen that Fenton was to assist Ormonde in these treaties with Tyrone. Sir Geoffrey said he would do his best, but his grief at the envy and hard interpretations stirred up against him in Ireland had done more hurt to his health than his nineteen years of toilsome service in that country. He thought Ormonde had time, before the expiration of the two months' truce, to turn all his endeavours to compound the troubles of Leinster, "whereby he shall have the better commodity to shake " the great bear of the north, if he will be obstinate." For Tyrone, in view of the meeting appointed to him on March 4, had sent numbers of Ulstermen and others into Leinster and the English Pale. These were joined by the Geraldines, O'Connors, O'Moores, "and other loose " people of all sorts," and did not encounter any resistance worth speaking of. The Council received daily advertisements from Newry, Carrickfergus, Dundalk, Cavan, and other places, that the garrisons there were ready to disband and break for want of relief. Many times did the Government press their demands for supplies from England. They told, not only of the soldiers' complaints and threatenings, but also that they were pestered with the clamour of the country and towns, which had strained themselves to diet the soldiers, and had not received their oft-promised payment for the same. The soldiers, under the pressure of their necessities, "havocked" the subjects, and were

driven to take food, "sometimes against all rules of "humanity and order." Many of the military officers were absent in England. The great majority of the forces were Irish, and were distrusted by their commanders. Sir Henry Brouncker states on his own knowledge that, at the victualling of the Blackwater fort, out of 1,700 soldiers, there was not 300 English. The same proportion, he supposed, would be found in other places.

Examining into the causes of the rebellion in Leinster, Ormonde found that the Molloyes and Connors had revolted through the evil courses of "base and bare shifting "fellows" to put them from their livings. These things he caused to be remedied by order of the Council, and satisfied the principal rebels. He adds that the rebellion in the King's County "proceeded of want of good government among the principal men of the English nation "there, grown into factions and mislike one with another." Ormonde was busy with measures for defence of the King's County and the borders adjacent, until the time of his appointed meeting with Tyrone at Dundalk. This had been postponed, at Tyrone's request, from March 4 to March 14. Meantime Ormonde had received from the Queen that absolute authority to conclude which he had desired.

When the meeting took place, Fenton tells us that Tyrone "was very stiff to retain" the dependency of the Irish on him. This the Commissioners did their best to break up, but in vain. There was a confluence of discontented people from all parts of Ireland, expecting from Tyrone a redress of their varied grievances, "as though "they were to be relieved upon a parley hill in Ulster by "the censure of a traitor, not having first sought their "redress by lawful means at the State" (p. 83). The Bishop of Meath, as usual, gives by far the best and most

graphic account of this meeting (pp. 86-96), which lasted four days. Tyrone was told that the Queen, having seen his submission, had condescended to pardon him on certain conditions. How reasonable these were may be inferred from Tyrone's own words, "If all other things may be agreed upon, there will be little sticking at these things." The "other things" were the claims he put forward for his confederates. The negotiations thereon occupied the greater part of the four days' parley, but some of the claims were of such a nature that they could not be granted by the Commissioners without previous reference to England. This was exactly what Tyrone wanted, and a further meeting was arranged for April 10, when he promised to perform all things required of him, even if O'Donnell did not come in and submit.

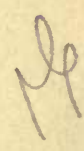
During this parley a great deal had been said to Tyrone in denunciation of the ravages committed by his allies the O'Moores and O'Connors. The Bishop of Meath informs us that the inhabitants of Tyrone vowed to cut the throats of those men, if they came into that county, and the evidence against them was so clear, that the Earl of Tyrone himself got into a rage, "partly against those rascals themselves, and partly because he was so strictly charged for them." Yet such was the ascendancy of the rebel leader in negotiation, that he actually obtained a protection for both the septs just named. Indeed, the Bishop of Meath records that Ormonde "was enforced" (much against his will) to yield to some demands that "are inconvenient, only to retain Tyrone, and lest he should grow desperate." The impetuous Brian Reogh O'More thought that the conclusion of peace with Ormonde would be the overthrow of all of Irish birth. Not long after this parley, he engaged some of the forces in Wexford, and defeated them. Finding that Morrish Oge

O'Connor had been apprehended, he begged Tyrone to write to Ormonde for his enlargement, and to take better course for these matters, or to suffer them to have open war, "for, by God's grace, there is no stand in the churls, "if your Honour would set upon them now, for all "Ireland had been at your command by this, if it had "not your truces."

The meeting of the Commissioners with Tyrone, appointed for the 10th of April, was postponed to the 11th, owing to the heavy rain on the former day. The Bishop of Meath is again the special correspondent, who describes (pp. 110-120) the conferences of the four days. O'Donnell came to the parley, and took an important share in it. There were the usual claims on behalf of Tyrone's confederates, and the negotiations ended, after the usual fashion, in a truce being agreed upon for six weeks, from April 16. The Bishop's comment on the whole business is amply justified:—"True is the saying, and now verified "in them, that a traitor will be a traitor, do what a man "can. Tyrone's unhappy success in some bickerings against "us, the knowledge of his own strength, expectation of "foreign help, and the confidence he hath in the multitude "of his partakers in the several parts of this realm, hath "puffed him up with such pride and haughtiness of mind, "as cannot be reformed but by chastisement and correction" (p. 119). Fenton, though generally for pacific courses, thought that, although the parley had not brought forth peace, "yet it was not without fruit and good "success, for that now the traitor being discovered to the "bottom, and his conspiracies, practised in effect with all "the Irish in the realm, made apparent, Her Majesty "seeth now what to trust unto, not to depend more upon "treaties and parleys, but to turn her mercy into revenge, "and proceed really to his prosecution."

Tyrone had great hope of the coming of Spaniards to Ireland in the summer of this year, and had sent his secretary, Brimegham, into Spain to solicit aid. He had also received promises of assistance from the King of Scotland. As the readiest way to take down Tyrone, and to curb O'Donnell, it was proposed that 1,000 foot and 100 horse should be sent to occupy the mouth of Lough Foyle, and that two pinnaces should be kept in the seas between Scotland and Ulster, to hinder any provision, either of men or munition, reaching Tyrone from the Scottish king. Another matter rendered a prosecution of the rebel leader desirable at this juncture. During the last parley, fearing that certain of the confederates in his camp might go over to the Earl of Ormonde's forces, he had laid violent hands on Tirlogh M'Henry, Maguire, and M'Mahon, and had sent them away in bonds. This high-handed proceeding had caused many of the Irish to fall away from him in heart, and others were expected to turn against him, if once they saw Her Majesty strong in the field, and determined to prosecute the rebel chief.

As to the most effectual methods of suppressing the rebellion that extended all over the country, we have the opinions of various officers. All agree as to the great importance of a strong garrison at Lough Foyle, and Sir Robert Cecil says: "I do agree that it is the best place to "discommode the traitor" (p. 163). Captain Dawtrey dwelt on the necessity of having "Captains of honesty" and experience." He thought 7,000 foot and 600 horse would suffice, and gives his proposed division of them in the various provinces. When he wrote there were, nominally, ninety-six companies in Ireland, but only a small proportion of these were serviceable, or indeed extant. Captain Dawtrey recommends giving up the expensive and ineffective method of a "frontier war," and



urges the planting of strong garrisons in the different parts of the country. Captain Stafford laments that the Government is not committed to one particular man. He states that Her Majesty's forces are "composed of two
" nations, English and Irish, both subjects to the dignity
" of her Crown; the first, natural, obedient, and faithful,
" and the fewest in number; the second, discontented,
" perfidious, and ungrateful, ever disposed to innovation,
" and apt to rebellion, and they are by two parts in three
" the stronger." He points out that Tyrone never sought peace save at two set times in the year, when he might receive the greatest hurt. The first was from February to May, *i.e.*, the time during which he fed up his cattle and sowed his corn; and the second, when the corn was ready to be cut. Captain Stafford gives a list of the horse and foot under Tyrone, with the names of their commanders. Captain Mostyn, who had seen twenty-seven years' service in Ireland, sends later in the year, a plot for the cutting off of "that cruell and tironious traytor of Tiron." He advises the sending over from England of 13,000 foot, with all necessaries for five or six months. These were to be distributed over various parts of Ulster, which are stated in his plan, and one of the chief occupations of the troops would be the lifting of the rebels' cattle; for the establishing of Ulster in dutiful obedience "will never be
" (by all likelihood) effected so well by the dent of the
" sword, as if it should also come by the cruelty of
" famine." If 13,000 men were considered too many for Ulster alone, Captain Mostyn argues that Tyrone and his confederates would draw every traitor they could from the other provinces, which would thus be eased of their troubles. As for the wealth of the rebels in cattle, he says 400,000 head could be taken from them. He himself had seen O'Donnell take 30,000 in one morning, a little

above Roscommon. Tyrone, in his territory, possessed an infinite number of kine, as well as of stud mares. Tyrone's secretary told Mostyn that, when the Earl wished to take a subsidy of 12*d.* on each milch cow, he would take up in the county of Tyrone alone between 6,000*l.* and 7,000*l.* That was for milch kine only. Then there were the barren and other cattle, and all the cattle in the countries of O'Donnell, Maguire, M'Mahon, and others. Indeed Mostyn judges that 800,000 rather than 400,000 head might be taken. He also advises the placing of 1,000 horsemen with the garrisons suggested by him, and advocates sudden raids from their several quarters. Sir Ralph Lane, the Muster-master, in his project for the suppression of the rebellion, says the present unhappiness of the state in Ireland is increased by the want of competent commanders, and of those experienced in "the plots and draughts" of the Irish. He speaks of the "general martial skill" of the latter, "ordered and disciplined for strong fights, both of "horse and foot, as well upon hard grounds and plains, "which must be certainly expected and provided for, as "upon their bogs, passes, and straits" (p. 421). He advises the immediate placing of 1,500 English foot and 100 horse in the Clondeboys and at Coleraine; 600 of the foot to be at Belfast, and 900 foot and 100 horse at Coleraine. Sir Ralph declares that in the Clondeboys the people hated Tyrone, and followed him only for fear. The force at Coleraine would instantly draw the Scots from him, "for fear of the loss of their cows, which they "love as their lives, and far better than him." Sir Ralph Lane further advises the planting of two strong camps of 1,500 men each in Leinster. Francis Jobson, who had surveyed Ulster in the time of Sir William Fitzwilliams, recommended the sending of an army of 11,000 men to that province, 2,000 of the number to be horse. He

describes the eight different places where he advises the placing of garrisons. The greatest wealth of Ulster was in its herds of cows, goats, and horse, and Jobson says that, so long as these had scope to range up and down in to pasture, the people "both can and will ever at their pleasures" (without regard of God, Prince, or humanity), rebel and "make havoc." He says further that the people were most savage, and that when in Ulster, he was in hourly danger of losing his head (p. 445).

The Lords Justices write to the Privy Council on June 1 that the last truce taken with "the great Rebel of the North" would expire on the 6th of that month. The rebels had, as usual, taken every advantage of the cessation, and were exceedingly strong. In Leinster the Kavanaghs, the Byrnes, the O'Moores, and the O'Connors, "heretofore" accounted but a base and beggarly kind of people," had, "by the usual granting of protections unto them" (a hit at Ormonde), grown to such numbers and insolence that they had wasted a great part of that province. The royal pardon had been granted to Phelim M'Feagh, including therein 400 of his followers, and there had also been given him the lands of his father, Feagh M'Hugh. Sir Henry Brouncker considered this step a very bad precedent, as even Feagh M'Hugh had never, in his greatest pride, asked pardon or protection for more than 120 of his followers. Phelim thus enjoyed the name and privilege of a subject, and meantime was quietly working mischief. The Council complained of his haughtiness and ingratitude, and thought he would "still continue an arrant traitor in mind." They wrote that the realm was in peril, and themselves "in daily danger to be massacred. We may well bemoan our miserable and distressed estate, but having no power or authority in ourselves to redress it, otherwise than by advice, we do now make the same known to your Lord-

“ ships.” No wonder such pusillanimity and irresolution prevailed nothing against enemies who knew their own minds.

As soon as the truce expired Tyrone divided his forces into three parts. One he sent to the Blackwater fort, which he surrounded, “swearing by his barbarous hand” that he would not depart till he had carried the same. Another part he thrust into the Brenny, and assaulted the castle of Cavan, promising not to leave the place so long as he could get a cow out of the English Pale to feed his companies. The third part he had in readiness to send into Leinster to strengthen his faction there; and they were on the borders awaiting an opportunity to join the Kavanaghs and the rest. Fenton writes (p. 173):—
“ Against these distresses the State is in weak case to
“ make head, or at least a thorough resistance, the whole
“ forces in the realm consisting in effect upon Irish, and
“ the rest discontented; a lamentable matter to hazard
“ upon their trust the safety and preservation of the
“ kingdom. And yet, touching the Blackwater, I see not
“ but it must be left to the valour and fortune of the
“ garrison there, for that here is no means to put an army
“ on foot to rescue it.” Ormonde was preparing, with 2,000 foot, some companies of horse, and the risings out of the adjacent countries, to prosecute the rebels in Leinster; and, for the succour of Cavan, and to repel incursions into the Pale, 1,500 or 1,600 men were to be sent to the borders. This was all that could be done until forces came from England, when an army could march into Ulster, and wrestle with Tyrone in his own territory. The soldiers from Picardy had long since arrived on the south coast, but, though they were nominally over 1,100 strong, they numbered on muster only 612. Other troops also had arrived from England.

Reports were circulated of "terrible news," such as the loss of the Blackwater fort and of Armagh, both of which were said to have been destroyed by the rebels; also that certain companies had been cut up in Leinster. These rumours gave the Council an opportunity of denouncing their originators thus (p. 184):—"We are sorry that those " who take upon them to be intelligencers or reporters of " the affairs here do not, with better advice, inform themselves before they write or speak." Both the Blackwater fort and Armagh were still held for the Queen, and the reporters were wrong about one at least of the companies said to have been destroyed. "These busy intelligencers" also erred in their advertisements of "an unhappy " accident " that occurred in the mountains near Dublin on June 13 or 14. The Council thought it advisable to send a true account of the affair, and related a sharp skirmish that Ormonde had had a few miles from the capital with Cahir M'Hugh and his followers. Similarly, in the preceding April, there had been a rumour of the arrival of five or six Spanish ships at Lough Foyle. Fenton wrote to a spy who was remaining near the Earl of Tyrone, and forwarded to Burghley the letters he received on the subject, "knowing how ready many will be to write " over of these matters without any true ground." After six days no confirmation of the rumour came to hand, and Fenton concluded that the ships were not so many as reported, "but rather some poor Scottishman, fallen there " with his lading of wines, of which he may make good sale " amongst the Irishmen."

The Blackwater fort had for a considerable time been engaging the anxious attention of the Irish Government. The garrison, under Captain Thomas Williams, were resolutely defending their post, though it was fast becoming untenable. As early as January 4 of this year,

Ormonde had described it as "built square, without any flankers, and the rampier there falleth daily." Later in the same month, he said the ground where the fort was placed was such that "what they repair in one day, twice as much falleth the next day." On April 19, he wrote to Burghley, forwarding a plan of the fort, which is unfortunately now wanting, and said that, in his own opinion, it "were better never to have been builded or taken in hand." On June 18, Ormonde wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, "I protest to God the state of the scurvy fort of Blackwater, which cannot be long held, doth more touch my heart than all the spoils that ever were made by traitors on my own lands. This fort was always falling, and never victualled but once (by myself) without an army, to Her Majesty's exceeding charges." The garrison consisted of four companies of foot, "such as," write the Council (including Ormonde), "in former attempts made by Tyrone against that place, have behaved themselves with great valour and resolution, whose worthy services have well deserved not to leave them to be exposed to the uttermost hazard and cruelty of the enemy, if there be any way to preserve them" (p. 181).

It did not brighten the outlook to know that Tyrone had received intelligence that the Queen would send no forces to Lough Foyle this year. The information was but partially true, but Tyrone relied on it, and shaped his plans accordingly. Feeling free at home, he bent all his energies against Leinster and the English Pale, which Fenton tells us (p. 189) he made ready to invade in three parts: first, by way of Longford and Westmeath, with a force of 1,000 men, to be led by O'Donnell, Maguire, and the O'Farrells; secondly, by Meath and Offally (or the King's County), with 800 men, under Captains Tyrrell and Nugent; and,

thirdly, by way of the Fews, into the county of Louth and Dundalk, with 800 men, under his brother Cormack and the M'Mahons. To give a better passage to these invasions, he had drawn a strong faction in Low Leinster, which he supported with men and means out of Ulster. Thus, as Fenton puts it (p. 189), "he hath made a globe of his
" forces to comprehend us round, assuring you it will be
" hard for us to avoid a dangerous blow, without good
" store of men and victuals to be sent out of England with
" all possible speed." Fenton feared that Tyrone's
"thorough fortune" in Leinster would cast Connaught again into a relapse, and stir coals in Munster. It was not to be long before the rebel leader gave the expected
"dangerous blow."

The 2,000 men asked for in November, 1597, were not ready to embark for Ireland until July 9, 1598. Sixteen hundred of them arrived in Dublin on July 18; the remaining four hundred were detained by contrary winds. It was directed that these forces should be used only to supply the deficiencies in the several companies. The Council had also asked for an additional 1,200 foot, and 100 horse to be sent to Lough Foyle. The Queen not only agreed to this, but raised the number of the foot to 2,000. "She is resolved," write the Privy Council (p. 202), "to root Tyrone out by all means possible."

On July 22nd, the Lords Justices write to the Privy Council, "The fort of Blackwater is yet held with great
" honour and resolution by that valiant gentleman, Captain
" Thomas Williams, who commandeth it." They tell how Tyrone had lately bent all his forces to surprise the fort, and how a sortie had been made by the garrison, whereby two or three principal leaders of the rebels had been killed, and divers horses captured. They express a hope that Ormonde, on coming to Dublin, will have "an honourable

“ care for the relief and supply ” of the garrison, and promise to assist him with their best advice and furtherance. On July 24, Fenton states that Tyrone had lain before the fort for a month, and had spent the most part of that time in “plashing” (fortifying) the passes, and digging deep holes in the rivers, the more to distress the army that should come to relieve it. On July 31, Ormonde tells Burghley that he does not hold the Blackwater fort worth victualling again, because of the excessive charges, unless the Queen sends forces to Lough Foyle.

We now come to the great disaster of the year, viz., the “battle of the Yellow Ford,” as it has been called, or as it should be, more strictly, the battle of Armagh. The words, “encounter,” “disaster,” “accident,” “defeat,” and others, are used in these papers with reference to this fight, but those terms are almost invariably coupled with Armagh. There had been, as we have seen, some conference in the Council in June, as to whether the fort at the Blackwater should be relieved or not. The consultation ended in letters being sent on June 17, to Captain Williams, directing him to make the best terms he could with Tyrone.

These letters Ormonde signed along with the other Councillors. Sir Henry Bagenall, however, kept the letters in his own hands, and did not send them to the fort, affirming that the course proposed was dishonourable, and that the fort was yet in case to hold out. Subsequently the Council conferred again on the subject. Some were still of opinion that it was too great a hazard to adventure so many of Her Majesty’s forces as were requisite for such an expedition, considering that the loss of the fort, even when put at its highest value, was in no way comparable to the loss that would be sustained by any disaster to

the army. Ormonde and Sir Henry Bagenall, however, contended that it greatly concerned the Queen's honour to have the beleaguered garrison rescued, and it was ultimately decided to send the relieving force.

The Lords Justices earnestly pressed Ormonde to go in person on this important service, but he elected to see to affairs in Leinster, and put the expedition under the command of the Marshal, Sir Henry Bagenall. The latter lost no time in starting, with a force of close upon 4,000 foot, and over 300 horse. The 7th of August was the day fixed for the rendezvous at Ardee, whence the troops were to march to Newry, and thence to the Blackwater. The Marshal reached Armagh on the 13th of August, having suffered no loss, save that Captain Ratcliff was taken prisoner by the enemy, and four or five stragglers from the army were cut off in the strait between Dundalk and Newry. On the next day, Monday, the 14th of August, the force set out from their camp about a quarter of a mile beyond Armagh. Bagenall had divided his army into three parts, each composed of two regiments, and had put a distance of 140 paces between each regiment. A council of war, held on the 13th, had decided that the six regiments should march separately, till they saw each other engaged, and then form in three divisions for each other's relief, if they found the ground answerable. On the day of the fight Captains Leigh and Turner, both of whom were slain in this action, were commanded to lead the forlorn hope. The vanguard was led by Colonel Percy, seconded by the Marshal himself. The "battle," or centre, was led by Colonel Cosby, seconded by Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield. The rearguard was led by Colonel Cuney, the Serjeant-Major, seconded by Captain Billings. The path chosen was not the direct one, which was left, in order to march on the right hand of the pass. In other words,

Bagenall and his men marched a mile from the common highway, by which Lord Burgh had passed to the Blackwater. The way was hard and hilly ground, within easy shot of the enemy, who had full possession of the wood and bog on either side, and who kept up a continual fire. Their numbers were estimated at between 6,000 and 8,000. The skirmishing began within half a mile from Armagh, and was maintained until the troops reached the trenches prepared by the enemy about a mile and a half further on. One trench was a mile long, some five feet deep, four feet wide, and surmounted by a thorny hedge.

The garrison within the Blackwater fort appear to have descried the English colours, and, according to one writer, "threw up their caps for joy, hoping to have a better supper than the dinner they had that day."

Colonel Percy's men halted often for the Marshal's regiment to come up, but they were soon fully engaged. On the top of a hill, very near the trench, they made the longest stand, and there they were entertained with a sharp skirmish from the woods that lay between them and the trench. In order to do away with the advantage the enemy had by being under cover, whilst his own men were in the open, but especially to relieve the forlorn hope, Colonel Percy drew down from the hill, passed the wood, and carried the trench with a rush, advancing immediately to a place of equal advantage with that possessed by the enemy. Here he put in order his men, who had become scattered through the depth of the bogs, the height of the trench, and the straitness of the pass, and maintained skirmish until Captain Malbié came to him from Sir Henry Bagenall with orders to retreat. Only 500 of the enemy had come in sight at this position, but there were many of them in the adjoining woods, as appeared plainly by their often relieving one another. The retreat was a very

disorderly one, on Colonel Percy's own showing. His loose wings, having spent their powder coming in, gave way to the enemy, who charged the regiment with both horse and foot. The new supplies from England, who had been posted in its rear, threw away their arms and bolted; the panic spread, and the whole regiment was put to the sword without resistance. Colonel Percy and Captain George Kingsmill escaped with the help of some horse, and reached the regiment of Sir Henry Bagenall. These men, owing to their Commander's fatal mistake, were so far off, and had become withal so hotly engaged, that they could not by any means come up to second Percy's men. Recovering some order, however, they marched to the trenches, which were won for the second time, but the centre not coming up to their aid, the Marshal's men were cut to pieces. It was at this point of the battle that the Marshal, who had momentarily raised his helmet, was shot in the forehead, and expired.

The advance of the centre had been checked by the sticking fast in the bog of their principal piece of ordnance, and also by the enemy hemming them in in large numbers. The rearguard, meanwhile, had been nearly thrown into a panic by the explosion of two barrels of powder, an accident that called forth loud cheering from the enemy. It was against the rear of the centre that the enemy directed their best horse, knowing that Sir Thomas Wingfield's regiment alone hindered them from cutting off the two regiments of the rearguard from the vanguard and centre. Sir Thomas, who succeeded to the chief command on the death of the Marshal, found the van of the centre whole and unbroken. He consulted with Colonel Cuney, who commanded the van of the rearguard, "as touching the state of the army," "which was even then in defeating," and it was concluded to make a retreat on Armagh. Sir Thomas rode to Cosby

to ask if he could maintain the rear of the centre with honour. Cosby assured him he both could and would. Thereupon the order to retreat was sent to the rearguard, and Sir Thomas withdrew his regiment from the bog, where it had so long held its ground. Its resistance at this difficult spot was for the sake of securing the large piece of ordnance that had stuck there, but this could not be recovered, both because it was so thoroughly bogged, and because the oxen that drew it were killed. Cosby for some time brought on his men in good order, but at length, contrary to his directions, he again charged the enemy, to protect some of the fugitives from the vanguard. A little before this rash movement was made, a second explosion had occurred in the English ranks. Two barrels of powder had blown up in the centre, killing many men and disordering the division. On seeing Cosby charge, Sir Thomas felt bound to go to his relief, and also sent word to Colonel Cuney to return for the same purpose. Thus the whole of the retreating force was endangered. Before, however, any relief could be sent, for the fatal distances appear to have been maintained, both Cosby's men, and those he attempted to rescue, were routed together, and Cosby himself was taken prisoner. Colonel Cuney had returned to join Sir Thomas Wingfield, and the retreat was proceeded with.

The English horse did splendid service. Their van came to the assistance of what remained of the centre, and their rear to the help of the rearguard. Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill, who was in Colonel Cuney's regiment in the van of the rearguard, said that they had been so hotly engaged with the forces of O'Donnell, Maguire, and Sir James M'Sorley, that, in an hour and a half, they could not advance a quarter of a mile. They had, accordingly, never heard of the death of the Marshal, nor of the rout of the vanguard and of the van of the

centre, until they came to fetch off the rear of the centre, with which they joined, and retreated towards Armagh. Captain Billings received from Colonel Cuney direction to make good the ford by which the army had to retire. In retreating, his regiment guarded the corpse of the Marshal, and most of the wounded men, including Sir Calisthenes Brooke, the leader of the horse, and took along with them three pieces of ordnance and the remainder of the munition. On nearing the ford, they saw the enemy, both horse and foot, with the colours flying, which they had captured from the vanguard, evidently intent on seizing the ford before them. Captain Billings, however, reached the ford first, and secured it. He then received direction to occupy a hill between Armagh and the ford, until the rest of the retreating force came up. This movement was noticed by the enemy, whose horse endeavoured to cut off the line of retreat to the city. But the discharge of the biggest of the three pieces of ordnance checked their advance, and the hill was gained. After this, no opposition was encountered (partly because the enemy's ammunition was well spent), and so the wearied troops, splendidly supported by their horse, gained the plain, and reached Armagh in safety. Here the Captains resolved to refresh their men, and then to march directly to Newry. But the enemy had been too quick for them, and were now seen approaching the city. Presently the force was surrounded on all sides. The Captains, "finding the insufficiency both in mind and " means of their men," concluded that the best plan was for the horse to cut their way through the rebels, and thus pass into the Pale, and apprise the State of the necessity for immediate succour. This action the horse, under Captain Montague, successfully accomplished, with small loss, although, as they passed out of camp, the enemy gave

them "a great volley of shot," and pursued them a considerable distance. The foot, to the number of some 1,500, remained, to use the language of the Council, "cooped up" in the Church at Armagh, having very little munition, and with victuals sufficient for only nine or ten days. During the battle 300 of the "mere Irish" had deserted to the enemy, and even from the Church at Armagh others ran away continually. Montague was afraid they would betray the environed force, for, as he went off with his horse, he heard very hot skirmishing going on behind him. Ormonde tells us that, in the battle, the new supplies from England "never offered to fight, but, as their leaders say, came away most cowardly, casting from them their armour and weapons, as soon as the rebels charged them" (p. 243). The bravery of the several Captains is specially noticed by Lieutenant Taafe, and the heavy loss among them confirms his words.

In this volume there are the reports of no less than fourteen officers, who were present at this disastrous battle. The accounts are very conflicting, and as regards the numbers of killed and wounded there is considerable diversity. It is a great pity that the report of Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield, enclosed in the letter of the Lords Justices and Council to Cecil, dated September 6, should be wanting. Captain Montague, in his report to the Council on August 16, states that there were "killed and "run away to the enemy not less than 1,800 foot, some "ten horsemen, and thirty horses"; and that the enemy lost "seven or eight hundred." In his letter of the same date to the Earl of Ormonde, he sends a note of the Captains slain, and adds, "of soldiers I assure myself not "less than 2,000, with many officers." Lieutenant Taafe, on the same date, says there were eighteen Captains lost, and above a thousand soldiers. The Lords Justices and

Council, also on August 16, tell Ormonde that the Marshal and about thirteen Captains were slain, and their colours lost. Lieutenant Marmaduke Whitechurch, of Sir Henry Bagenall's horse company, and John Lee, Bagenall's secretary, say that in Tyrone's camp it was reported that they had killed 600 of Her Majesty's army, and that there were 120 of themselves slain. Probably the list sent by the Earl of Ormonde on August 24 is the nearest approach to the true state of the case. He gives the numbers of slain as 15 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 5 ensigns, and 855 men; and adds that 363 men were wounded, and 11 colours lost. Another estimate, dated September 20, states, "there might be lost at the defeat with the " Marshal, and runaway, 1,300." From the accounts of Sir Henry Wallop (p. 491), we learn that a reward of 30% was given to Marmaduke Whitechurch, who had "lost " six oxen and their furniture, that drew a piece of the " ordnance in the Marshal's journey to Blackwater."

Ormonde is explicit enough in his opinion as to the cause of the defeat. He wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on September 15, "The Lords Justices might have written " more advisedly, than to say the whole army was over- " thrown. Truly it might have been so, if God had not " letted it, for their disorder was such as the like hath " not been among men of any understanding, dividing " the army into six bodies, marching so far asunder, as " one of them could not second nor help the other, till " those in the vanguard were overthrown. Sure the devil " bewitched them, that none of them did prevent this " gross error." Again, on October 4 (p. 279), he wrote to Essex and Cecil, "I never in my life heard anything " more shamefully handled than the overthrow of the " Marshal, considering the greatness of the army, and the " numbers of commanders he had with him, who, I think,

“ were all bewitched, and found not the grossness of their
“ own error in marching so far asunder, as the one of
“ them could not second the other, having no carriages to
“ trouble them, but only their small field pieces.” Colonel
Percy (p. 278) puts down the rash charge of Colonel Cosby
as the cause of the disaster. Lieutenant Taafe says
(p. 237), “ if you will have my opinion in the cause of our
“ loss, I protest it was only for the great distance that
“ was betwixt us in our march ; for, when the vanguard
“ was charged, they were within sight of our battle, and
“ yet not rescued until they were overthrown.”

The news of this disaster was like the bursting of a bombshell on the Council table. Ormonde was away in Leinster, and the Lords Justices and Council completely lost their heads. They wrote to the Earl of Tyrone, on the 16th of August, the notorious letter, a copy of which will be found on pages 228, 229. In it they begged him to let the companies at Armagh depart without doing them any further hurt, especially as his “ ancient adversary,” the Marshal, was dead. Two days after the battle they wrote to the Privy Council (p. 226), “ We
“ cannot but fear far more dangerous sequels, even to the
“ utter hazard of the kingdom, and that out of hand, if
“ God and Her Majesty prevent them not.” They expected the rebels to pursue their success at Armagh to the best advantage in all other parts of the realm, and prayed for present help from England. Further, they sent urgent messages to Ormonde, to repair with all speed to Dublin. Sir Geoffrey Fenton feared that Tyrone would forthwith strike at Dundalk, Carrickfergus, and Newry. He expressed a wish to Cecil that the 2,000 men, destined for Lough Foyle, might be landed at Dublin and Drogheda, for the defence of the Pale. Ormonde wrote in the same strain to the Privy Council, and urged that the force in

question should be told of the defeat with all speed, lest they should land at Lough Foyle, and "take any sudden harm" (p. 235).

Meantime news of that force had been working its effect in a way that the authorities at Dublin had not reckoned on, nor had they in their panic made allowance for the possible difficulties of the victorious Tyrone. For one thing, his allies, O'Donnell and Maguire, were in want of victuals, and were about to return home. The besieged troops at Armagh had fortified and maintained their position until the Earl offered composition on the following conditions; first, that the garrison at the Blackwater should quit their fort, leaving behind them their colours, drums, and munition, the Captains being allowed to retain their rapiers and hackneys; and secondly, that the said garrison and the troops at Armagh should march away, with all their carriage and their wounded men, to Dundalk. The heroic resistance of the Blackwater garrison deserved a better fate, and Captain Williams, on his return to Dublin, said he might have made his composition when he listed, "in far more honourable sort than it [the fort] was yielded up." The terms offered by Tyrone were agreed to, and the troops left Armagh "with bag and baggage, and their colours displayed." But they marched to Newry instead of Dundalk, having possibly heard, as the Council did, of the preparations made against them by the Earl in the Moyerie, a pass between Newry and Dundalk. The journey to the latter town was, notwithstanding, accomplished without impediment. The reasons Tyrone gave for according the above conditions were, that he was at 500*l.* charge *per diem* in keeping his forces together, and that he supposed the troops had a month's or six weeks' victual with them. Before that time elapsed, he knew that forces would land

at Lough Foyle. So he thought it better to save himself his daily charge, to gain the Blackwater fort, and thus to free himself for the task of preventing the landing at Lough Foyle. He little dreamt, then, that that task would be saved him by this very overthrow that he had given to the Queen's forces.

A few words are here necessary with regard to the above-mentioned letter sent by the Lords Justices and Council to Tyrone after the disaster. The reason given for its despatch was (p. 227), "lest Tyrone might use further violence to those distressed companies in Armagh," and the pursuivant was directed, "to learn the true state of the soldiers, with other instructions, which was our chief purpose in sending him to Tyrone." The signatories of the letter were, the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, Sir Henry Wallop, Sir George Bouchier, and Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Ormonde was absent in Leinster. The original letter is not known to exist; there is only a copy among the papers calendared in this volume. Fenton has added the signatures, and put this endorsement, "A pursuivant sent to Tyrone upon the late disaster at Armagh.—16 August, 1598." This was the copy sent to the Privy Council, and shown to the Queen. The Council, however, felt uneasy at their action, as appears by their letter sent to the Privy Council, dated September 4, in which they write (p. 256), "It may be that some dislike may grow upon a letter we thought to send to Tyrone, upon the first report of the accident at Armagh. And though at that time we had some reason to hold that course, yet, upon better deliberation, we revoked the letter, and would not suffer it to be sent, having this device at the first, that the letter should be but a colour to send to see the state of the companies, with direction that, if there

“ were any possibility to fetch off those companies, the
“ letter should not be delivered, which was accordingly
“ performed, and we have at this present the letter in our
“ hands; which is true, upon our credit.” Thus the
Council contradict themselves by stating, first, that the
letter was sent, and then, that it was not. Again, they
had already stated (p. 226), “ we are not able, without
“ present succours out of England, to fetch off those poor
“ distressed companies that are in Armagh.” Then why
send a pursuivant to learn their true state? And how
could a pursuivant accomplish this in the case of men
entirely surrounded by enemies? Why, also, was not
the original letter, in the hands of the Council, sent un-
opened to the Queen, and the whole question thus set at
rest? It is singular that in a series of State Papers, where
few, even of the less remarkable documents, are wanting,
this important letter should not be extant. It is quite
clear that all the excuses of the Council were invented to
cover their panic, and their consequent desire to propitiate
Tyrone. As to dislike growing about their letter, the
Council were not left long in suspense. Elizabeth was
furious on learning its contents, and thus vented her wrath
on the authors (pp. 258, 259): “ We may not pass over
“ this foul error to our dishonour, when you of our
“ Council framed such a letter to the traitor, after the
“ defeat, as never was read the like, either in form or
“ substance, for baseness, being such as we persuade our-
“ self, if you shall peruse it again, when you are your-
“ selves, that you will be ashamed of your own absurdities,
“ and grieved that any fear or rashness should ever make
“ you authors of an action so much to your Sovereign’s
“ dishonour, and to the increasing of the traitor’s
“ insolency.” This was on September 12. Whilst
Elizabeth was thus denouncing the Council, their letter

of September 4 arrived, and the Queen adds a postscript to hers in the following terms:—"Since the writing of this letter, we have understood that your letter, which we heard from you was sent to the traitor by you, hath since been stayed by accident; whereof, for our own honour, we are very glad, though for yourselves the former purpose still deserves the same imputation." Soon after the receipt of the Queen's letter, the Council return to their apologies, and confess (pp. 273, 274) their astonishment at the overthrow, and their inability to rescue the besieged in Armagh, and that therefore they thought it good to send a pursuivant "to them," to learn their condition. "And for that we knew how dangerous it was for the pursuivant to pass through so many barbarous rebels, not having something to show for his safety, we caused a letter to be devised and endorsed to the traitor, charging the pursuivant that he should not deliver it otherwise than compelled by some great necessity, or else to bring it back again, which he did without that the traitor either saw it, or knew of any such letter to be written. And therefore, inasmuch as the intention of the letter was rather to serve another turn than to be delivered to the traitor, we let it pass in a base style, agreeable to the purpose it was written for." They then pray for restitution to Her Majesty's wonted grace and favour. Ormonde signed this letter along with the others, noting, however, that he was absent when the missive under discussion was dispatched to Tyrone.

After the disaster near Armagh, there ensued an embittered wrangle between the Council and Ormonde regarding the responsibility for that event. The Council, on the one hand, writing to the Privy Council, argued that, though they were averse to the expedition for the relief of the Blackwater fort, they yielded to the opinion of

Ormonde, who had the supreme authority in all martial affairs. But they pressed him earnestly to take the command in person, on the grounds of the influence he would exert on many of the nobility and their followers to attend him, and of the fear he would probably inspire in Tyrone. To these urgent solicitations Ormonde would not give way. The Lords Justices, in a private letter to the Privy Council, enlarge on the same arguments, and state (p. 232) that Ormonde was "either unwilling or "unable to endure that troublesome journey," and that he told them he "himself could not be spared from the "service in Leinster." It seems almost incredible that Ormonde did not see the importance, nay even the necessity, of his commanding this expedition in person. On this occasion, as on many others, he laid himself open to the imputation, which his enemies were not slow to fasten upon him, of being chiefly concerned in the preservation of his own estates from injury. Although he did not always succeed in this, he was generally within easy distance of his own property, and his constant absence from Dublin was, as will be shown, a frequent source of complaint. It is true the Queen had instructed the Earl to have special regard to the state of affairs in Leinster, but she naturally expected him to use his discretion in the event of a crisis in other parts of Ireland. Accordingly, in a letter to the Council, including Ormonde, she administered to him this sharp rebuke (p. 258), "It "was strange unto us, when almost the whole forces of "our kingdom were drawn to head, and a main blow like "to be stricken for our honour against the capital rebel, "that you, whose person would have better daunted the "traitors, and would have carried with it another manner "of reputation, and strength of the nobility of the "kingdom, should employ yourself in an action of less

“ importance, and leave that to so mean a conduction. And, therefore, whosoever of our Council should dissuade you from that course, lacked both judgment and affection to our service, and did that which is repugnant to the writings of divers of the best and greatest of them in that kingdom.” Before this letter could have reached him, Ormonde had heard that the Lords Justices had sent over their version of the story, and writes to Cecil in his own defence, denying that the expedition was the result of a plot between Sir Henry Bagenall and himself. He states (p. 262) that the first motion for the victualling of the fort came from the Marshal, that the Council supported this view, and urged himself to see to it; but that, after further deliberations, Captain Williams was directed to make terms with Tyrone. The Earl further indicates the great desire of the Marshal to go on the expedition, and that some solicited his appointment thereto. One writer says that the Lord Justice Loftus was the only one who advised Ormonde to give Bagenall the command (p. 321). The letters directing the relief were signed at the Council Board, and all means for the same were laid down in full Council. Ormonde declares he had no speech with the Marshal on the subject save at the Board, and winds up by saying that the Marshal was dispatched away by the Lords Justices and Council after he himself had left Dublin. This defence overlooked the fact that the Marshal could not have gone, unless Ormonde had first given his consent. Had Ormonde gone himself, the result would certainly have been different. In the face of all this, and of what they themselves had written, it is strange to find the Council gravely assuring the home Government, with reference to this very “matter of the Blackwater” (p. 263), “neither do we know any cause of private emulation or difference

“ between us and the Lord Lieutenant, but all good
“ correspondency and agreement,” which they would
labour to maintain ; and that “ though the time be
“ universally distracted and broken in the body of this
“ kingdom, yet we have hitherto holden an honourable
“ unity and agreement in Council, and do hope to continue
„ that course to the end without separation.” The
divisions of the authorities in Ireland will be further
referred to later on in this preface.

A few days before the battle of Armagh, England and
Ireland alike had suffered a great loss in the death of
Lord Burghley. There are several references to his
retirement and final illness, and many eulogies are passed
upon him. The only discordant note is in a passage
relating to the Lord Treasurer and the Marshal: “ Ireland
“ did not mourn for them ; for the Marshal (said they)
“ contended with the Earl of Tyrone, and was in some
“ part a cause that he went into action, which bred great
“ woe to the true subjects. The Lord Treasurer (said
“ they) hindered the service of Ireland upon the informa-
“ tion of some Captains that would not be out of entertain-
“ ment, and persuaded the Queen’s Majesty from time to
“ time (as a good husband for her treasure) to send a
“ handful of money and a handful of men ; both of which
“ no sooner landed in Ireland, but melted away like hoar
“ frost before the sun ; and as the service continued,
“ rebellion increased, and the true subjects went to wreck.”

Sir Samuel Bagenall, who had at first received instructions to proceed with his forces to Lough Foyle—“ a waste place and uninhabited,” “ very ruinous and desolate”—was directed on August 23, in consequence of the defeat given to the Marshal, to go with a portion of his men from Chester to Lambay, near Dublin, and thence, unless otherwise ordered, to Carlingford. His second in command,

Colonel Charles Egerton, was likewise ordered to proceed with the greater portion, 1,400 men, from Plymouth to Lambay, and from that place, unless he obtained further direction, to Carlingford. Sir Samuel's men arrived in Dublin by September 13, but Colonel Egerton's were not there till the early days of October. These had been detained by contrary winds, and their numbers had been diminished by 140, stayed in Cork by Sir Thomas Norreys for the better defence of Munster. The death of Sir Henry Bagenall had rendered necessary the appointment of another Marshal of Ireland, and the urgent need of an experienced commander was met by the choice of Sir Richard Bingham on August 31. This completed the restoration to favour of that soldier, and Elizabeth warmly recommended him to the Council in Ireland in her letter of September 12. Sir Richard was ready to embark at Chester on September 26, but the wind was against him, and he did not arrive in Dublin until the middle of October. One thousand men were under orders to go over with him, but he started with his own company of 200 and with 30 horse. The remainder came before the end of the month. Ormonde wrote to Bingham to repair to him with his 200 foot and 50 horse, but the Marshal was detained at Dublin by the state of his health, and also by the action of the Lords Justices and Council, who, although frequently urged by Ormonde, were loath to let him go any distance from them, owing to the ravages of the rebels in the Pale, and their close approach to Dublin.

There was good reason to fear extreme danger, as the papers of the next few months testify. Had Tyrone followed up his victory near Armagh with any promptitude and vigour, the capital must have been lost, and the rebel leader would have been virtual ruler of the whole realm. Three days after the fight, the Lords Justices confess that

they have daily advertisements of the entrance of the rebels into the county of Dublin, "and of their purpose, " even this day, as we understand, to make head even " towards this city, to which, God knoweth, they may " make an easy approach." Leinster, their Lordships avow, was in a worse state than this ; Connaught weakened ; and Munster ready to burst into flame. In October of this year, Tyrone employed some of his instruments to surprise Dublin Castle, to subvert the city, "and consequently to commit to massacre and havoc all the English " and their goods." The conspiracy was discovered just in the nick of time. It was to have been "performed by " thirty resolute men, set on by twenty-nine priests lying " in Dublin." Assistance was to have been given by 1,000 men of Tyrone's forces, and 1,000 more from the mountain rebels. The chief conspirators were Lapley, Cawell, Shelton, Friar Nangle, Leynan, and Bethell, all Irishmen. Leynan revealed the plot, and was spared and recompensed. Friar Nangle escaped. The other four were executed.

Repeatedly there came to the Privy Council accounts of the rebel designs on Dublin. On December 1, Captain Thomas Reade informed Cecil that, on the previous day, the enemy had burned Dunboyne, within six miles of the city, at nine o'clock in the morning, without any resistance, and that before this action they had spoiled near Dublin without contradiction or loss. He added that there remained in the capital only 200 of the late supplies for the safeguard of the State and city. Four days after Captain Reade's letter, Sir Richard Bingham writes to Cecil that the traitors on all sides were drawing towards Dublin, "as though they had a correspondence and purpose to " attempt it " ; also that the young men and apprentices were going to the rebels daily. On December 9, Captain

“ that we know no part free, neither is it known that the
“ estate of this realm generally hath been in so great hazard
“ within the memory of man, nor of long time before,
“ as it is now.” Feagh M’Hugh’s sons, with all the other
Irishry bordering upon the counties of Dublin, Kildare,
Wexford, and Carlow, were preparing with great forces to
break into the Pale, and were considerably heartened by the
defection of Viscount Mountgarrett. Ormonde wrote for
Sir Richard Bingham to come to him, not only with his
immediate companies of horse and foot, but with all the
force that was sent over to Ireland with the new Marshal.
To this the Lords Justices would not agree, deeming it all
important that Bingham should remain to guard Dublin
and the surrounding country. This was an instance of the
ill-working of the divided authority of the Government.
When the Lords Justices wished to defend themselves in
the matter of the fatal expedition to the Blackwater, they
pointed out, amongst other things, that Ormonde was
supreme in martial affairs. On this occasion they dis-
regarded that supremacy, although Ormonde had before
taken measures for the defence of the Pale. The Leinster
rebels had not only passed into Munster, but they were
daily seeking to cross the Shannon into Connaught, to
effect a second combination there. Although the Lords
Justices were unwilling that Sir Richard Bingham and
his men should go to Ormonde, they appointed him to go
with 1,600 foot and 244 horse to Naas, to be the readier
for any further call on the part of the Earl. The revolt of
Viscount Mountgarrett had occasioned the falling into
rebellion of “divers of the highest calling” in the
counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Wexford. Mount-
garrett had three daughters, whom he proposed to marry
as follows: one to James FitzThomas, styled “Earl of
Desmond”; another to the Earl of Kildare; and the

third to Onie M'Rory, one of the chief rebels of Leinster. He was expecting greater reinforcements from Ulster, and had a deep hatred to the townships, especially those of Kilkenny, Thomastown, and Ross. One of the confederates of Mountgarrett was his son-in-law, the Baron of Cahir, and a very graphic account of an interview with the latter will be found on pages 348-350. Sir Henry Warren, by the treachery of some of his people, lost his castle of Bellibrittone in King's County, but its Constable recovered it again. Sir Thomas Moore's castle of Crohorne, or Croghan, was also betrayed, and Sir Thomas received a mortal wound. Lady Moore was taken away prisoner, stripped, and left in a bog to die of cold. Captain Gifford and his wife, who had come only the night before to the castle, were slain. Sir Thomas Moore's eldest son happened to be away that night, but his wife, the daughter of Lord Justice Loftus, had her chamber assaulted, and escaped only by the valour of Captain Gifford's lieutenant, who indeed saved the castle itself. On November 14, Mountgarrett received from Ormonde a protection for twenty-one days, an action that was much denounced by Ormonde's enemies. Most of the castles lost in Leinster were betrayed by Irishmen, whom the owners had nourished and brought up, sometimes from the very cradle. Ormonde was especially annoyed with the carelessness and negligence of the gentlemen and others in the county of Wexford, "being the place whereof Englishmen were "first possessed in this realm." The enemy had made an incursion thirty miles from their fastness, and had spoiled and robbed without resistance at a part "where, since the "conquest, no Irish Kavanagh or traitor did ever attempt" (p. 422). Yet there were three companies of foot garrisoned, with whom the gentlemen of Wexford might have joined, and done good service on the rebels. One of

those who fell into rebellion in this Province was James FitzPiers, the Sheriff of Kildare, and he stated that the cause of his defection was the bad treatment extended to him by Ormonde. FitzPiers broke down the Abbey of Athy, and held the castle over the bridge at that place against the troops sent by Bingham to take it. The latter, however, did a good piece of service by sending some horse to the town of Kildare, where he killed sixty of the enemy, who were well-armed and furnished. Some of the Geraldines coming to the castle of Kildare, which had been warded by Bingham, lost their chief, Captain William FitzOliver. The Marshal notified the general spread of the revolt, and the frequent desertions of Irish soldiers from the bands. The great want was a good supply of horse. Bingham's bad health did not permit him to go and meet Ormonde at Carlow, even if he had not been detained by the Council near Dublin. Ormonde writes on December 17, that as most of the army consisted of "Irish and Connaught men, it will be "most dangerous, when it shall come to trial of fight, whom to trust "(*sic*). Mountgarrett, too, had his doubts, and committed the ward of his castles wholly to Ulster men, displacing those of his own province. The passes were so completely held by the enemy, that it was found impossible to send treasure by land from Dublin to either the further parts of Leinster or to Munster. All money had to be conveyed by sea. State letters also were being continually intercepted; such for example as those touching the relief of Maryborough, which Ormonde again succeeded in revictualling. The Council had likewise managed to get some provisions into that fort. Mountgarrett was desirous of a further truce for fourteen days from December 6, but Ormonde absolutely refused to grant it. A horseman sent by Mountgarrett to Tyrone

boasted amongst other things that there were sixteen or seventeen persons dwelling in Kilkenny who had undertaken to let Mountgarrett and all his forces into the town; further, that his master's purpose was to surprise Kilkenny, and to take Ormonde and Sir Walter Butler prisoners. It was unfortunate for the service that Bingham had been in continuously bad health ever since his arrival in Ireland. As a matter of fact, he and Ormonde never met (p. 454). Several weeks before Bingham's death on January 18, 1599, it was seen that he could hardly recover, and one of the last glimpses we have of the grim old soldier, is when he was fretting his heart out at being physically unfit to deal with the rebels, who were spoiling so audaciously both around and within Dublin (p. 420). Further north, another commander, Sir Samuel Bagenall, had been seriously injured by his horse falling upon him.

Ormonde declared that the Mustermaster's certificate of the strength of the army in Ireland was incorrect. On January 1, 1599, he told the Lords Justices and Council that he had not above 500 men with him, and that he had reckoned on having from them 1,400 foot and 150 horse. He then required 2,000, or at least 1,600 foot, and 150 horse, in addition to the 400 or 500 men, whom he expected to draw from Kilkenny, where he then was. Notwithstanding this weakness in his forces, Ormonde succeeded in again victualling the fort at Maryborough, despite the difficulties which he alleged the Lords Justices had put in his way. Both in going and returning from the fort (January 11-13) there was some sharp fighting, but the loss was mainly on the rebels' side. On January 18, Ormonde complained that, of the 3,000 men last appointed to the Irish service, only 2,306 had arrived, and that of these companies the Lords Justices had disposed without his privity.

Although the Leinster rebels had, in the early days of January, 1599, burnt Kilmainham and part of Cromlin, their attacks in the neighbourhood of Dublin ceased for a short space, through their want of powder and lead. With these Tyrone soon supplied his allies, and also succeeded in sending them a reinforcement of 800 men, under his son Con. Warnings had been given to Lord Delvin (who commanded in Westmeath), to Sir Conyers Clifford, and to Sir Samuel Bagenall, that these men purposed to pass into Leinster through Westmeath, and yet the rebels safely accomplished their march, even in the middle of the day, having met with only a slight resistance. Lord Delvin and his men never appeared on the scene of the fight at all. Meantime the rebels were composing some of their differences. Tyrone had now become reconciled to Tirlogh M'Henry, whom he had arrested and imprisoned. He set Tirlogh free; summoned O'Donnell, Maguire, and all his northern confederates; and prepared to invade the Pale from several directions. In February, Tyrone was in the King's County, and purposed to go thence, through the Queen's county, towards Waterford and those parts. "He meaneth not to return to Ulster till May, unless he be beaten hence perforce, or drawn down by arrival of some English forces in the north" (p. 476).

In Connaught, Sir Conyers Clifford continued his hard and thankless task. In reply to the Privy Council, who required from him an account of the composition, and of his proceedings in the civil government, of the province, he points out that the land was all wasted and spoiled, and that the Queen would not receive any great revenue from the inhabitants, until the province had been fully settled for one year, during which time they might rebuild their houses and sow their corn. He was endeavouring, amid all the prevailing confusions, to gain their loyalty, upon the best assurance they could give. As

it was, the revenue was higher than in the most peaceable days of Sir Richard Bingham's rule, and Sir Conyers reckoned on a large increase in the coming year. With respect to civil government, he thought it unadvisable to call the people to sessions, until troops were in the country for their security. All were "yet living without houses," and they would be the readier to go to O'Donnell, if he pressed them. As soon as Sligo or Ballyshannon was taken and fortified, he would draw the people by gentleness to answer sessions, and such other civil government as would be requisite. Sir Conyers complained of the way in which he had been neglected by the Irish Council. He had spent all his estate, and during seven months, had received but 1,000*l.* for all the companies in Connaught; or, in eleven months, only two months' lendings, and 500*l.* for victualling. He asked for 1,000 men from England, partly to replace the Irish in his companies, and partly to station 500 of them in Galway, so that if any attempt were made by the Spaniards, he could secure that place and discourage the rebels by obtaining "so good a back for his retreat." If the rebels were to be prosecuted, he thought 2,000 foot and 120 horse would be sufficient for Connaught and O'Donnell's country. Sir Conyers was very anxious that the latter, or Tyrconnell, and Maguire's country, or Fermanagh, should be added to his province. If O'Rourke made his submission, the Governor thought 1,500 foot and 100 horse would be enough. Towards the close of April, he announced what he considered to be "the full regaining " of the whole inhabitants of Connaught." O'Rourke had submitted, M'Dermott and O'Connor Don had been drawn from O'Donnell, M'William was banished, and was "as " poor a man as any this day in Ireland." Tibbott Ne Longe had drawn much blood of the traitors. The taking of Ballyshannon, or the constraining of O'Donnell

to break it, would absolutely banish that chieftain ; “ for
“ as he is a proud malicious traitor to Her Majesty, so is he
“ a tyrannical Governor over all under him, and the most
“ hated man living, and followed in this wicked action by
“ none but for fear”(p. 130). The chiefs in Ulster complained
in like manner of the tyranny and extortion of Tyrone ;
“ so miserably could we never live under the English ”
(p. 428). Sir Conyers stated that, if there was any fault in
the conclusions he had come to with the Connaught men,
it must be remembered that he had to deal with “ a most
“ obstinate people, proud and subtle, and so combined
“ with the north, that what I did upon the one, either by
“ by force or policy, I found the encounter of both ”
(p. 134). Still he assured himself that they would in all
things satisfy Her Majesty’s commands. The Privy
Council hoped he was not being “ abused by the Irish ”
(p. 158). The Council at Dublin put it still more bluntly,
wishing that Sir Conyers, “ through his over much
“ confidence,” was not being “ deceived by those Irish
“ treacheries or falsehoods, who have many deep subtleties
“ to abuse such as know them not thoroughly ” (p. 181).
It may be that the Governor’s forecast of events would
have proved correct, but there was the usual delay in
forwarding to him the necessary supplies of men, money,
victuals, and munition. Meanwhile the people of the
province, seeing no forces come, joined once more in
rebellion, and O’Rourke himself went over to O’Donnell,
stating, however, in a letter to Sir Conyers, “ if all
the magistrates of Ireland were of your mind, these
wars of Ireland had been ended long ago ” (p. 193).
The Governor offered with 1,500 foot and 100 horse
to compel O’Rourke to a new submission, and to break
O’Donnell. He protested that this offer did not proceed
from any trust of his in the Irish, for “ never any

“ man came amongst them that affecteth their “ barbarous customs less than myself.” He said all the danger arose from his want of means. On June 15, he wrote to the Lords Justices from Athlone, “ I assure your Lordships, this day I have not one barrel of powder ” (p. 177). And this about the very time when the Earl of Essex, Master of the Ordnance in the Tower of London, was declaring, “ how great the warrants be which I receive “ for this Irish service, and how thick they come,” adding that, unless he got some extraordinary supplies, “ the office “ will be quickly bankrupt of any store ” (p. 215). The disaster near Armagh produced its natural effects in Connaught, as in other parts of Ireland, and greatly strengthened the courage and hopes of the rebels. They again set up M’William in the county of Mayo, and that leader had at least 2,000 foot and 200 horse, besides Scots daily coming to him. Tibbott Ne Longe was constrained to live in a boat upon the water. An O’Brien was set up in Thomond. O’Donnell came, and took a prey of 4,000 cows from the O’Connors; and Sir Conyers could not prevent it, for he had only 120 English soldiers in the province, the rest being Irish. It was as much as he could do to hold out in Athlone, the Abbey of Boyle, Tulsk, Roscommon, and Galway. Again the Governor asked earnestly for reinforcements and supplies, or begged to be excused to Her Majesty. He protested he had omitted no consideration to advance her service. Sir Conyers pointed out that the taking of Ballyshannon and Belleek would gain Connaught for the Queen, and keep O’Donnell and Maguire from joining Tyrone; and that by garrisons at Lough Foyle, Ballyshannon, and Belleek, the whole north would be kept during the winter from Leinster and Connaught. Nothing, he said, had hindered the service in his province more than “ the taking of the

“ poor people’s cattle to relieve the army; which is a
“ burden they will never bear and continue their loyalties”
(pp. 315, 316). That Sir Conyers was not alone in deeming
he had been neglected by the Irish authorities, is clear from
the Queen’s reproof of the Council (p. 418), and from Sir
Robert Cecil’s emphatic statement (p. 401), “ I do think
“ that province of yours hath been most pitifully abandoned
“ to all misery by the State at Dublin.” Cecil added that,
in ten days, 1,000 men under Sir Arthur Savage would be
ready to embark for Dublin, and were to be sent thence
directly to Connaught. They did not arrive in Dublin
until the end of January, 1599.

After the battle of Armagh, the scene of blood and broil
changes to the province of Munster. There, too, the news
of the great defeat was speedily brought, and roused up all
the malcontents to action. But long before then, as early
as May, the President, Sir Thomas Norreys, had told of
the effect produced in Munster by the wars in the north
and by the several “ overthrows ” given to the Queen’s
soldiers. He had, in consequence, taken pledges of the
several lords, gentlemen, and others of the province, but
had had great difficulty in finding places where he could
securely keep them. They were even put into merchants’
houses, at the expense of those whose pledges they were.
Norreys adds, “ There is not within this Province any
“ munition at all of Her Majesty[’s], the want whereof I
“ have divers times advertised to the State at Dublin, but
“ have received no order to be supplied.” At the end of
August, after the defeat of the expedition to the Black-
water, Norreys tells of the weakness and unwillingness of
the people to do Her Majesty service, or to defend them-
selves. The province, in respect of its wealth, was “ in
reasonable good case,” but the dutifully disposed had,
through the long peace, grown “ secure,” and were unfit

and unfurnished for war: The only soldiers in pay in Munster were the 100 foot of his own band, twelve horsemen of the Provost-Marshal [Thornton], and thirty horsemen of his own. But there were many Englishmen there who, having lost their goods, were fit and willing to serve in the wars. The President continually wrote for reinforcements and supplies, telling of the miserable and almost desperate state of Munster, and of the most execrable mischiefs which daily advertisements showed were committed by the rebels. But there were serious charges brought against Norreys. The pledges he had taken in Munster were said to be "bastards and children, all not worth a rush" (p. 429). If he had animated the inhabitants, and drawn them together, English and Irish, he would, it was affirmed, have been able to withstand the rebel forces. For eight years before, in 1590, when Munster was not so well peopled, there had been mustered 10,490 able men, "furnished and unfurnished." The President was also accused of granting protection to traitors, and even of receiving money for the continuance of the same. When any one came to complain to him that he had lost his cows, "Why," quoth the President, "must I keep thy cows?" He would not join Ormonde at Kilmallock, unless a strong guard was sent to convoy him. "And so the Lord President came to him to Kilmallock, and the crew of the Englishry followed him, saying his cowardly disposition was the cause of all their overthrow" (p. 323). It is added (p. 325) that "he ran away first, together with his lady, into Cork, and discouraged all the Englishry about him." The Queen considered that the rebellion might have been prevented, had care been taken beforehand by the Irish Government to send some horse and foot into Munster; and she rated Norreys soundly, that he did not

better resist "in the beginning, when the first traitor drew "to head with a ragged number of rogues and boys." He was directed to make "a conserving war," until further forces arrived. A similar order was sent to Sir Conyers Clifford in Connaught.

We have seen how, when Ormonde was away at Dublin, some of the rebels in Leinster made their way into Munster to stir up the insurrection there. The way was clear for them, and they entered the Province with 2,000 men, and took several castles and preys of cattle. "The "fear of them was so great, blazed by the horseboys and "espies of Ireland, the messengers of the devil, that the "whole county of Limerick became mutinous" (p. 287). This was at the beginning of October, 1598. Sir Thomas Norreys had stayed at Youghal 140 soldiers of the force belonging to Sir Samuel Bagenall. He assembled the noblemen, gentlemen, and others of Munster, with all their forces, which amounted, however, to only 100 horse and 300 kern, "weakly armed, and accordingly minded." These were all he had wherewith to oppose the enemy. Piers Lacy, sheriff of Limerick, about whom there had been a contention between Ormonde and Sir Thomas Norreys, joined the rebels; so also did John FitzThomas Gerald, second son of Sir Thomas of Desmond. His elder brother, James, soon appears in the field as the Earl of Desmond, despite the warning he received from Ormonde. James FitzThomas said about the English rule of Ireland (p. 504), "Their government is such as Pharaoh never "used the like." The Queen, being notified of the insurrection, expressly commanded that present order should be taken "to extinguish that flame, which hereafter will not "easily be quenched." Munster was recognised by her to be "of so great consequence, full of good towns and "havens, both fit for the enemy, and so well onward

“ toward an absolute quietness, if any care be had of it in
“ time ” (pp. 285, 286). Before October had half gone,
Her Majesty ordered a levy of 2,000 men for the province.
Meantime, Ormonde, who had been too late to prevent the
incursion into Limerick, followed up the rebels to
Kilmallock. They, however, kept out of his way, so long
as he continued at this time in Munster. He estimated
their number at 3,000, and prayed the Privy Council to
send over 2,000 or 3,000 trained men, with the necessary
supplies. In the Earl’s opinion there should be “ a sharp
“ and speedy prosecution to the extirpation [of the rebels]
“ by sword, fire, and famine.” This programme was
almost literally carried out by the rebels against the
English, as we shall see. The people in Youghal were
weak, and unable to defend their town by reason of the
largeness of its walls. From Kilmallock Ormonde went
to Mallow, and found the town altogether forsaken of the
inhabitants, and the enemy daily threatening to burn it.
Here he left a company to increase the garrison. Thence
he went to Cork, and took measures for its defence. It
was only a portion of Kinsale that he could direct to be
defended, for its walls were “ so spacious and decayed.”
From Youghal Ormonde returned to Leinster.

It was against the “ undertakers ” in Munster that the
rebels chiefly directed their fury ; and, amongst the
features of this rebellion, few are more remarkable than
the cowardice of these men. Ormonde said (p. 291) that
“ the greatest part of the undertakers had most shame-
“ fully quitted and forsaken their castles and houses of
“ strength before even the traitors came near them, leaving
“ all to their spoils, whereby they furnished themselves
“ with the arms and other munition that before served
“ against them, to Her Majesty’s dishonour, and the
“ increasing of the traitors’ pride.” Sir Robert Cecil

wrote of the "weak, or rather cowardly head made by the undertakers" (p. 350). The Queen referred to their "many defensible houses and castles," and said they "fled away before the rebels upon the first alarm" (p. 379). A great portion of the letter, dated November 29, in which these words occur, is repeated in another letter by the Queen, dated December 3 (pp. 390, 391). A list of the castles lost will be found on pages 325, 326, and also in Henry Smyth's report, pages 330, 331. One brilliant exception to the general cowardice was the gallant defence of Askeaton Castle by Captain Francis Barkly, of which full details will be found in the text.

The return of Ormonde to Leinster was, in reality, occasioned by his want of men and means to oppose the enemy in Munster. This inability was acknowledged by Elizabeth, and Cecil tells us, on November 17, how much it troubled her. The 2,000 soldiers ordered for the province did not arrive there until early in December, when 1,000 landed at Cork, 600 at Kinsale, and 400 at Waterford. The last-named Ormonde withdrew, and disposed them in other places. Still there was urgent need of horsemen, in which the rebels were very strong.

At the beginning of the rebellion, Cork received a large number of refugees, amongst them being the President, the Bishops of Cork and Down, the Provost-Marshall, the Sheriff of the County of Cork, and the most of the undertakers, with their wives and children. Those from Kerry were in the most miserable plight, for they had been rifled and spoiled, man, woman, and child, of all their goods, even of the very clothes from their backs. The Clankennedy were said to be "the greatest destroyers of Englishmen to their power." Chief Justice Saxey writes (p. 300) of the many execrable murders and cruelties inflicted upon the English in the counties of Limerick, Cork,

and Kerry ; how infants were taken from the nurses' breasts, and their brains dashed against the walls ; how, in one case, the heart was plucked out of the body of a husband in the presence of his wife, who was forced to yield the use of her apron to wipe off the blood from the murderers' fingers ; how another English gentleman had his head cleft in several pieces ; and how divers were sent into Youghal, some with their throats cut, but not killed, some with their tongues cut out, others with their noses cut off. All the English were "utterly undone, and every " one after the rate of his fortune doth smart exceedingly." Arthur Hyde's wife and children escaped to Cork with the help of Lord Barry, but his castle was assaulted and taken, the garrison surrendering on promise of their lives and wearing apparel. When they had got about a mile from the castle, they were robbed and stripped naked, but not slain. Only one English gentleman escaped in those parts, and that was through a priest, who dwelt with him, informing the Earl of Desmond that the gentleman and his family were Catholics. One writer says (p. 324), " the " meaner sort (the rebellion having overtaken them) were " slain, man, woman, and child ; and such as escaped " came all naked to the towns, . . . Their moan " was great, the sight lamentable." The same writer adds (p. 326), " William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, " urchin-wise, like Henry Pyne of Moghelly, afore pre- " saging the mischief to come, which he no doubt secretly " learned and concealed, made haste for England *cum* " *pannis*, as commonly we term it, with bag and baggage, " got a bark, and embarked together with him his wife, " family, and all that he had, and left the charge com- " mitted unto him from Her Majesty at six and " seven." As a specimen of the ravages committed by the rebels, we may instance those in the barony of

Buttevant, on Lord Barry's lands. The authors of these spoils were Onie M'Rory, James FitzThomas (styled Earl of Desmond), Captain Tyrrell, and others. Here is a summary of the list:—54 "towns" burned (generally "altogether"); the following taken: 9,400 cows, 4,800 mares and garrans, 58,800 sheep and hogs, and corn and household stuff to the value of 8,200*l*.

The object of the Munster rebellion was clear enough, and it is stated explicitly in these papers. The Council write (p. 305), "this rebellion is now thoroughly sorted " to an Irish war, whose drifts and pretences are, to " shake off all English government, and subtract the " kingdom from Her Majesty, as much as in them lieth." Again the Council tell us with respect to the rebels (p. 356), "it may easily be discerned, that the principal " end they aspired unto was to supplant all English " habitation, and consequently to renounce Her Majesty's " laws and government, which assuredly is the main " ground of this rebellion, and the only mark that Tyrone " and they all do shoot at." In the same letter, the object is put more briefly, "to expel all the English and " suppress English government." Captain Reade states on December 10, "the English and the English govern- " ment was (*sic*) never so much despised and repugned, as " at this present."

Among the most notable of the Englishmen, who lost all in the Munster rebellion, was, as is well known, Edmund Spenser. The despatch written from Cork by Sir Thomas Norreys to the Privy Council, on December 9, 1598, was sent by the hands of the poet, as is proved by the opening passage in Sir Thomas's despatch of December 21 (p. 414). In this same volume of State Papers will be found (*see* p. 431) a contemporary copy of Spenser's "View of the State of Ireland," and also "A brief Note of

Ireland," which, apart from the endorsement, might readily have been assigned to his pen. Some passages of the latter are given in this Calendar. It is worth noting that in the Irish State Papers of the reign of Elizabeth, preserved in the Public Record Office, there are no less than nine signatures of the famous poet, and that one paper is entirely in his hand. This last-named is to be found in Volume CXLIV., No. 70, and is dated in May, 1589. The paper is Spenser's answer to the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the lands passed to the undertakers in Munster, and we learn that, although Kilcolman and Rossack had been assigned him, a great portion of the lands attached thereto were wanting. The references to the other signatures are ; in 1581, Volume LXXXI., Nos. 20, 36. I. and 36. II. ; Volume LXXXIII., Nos. 6. I. and 6. II. ; in 1582, Volume XCIII., No. 64. I. ; Volume XCIV., No. 107 ; and in 1589, Volume CXLVII., No. 16. Nicholas Curteys, Clerk of the Council in Munster, in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, states (p. 484) that he held "that poor and troublesome place" upon the trust of "Lodowick Bryskett and Edmund Spenser (men not unknown to your Honour)." Curteys complains that he had had all his property burned and taken from him by the rebellion, and says that Bryskett is pressing him down to the lowest degree of misery, "Edmund Spenser being lately deceased, the mean and witness of our mutual trust and confidence." It is curious that, in a list of the Irish clergy, dated 1586, December 8 (*see* Volume CXXVII., No. 18), "Edmondus Spencer" appears as a Prebendary of Effin, co. Limerick. The "Book on the state of Ireland" (*see* pages 505-507) is not, as some have imagined, to be attributed to Spenser, the initials of the author being "H. C."

There had been a plot to betray the town of Kilmallock to the rebels, who regarded it as the place "of the greatest

“annoyance to them in all Munster.” The conspiracy, however, was found out on the very day when the rebels were to have been admitted. Ross was also to have been betrayed, but here again the plot was discovered in time; and Sir Thomas Norreys had some little success in its neighbourhood. As late as December 17, Ormonde writes, “The city of Limerick hath no garrison in it as yet,” and he points out the importance of the place. From all over the land came the same cry—more men, more money, more necessaries of all kinds to carry on a “royal war,” and thus to restore the English ascendancy. The proclamation issued by Elizabeth to the Irish people on January 25, 1599, is dignified and politic, and shows considerable skill in concealing the acute stage of the crisis now reached in public affairs. The Queen had decided to send over the the Earl of Essex with an army of 14,000 foot and 1,000 horse. Large quantities of money and victuals were also provided. So clearly was the new policy to be cut off from the old, that Sir Henry Wallop received his long-desired revocation, Sir George Carey was appointed Treasurer of Wars, and the public accounts were ordered to be begun on a new sheet. Fenton, however, gave warning that, unless Essex brought enough money to pay the arrears of the army, the country, and the towns, their clamours would greatly trouble his lordship, and these clamours could not “but be holden just.” It is worthy of note that the terms of the commission, granting license to Essex to return to England at such times as he should find cause (*see* p. 502), will not justify his ultimate departure later on in the year. The vanity of the Queen comes out in the statement that Essex had made suit for such license, “as well to see our person, as to inform us “of such things as may be for our important service.” The career of Essex in Ireland will be the chief subject of the next volume of this Calendar.

With regard to the divisions among the English authorities, we have already seen the disagreements that arose between the Lords Justices on the one side and the Earl of Ormonde on the other. These differences showed themselves not only after the battle of Armagh, but on many other occasions. The documents calendared in this volume testify to the constant friction between the civil and military authorities. Both sides write directly into England, the one against the other. It was evident that nothing would put an end to such antagonism but the committal of all power, both civil and military, to a Lord Deputy. Sir Geffrey Fenton is continually pressing this point on the attention of the home Government. He begs that "this divided authority may cease," as it is assuredly "the ground of many enormities in the Government" (p. 173). The Lords Justices and Council more than once recommend the Queen to settle the whole government entirely in one man's hands, "for the avoiding of many confusions growing in the main government" (p. 226). Fenton said that he thought Ormonde himself would not be offended (p. 229). After the wrangling with regard to the Blackwater disaster, Fenton wrote, on September 16, a very strong letter to Sir Robert Cecil concerning the importance of stopping all these divisions "amongst the principal commanders." One sentence may be quoted (p. 264), "And therefore it may please your Honour to move Her Majesty that, by the next, a round and peremptory commandment may come in Her Majesty's name to us all, to surcease all private emulations, and particularly all further proceeding in this contention of the Blackwater, but that we should all bend our uttermost endeavours to recover this kingdom, that is almost gone." Captain Thomas Reade urges the election (p. 341) of "some worthy personage, fit to manage the

“ present state of this distempered kingdom,” pointing out the old age of Ormonde, the ignorance of the Lords Justices in martial affairs, and the ill-health of Sir Richard Bingham. One of the chief causes of discontent and difference was the frequent absence of Ormonde from Dublin. The Lords Justices and Council are constantly pointing out the inconveniences and dangers of the Earl’s being away. Among such was the intercepting by the rebels of despatches sent by the Council to Ormonde at Kilkenny, or by the Earl to the Council. On November 17, Cecil writes to Ormonde, “ it appeareth, by the “ Justices’ letters, that your absence from them is a great “ grief unto them, in respect of the lack they have thereby “ of your direction, without whom they forbear to proceed “ almost in anything.” The Earl further got a reminder (p. 382) of “ the nature of his charge, not of any part of “ the army, but of the whole forces and war.” He was, therefore, “ to have a more general care of all than it “ seems he hath had, and to hold a better correspondence “ with the provincial Governors than in times past; as “ also to repair oftener to Dublin to the State, that they “ and he may with more unanimity and mature delibera- “ tion agree upon their courses, and execute them accord- “ ingly.” Finally, the Queen wrote to Ormonde (p. 388), “ We do therefore command you that you make your “ abode for the most part at Dublin.”

Sir Conyers Clifford and Sir Thomas Norreys both complained of their being neglected by the Irish Council. Maurice Kyffin died on the 3rd of January, 1598, but his old enemy, Sir Ralph Lane, the Mustermaster, continued to gird away at what Kyffin had done in the musters, and endeavoured to show how much more he himself gained for the Queen by his system of checks. Sir Geoffrey Fenton had a continuous quarrel with Justice

Goold, of Munster, over the paltry seignory of Tarbert. At length, when the flames of rebellion were well alight in the province, Justice Goold said (p. 282) that Sir Geffrey might then have seignories "good cheap." Sir Thomas Norreys considered that Sir Henry Wallop, unless overruled, would yield him hard measure. But the sternest quarrel of all was that between the Earl of Ormonde and Captain Thomas Lee. The latter had been charged by Captain Charles Montague with divers treasons and cruelties, and had been committed to the Castle of Dublin. Ormonde seemed inclined to believe the charges, and a report on them by the Attorney-General for Ireland was forwarded to Burghley. The case was thoroughly gone into, and divers witnesses examined, but, after an imprisonment of several months, Captain Lee was set at liberty. Shortly after, he brought a series of accusations against Ormonde, tending to prove that the latter was the cause of all the late rebellions in Ireland, and that he was working for his own ambitious projects in league with Tyrone. There was deemed to be sufficient *primâ facie* evidence to justify the notification of these charges to England. Ormonde had laid himself open to attack on many points, and Captain Lee worked them all into his narrative with considerable skill. The Earl's special care of his own territories, his oftentimes ill-advised protections to rebels, his absences from Dublin, his private talks with Tyrone at the parleys with that leader, his dealings with several Irish chiefs, are all commented on as parts of one broad scheme of treason. There are graphic reports of Captain Lee's appearance before the Council, and of his interviews with divers members of the Government. He proposed turning the rebels on to the estates of Ormonde, to devastate them, and expressed ability to effect this. Such a suggestion, of course, involved treason, and

Captain Lee was once more committed to Dublin Castle ; but the ostensible reason given for this act was his persuading James FitzPiers, the Sheriff of Kildare, not to answer the summons of the Council for the latter's appearance before them. From his prison Captain Lee wrote to the Privy Council, praying for leave to repair to England, to make known his plot to their Lordships.

The character and drift of the Government may be gathered from such divisions in high places. There is a querulous, pessimist tone running through all the letters and despatches. Some found that it was "in vain for any man to endeavour to serve (or almost to live) in Ireland, but with infinite disparagement, unless he be well backed in England" (p. 53). Fenton, whose position as Secretary of the Council gave him such special opportunities of judging, talks with great frankness of the disorders and corruptions of the Government. He speaks of "the lamentable confusions" prevailing, and of the "poor realm now groaning in misery." He wants to know when Sir Robert Cecil returns from France to the Court, "that I may still trouble you with the intelligences of Ireland, which as yet are far from any delight, either for your Honour to receive them, or for me to write them" (p. 96). In another letter to Cecil, he refers to "the unsavoury events of this kingdom, which daily do multiply to worse" (p. 173). When recommending Sir Anthony Sentleger to the favour of Sir Robert, Fenton states (p. 283), "If many other Her Majesty's Ministers, employed in office here, were of the like temperature, it would give no small furtherance to the recovering of this decayed estate, and repurging the government of sundry corruptions, which, but by changing some capital officers, will hardly be wrought out." Cecil, on his part, writes to Sir Conyers Clifford

(p. 401), "we are vexed with a world of difficulties, how to pour out water enough from hence to quench the fire in Ireland"; and tells Sir Henry Wallop (pp. 389, 390), that "in these public misfortunes, and the continual vexations which that kingdom affords, you must pardon us, that are public ministers, if we write sorely, being daily partakers of Her Majesty's mislikes of all things that belong to that country, in which I cannot blame her." If Elizabeth made matters very uncomfortable for the Privy Council in England, she did not spare the Government in Ireland. Having found fault with the Lords Justices for their expenditure on extraordinary charges, she received answer from them that, during the five months they had been in office, they had not charged Her Majesty more than 23% on that head. This was in April, 1598. Thus early, also, had she noticed the division in the Council. In April, the Lords Justices declare to her that they "have lived together as brethren, and have cherished all good concurrency with the Lord Lieutenant." Next month, in a letter written in conjunction with Ormonde, they state to the Privy Council, that they have been careful amongst themselves "to hold firm unity and agreement." After the disaster near Armagh, Elizabeth sent a characteristic scolding to the Council, in which she declared bluntly that there was "no person, be he never of so vulgar judgment, but doth plainly see notorious errors in that Government" (p. 258). Three months later, the Queen, receiving "nought else but news of new losses and calamities in that State," told the Council that she had determined to "look into the growing causes of these continual streams of miseries and confusion, wherewith all parts of that our kingdom are overflown" (p. 387).

Contention and emulation were rampant among the English in Munster as in Leinster. An important witness tells us (p. 429), "they could not be content to scrape from the Irishry, but one inveighing and suing the other, troubling the courts, and disquieting the country. The English gentleman in Leix and Offally contended among themselves. In Munster they jarred one with another, so that the Mayor of Cork gave forth that most suits depending before him were between the Englishry. The inhabitants of Curryglasse were so famous, [seeing] they were never quiet, while they had a penny in their purses, but arresting and binding to the peace, that they were called the clampers of Curryglasse." This witness gives a graphic sketch (pp. 429-431) of the rascaldom that came from England, "and other countries," to various parts of Ireland, even amongst the clergy, but admits there were "many wise, godly, and virtuous" among the immigrants.

The views entertained by the English of the Irish are, in these papers, very much the same as those indicated by the documents in the last volume of this Calendar. Perhaps the views may be summarized in the proverb on page 22, "Irish games have Irish tricks." Sir Conyers Clifford speaks of the Irish as "a fickle, inconstant people, and of necessity sometimes to be humoured, according to their own natures" (p. 192). Ormonde, on more than one occasion, expressed his opinion that no extremity, by fire, sword, famine, or otherwise, was too bad for the rebels. Chief Justice Saxey of Munster speaks of the people in very bitter terms (pp. 396, 397), and considered they ought never to be entrusted with authority, or with the possession of armour and weapons. After charging them

with idolatry, treachery, and savagery, this runaway from his post adds, "I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than dwell in the tents of the ungodly." The charge of bribery brought against the Irish was, of course, two-edged. The Earl of Clanrickarde was understood to pay a "benevolence" or "black rent" of 200*l.* or 300*l.* annually, to some about the State, for helping him to his Earldom, and for bearing him out on all occasions. Sometimes the bribery was in kind. Irishmen would prey the goods of civilians, and yield a portion to some one in authority, to procure their protection and pardon (p. 17). It was said (p. 430) that Sir Thomas Norreys favoured the Irish more than the English in suits before him, for the "Irishman brought somewhat in his hand, and the English came empty, and empty he came away." The same witness also says, "the corruption of the "Governors, magistrates, and Council in general, hath "deserved this plague [*i.e.* the rebellion and devastation "in Munster]. The Irishry desireth no better than a "bad cause, and a great bribe to give; then doubteth he "not but he shall speed; and such is the nature of them "that, when they have corrupted any, they will be the "first that will bewray it" (p. 431). State pledges in Dublin Castle were frequently got out of prison and exchanged for divers sums of money. But perhaps the most barefaced of all the bribes recorded in this volume, is that offered to Sir Robert Cecil by Richard Hadsor, the "Solicitor for Irish causes," on behalf of the sureties of Philip O'Reilly. Hadsor writes, "and for your "Honour's furtherance of this their suit, upon the effecting thereof, I will be ready to gratify you with forty "pounds" (p. 155).

Bribery, however, is not as bad as assassination. In the last volume of this Calendar, it was shown how Lord Burgh had entertained an offer for the killing of the Earl

of Tyrone. On June 25, 1598, Fenton, writing to Cecil, hints at a like method for disposing of the rebel Chief ; “ for now the axe is laid to the tree, I hope some branches “ will be cut off ere it be long ; and it is high time that “ either the corrupt trunk of the tree be cut down, or “ some of his principal boughs be shred off ” (p. 191). On August 4, in another letter to Cecil, Fenton points still more clearly to assassination ; “ for the other greater “ matter mentioned in your Honour’s letter, though I “ know it will be difficult to draw one dog to bite of “ another, and more desperate to find an axe to strike “ down at one blow a great oak that hath grown up in “ many years, yet I will cause the ford to be sounded, to “ see if there may be found a passage that way ” (p. 221). A Scot, writing to Cecil, tells him of a body guard of two hundred musketeers kept by the Earl of Tyrone. The greater part of these were “ Argyle men, naturally “ avaricious, bloody, and covetous ; who for money “ will refuse to enterprise or perform no murder.” The Scot “ pauts ” his head that he will get Tyrone killed by these men, if Cecil will only say, *Amen, fiat*. Finally, on October 21, Ormonde puts the matter to Cecil in plain words, thus : “ My Lord, your father, before his death, “ did signify unto me Her Majesty’s pleasure to give head- “ money to such as would cut off any of the principal “ traitors in action, according to the quality of the rebel “ to be cut off ; which warrant, I pray you, may be now “ renewed, hoping I may find some willing to take that “ service in hand.” Thus we have not only Lord Burgh and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, but the Earl of Ormonde, Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Burghley, and the Queen herself, countenancing the use of assassination.

The scarcity in Ireland continued to be intense and widespread. The Privy Council were certified in February, 1598, that “ such is the universal scarcity here of all

“ kinds of victuals, as, in many parts of Leinster and the English Pale, the common people are already driven to eat horseflesh, and do keep shambles for the buying and selling thereof, as they would do for other usual kinds of food ” (p. 62). Fenton speaks of “ the pitiful cry of the people, entered already into famine ” (p. 68). On another occasion he says, “ the country is bare, and yieldeth small helps ” (p. 124). In a memorial delivered by Sir Calisthenes Brooke to the Privy Council, that officer states that the people in Connaught had “ already eaten their garrans, which should plough ; and, at his coming away, they lived on the ground, and ate dogs’ flesh ” (p. 153). In another memorial, the people, preyed on by both the soldiers and the rebels, are said to have nothing left to feed upon, “ but roots, grass, and boiled nettles ” (p. 209). Later in the year there was a good supply of corn in Munster, but a large portion of this was destroyed in the rebellion.

The state of the army in Ireland, during the fifteen months covered by this volume, was one of corruption, discontent and suffering. Maurice Kyffin died in the first few days of 1598, and Sir Ralph Lane obtained once more absolute control of the musters. But there were the usual complaints as to the dilatoriness with which he sent in his certificates. Later on, Birkinshawe was sent over to continue Kyffin’s work. At one time the Privy Council asked for an account of the “ bodies, armour, and weapons ” of 7,466 men, that had been sent at sundry times out of England into Ireland. The Council answered (pp. 63 and 138), that the most of the men had been “ altered and transposed ” from one Captain to another, before the Lords Justices came into office, that many of them, by the ill-handling of their Captains, had been “ changed from English to Irish,” that many had been discharged without

their knowledge, and that it was impossible for them to give any certain account. Long after, Ormonde wrote over to the Queen, "I am yet of opinion that the strength certified is far greater than they are in deed" (p. 455). This is borne out by the completed returns of Birkinshawe, who found (p. 488) that, out of 14,000 men on the list in Ireland, 4,000 were wanting. The Queen, as Fenton says, was "charged to pay shadows and not men." Troops, arms, money, victuals, and munition, were sent from time to time into Ireland, and disappeared, as though in some Serbonian bog. Elizabeth made ordinances for the regulation of her forces in the country, but they were not carried out, and her officers told her so. The Captains, in their "humble requests" to the Privy Council, pray that Her Majesty's instructions for the weekly lendings to the soldiers and for their provant clothes may be observed. They ask also that the lendings may be brought by the paymasters under the protection of convoys to the garrisons distant from Dublin, and that the Captains may not have "to fetch the money with the number of eight soldiers, which is dangerous and exceeding chargeable." When any proportion of treasure arrived at Dublin, the State would deliberate and delay over its issue, and thus discontent the army. This further caused the Captains to be "lodgers, beggars, and petitioners" in Dublin for means for themselves and the soldiers, when it was requisite that they should be at their commands. According to Sir Ralph Lane, the monthly charge of the army was, 15,038*l.* 16*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* (p. 482). According to Sir Geffrey Fenton, it was 17,000*l.* (p. 489). The charge of the army for "one year and five long months," viz. October 1, 1597, to February 28, 1599, was 250,963*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* (p. 483). Fenton tells us how "round proportions of treasure" were sent over expressly for payment of the soldiers' lend-

ings, and yet that the Queen continued greatly indebted to the army, and the country and towns not satisfied of the sums due to them. Fenton adds, "it is beyond my reach."

As to arrears of pay, the case of the garrison at Carrickfergus may serve as an instance. Colonel Egerton writes, on October 9, that they had had no pay whatever from the 26th of the previous May, and that his petitioning of the State was in vain. The garrison had likewise received no victuals during the same period. Ormonde tells how the men under him had received but two months' pay during eight months, and that the soldiers were without "almost any apparel meet for men" (p. 334). The Lords Justices and Council state (p. 357) how it grieves them to see the nakedness and poverty of the soldiers, "who show like "prisoners, half-starved for want of cherishing." The Council looked for some great mutiny, borrowed some 4,000*l.* on their joint bonds, lent their own money, and put their plate to pawn. One document, endorsed by Cecil, "Captains that steal from Ireland" (p. 462), tells how certain officers conveyed away provisions from the country, and sold them at La Rochelle. Sir Samuel Bagenall saw some of the soldiers of the Newry garrison "fall dead in "marching, with very poverty and want of victuals" (p. 476). Several garrisons were on the point of disbanding. In the case of that at Newry, in February 1598, the lendings and victuals were apportioned according to Sir Henry Bagenall's certificate, but the Marshal had made no mention of the absent and sick soldiers. A mutiny followed. The result may be told in the words of Richard Wackely (p. 59): "In the end, James Carroll, the pay-master, being sent hither from the State with their "lendings, the soldiers having understanding of his entry "into the town, a number of them, having set themselves

“ in the streets and in certain ‘ castels ’ for the purpose,
 “ did so batter him with a fury of snowballs, that he fell
 “ off from his horse ; whom they prosecuted nevertheless
 “ with that tempest and rage, that, if the Captains, Lieu-
 “ tenants, and officers, had not speedily come in to his
 “ rescue, he had died in the place ; and much ado they
 “ had to thrust him into a house, and to save the treasure ;
 “ neither durst he, whilst he remained in the town about
 “ the issuing of the said treasure, once for his life go out
 “ of the door ; but, having delivered it to Mr. Marshal in
 “ the night, stole away by water.” The next day the
 officers had great difficulty in preventing the men from
 abandoning the town, and only quieted them by promise of
 relief before the end of the month.

Soldiers, and generally untrained ones, were sent over
 to Ireland, and landed without respect to their future
 victualling. If appointed to remote garrisons, forced
 marches wearied them, change of diet and lodging (when
 they got any) weakened them, they lost heart, dispersed
 and ran away, lost or sold their arms, and thus, within
 three months, newly arrived companies were reduced to
 skeleton bands. The Captains state (p. 149), “ It is well
 “ known, and of truth to be avouched, that there have
 “ been divers garrisons in many places of Ireland, which
 “ have lived without the taste of bread or drink, but with
 “ relief only of beef-water, some the space of six months,
 “ some eight, some more.” On November 6, Sir Richard
 Bingham writes to the Queen (p. 340), “ It is strange to see
 “ how suddenly our new English soldiers doth (*sic*) decay ;
 “ for, of the last thousand, one fourth part are run away,
 “ and many of the rest so poor and simple as [to be]
 “ utterly unserviceable.” Partly to counteract this con-
 stant loss of men, it was urged by the Council (p. 330),
 that it would be to good purpose, for the suppressing of

Tyrone, to employ some Scots, who were "inured to the manner of the Irish war, and specially to tread the bog and the bush." It was also thought that the waging of these Scots would blight the hopes of the rebels, who expected aid both in men and munition from Scotland, and that thus Tyrone would be deprived of his supplies from that country. Sir Richard Bingham thought that "a regiment or two of Scots would do exceeding good service" (p. 447). A Scot, writing to Cecil, tells (p. 437) "how abundant in people Argyleshire is, and how many men yearly and daily go thence to Tyrone. They are like the Irish in suffering of cold, hunger, and long marches, and are a great deal more desperate." He says they had nothing to look for at Tyrone's hands, but what they could steal, and that they would be glad to serve Elizabeth for even a little pay. Two regiments of "Scottish Irishmen, with English leaders," would be more easily maintained than one English regiment. "They also may at all times be sent forth to all desperate service and enterprises, and will meet the Irish in their own form of fight, and without all question overcome them, if they have cunning commanders and leaders."

Numerous documents in this volume will show how the soldiers were stinted, and often utterly deprived of money, victual, and arms. The consequence was that they lived upon the people, and extortion and violence were the order of the day. Hugh Tudor, the experienced servant of Maurice Kyffin, tells (p. 208) how leisurely the troops marched through the country, taking meat and drink of the best. The officers also would urge their "hosts" every morning "to give them three, four, or five shillings a-piece; to every soldier, 12*d.* or 2*s.*; to every one of their women as much; to every boy 6*d.* or 8*d.* at least. If they had it not, then they carried away for pawns,

“ garrans, coverlets, mantles, sheets, and other household “ stuffs, and sold them at their pleasure.” Thus the subjects in the Pale, and elsewhere, became “ the most “ miserable, wretched nation under the sun, dying daily “ for hunger”; and some, for very necessity, revolted and went to the rebels. Tudor himself saw “ very “ ancient men, truly affirmed to have been rich farmers “ in the English Pale, sufficiently able in their time “ to have entertained the Lord Deputy for a night or “ two, go a begging”; and these had been spoiled, not by the rebels, but by the soldiers. Meantime the pay of the men was running on, and the Captains were demanding from the Government large sums as due to them for the entertainment of their companies. Tudor further speaks (p. 209) of the Captains’ “ rich apparel, to maintain their “ pride and lasciviousness, their drunkenness and quaffing “ carouses, their tobacco, and tobacco pipes.” Sometimes the Captains would get into as needy a state as their men, and then they would sell their bills and reckonings for a fraction of their worth. Those Captains of horse, who had estates in the country, made their tenants serve in their bands, and put the whole of the Queen’s pay into their own purses. Some Captains of foot companies bribed Councillors with one half of the pay, both of themselves and of their soldiers. As to clothing, Captain Mostyn says he had often seen the soldiers that came from England lie a whole month, or a quarter of a year, in their clothes, “ without shifting,” and very often travel through cold and wet, the clothes thus becoming in short time unserviceable. Captain Stafford writes of some soldiers, received by him at Chester for transportation to Ireland, that the Buckinghamshire men were “ both the worst men “ and worst apparelled of all the 800. Some of the “ Londoners, and many of the rest ill apparelled, and all

“ London cassocks made of northern cloth, which by wet
“ doth so much shrink that they will this winter stand
“ them in little stead.” The Council announce that, for
over 9,000 men in list in Ireland, only 5,000 suits of
apparel had been received (p. 458). When the merchants’
figures came to be examined, it was found that the
suits numbered 2,500, instead of 5,000 (p. 464.) This
occurred in the depth of winter, January, 1599; and the
Council feared “ a dangerous mutiny.” Very strong
appeals were made to Sir Robert Cecil, as formerly there
had been to Lord Burghley, to clothe the soldiers in Irish
materials, frieze stockings, brogues, and, above all, the
Irish mantle, “ for want of which the soldiers lying abroad,
“ marching, and keeping watch and ward in cold and wet
“ in the winter time, die in the Irish ague and in flux
“ most pitifully.” It is remarkable that all that Cecil
wrote on the margin of this appeal was; “ our difficulty
“ in this article is, that by this means the English shall
“ become in apparel barbarous; which hath hitherto
“ been avoided ” (p. 251; *see also* p. 149). And so the
soldiers were left to rot, to keep up the fashion.

With regard to gunpowder, Captains and subordinate
officers were charged with taking out barrels of the same
from store, on pretence of using it in immediate service,
and then many times selling, pledging, or otherwise
exchanging the same. Further (p. 252), the soldier was
very sparing in the powder he took out, as he was charged
according to the amount. The result was that the army,
and particular forces, were frequently endangered, and
opportune service was lost. In the skirmish that Ormonde
had with the rebels near Dublin, on June 13, 1598, his
men wanted powder at the first attack, but Ormonde
managed to keep the affair secret. And it will be remem-
bered that, both in the rout of Sir John Chichester’s

forces near Carrickfergus, and in the retreat of Sir Conyers Clifford from Ballyshannon, the supply of powder ran short. Even at the disaster near Armagh, related in this volume, a portion of the force were without powder, but this may be accounted for by the double explosion. As to arms, those issued from England were by no means always of the best. Sir George Bouchier writes (p. 79) that formerly the Captains "were wont, at their own charge, to
" provide amongst merchants such swords, girdles, and like
" necessities as the soldiers wanted (the same being never
" hitherto provided by Her Majesty)," but that they were no longer able to do so. He begs that, if any supply be made at the Queen's charge, either his servant may be imprest the money to provide the swords, or, if Burghley considers the same should be included in the proportion out of the Tower of London, that the provision may be made somewhat by his servant's choice; "for that, if the
" like be sent hither, which are accustomed to be brought
" over of the country's provision, when they set forth
" soldiers, the same will never be issued, but remain in
" store till rust and decay grow upon them, as it hath done
" upon curates [cuirasses] and many other arms, which
" now lie as old remains not worth anything, to Her
" Majesty's great hindrance."

The fate of wounded soldiers was not encouraging to their more fortunate comrades. Captain Mostyn relates that he had often seen the carriage of two or three "hurt" men the occasion of the killing of a great number; "the longer they be carried, the more danger
" and trouble shall be with them." Of course, during any expedition some of the men would be hurt each day, and
" when they are hurt in any running camps, how little
" soever it be, unless the wounded man be able to shift
" for himself, or have great friends in the camp (which

“ every common soldier hath not), he is but lost, and so
“ the longer they are forth, the more will increase their
“ wounded men, and will be troublesome unto the soldiers,
“ and hinder the service. And if the soldiers see their
“ fellows miscarry upon some small hurts, they will have
“ no courage to show themselves forward in service ;
“ which to the contrary, if they do see and know, if that
“ they be hurt, they are marching from the service to
“ their garrison place, and to their warm beds to surgery,
“ there is no doubt but each soldier will put forwards his
“ best foot, and show himself most valiant ” (p. 386).
With all the foregoing troubles and corruption in the army,
no wonder Sir Conyers Clifford thought that, though the
war in Ireland was not one “ of great name,” it was “ as
“ painful and dangerous as any war, and as necessary for
“ Her Majesty to end ; for it is a true sink of her treasure,
“ and a waste of good subjects ” (p. 131). The Captains,
too, state that “ the war in Ireland is well known to be the
“ most miserable war for travail, toil, and famine, in the
“ world ” (p. 147).

So dilatory were the Government in paying the towns
and country for the diet of the soldiers, that at last many
refused to give any supplies except for ready money.
This was the case even in Dublin itself, which, as the
chief thoroughfare of troops sent over for service in
Ireland, had borne peculiarly heavy burdens. It is not
generally known, however, that to a Mayor of Dublin
belongs the honour of having first proposed the establish-
ment in that city of a hospital for sick and wounded
soldiers. Nearly a century before the foundation of the
present Royal Hospital, Nicholas Weston, who had so
often befriended the army with supplies, sometimes
against “ the murmur of his brethren,” laid down his
plan for such an institution, combining with it a plan

for the manufacture by the inhabitants of Dublin of better clothes for the soldiers. The papers on this subject will be found on pages 295-298.

In striking contrast with the condition of the English army is the state of the rebel forces. The documents calendared here reveal no hunger, nakedness, non-payment, or bad arms in that quarter. It is true Tyrone's men required little food, clothing, or pay, but there is no complaint from them on those points. As to arms, they bought them, not only in the towns in times of truce, but also from the English soldiers, who sold theirs for food. Powder and munition came to Tyrone from Spain and Scotland, and even English merchants were not above dealing with him. Birmingham and Liverpool sold him arms. The intelligence department of the rebel forces was extremely able and successful. Sometimes Irish soldiers in the Queen's service would give valuable information to their fellow-countrymen in times of truce or protection (p. 249). William Paule, the Commissary in Ulster, says, in reference to one of the expeditions of Lord Burgh, "It was a common[ly] received opinion, " settled amongst us in the camp, that the rebels had " such certain particular intelligence from us continually " that, if the Deputy took horse but at any time to ride " abroad, or to take the air, they should forthwith have " perfect notice given them, both of the fashion of the " apparel which he wore on that day, as likewise of " the colour and stature of the horse he rode upon. And " further, it cannot be denied but that they were made " privy to our wants always as soon as ourselves" (p. 18). Paule thinks this intelligence could not have come only from the enemy's "bare-breeched spies," and speaks of the treachery of English officers, two of whom he mentions by name. Ormonde tells Burghley (p. 66),

“ I am sorry the traitors know our wants as well as
“ ourselves, and the weakness of our forces, which putteth
“ them into exceeding pride ;” and Fenton writes to the
same effect (p. 124). The Lords Justices and Council
say after the disaster near Armagh (p. 227), “ the enemies
“ will multiply and insult, knowing how weak we are,
“ as well in commanders as in men.” Although the
Government, both in England and Ireland, distrusted the
Irish soldiers in the service, chiefly for their treachery
and desertion, yet the Captains were not slow to recruit
their bands with Irishmen, and even to discharge English
soldiers, to replace them with Irish ones. In both cases,
the object was, as Elizabeth puts it, “ to cover their
“ frauds, and to make gain” (p. 258). Thus it came
about that three-fourths of the army consisted of Irishmen.
Vigorous steps were at last taken to reduce their numbers
gradually, for the consequences of a general disbanding
were feared. The Lords Justices, Ormonde, and the
Council actually suggested (p. 138) that the Irish soldiers
should be drawn away to service in the Low Countries
or France, under some Commander whom they would
trust, “ whereby this realm may be rid of them.” The
Privy Council replied (p. 156), “ we see not any
“ opportunity how to effect the same.” For the rebel
forces there was undisguised respect, so far as their
fighting qualities were concerned, and the English
authorities sought to counteract the effect of these by
endeavouring to sow dissensions amongst the rebel leaders.
Sir Ralph Lane’s opinion has already been given above.
Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes (p. 142) to Sir Robert Cecil,
“ without a strong faction to be raised amongst them-
“ selves, it will be a chargeable work to suppress them.”
He adds, “ that it will trouble the greatest captain in
“ Europe to prevail against these rebels, so borne up

“ by foreign princes, without working some of them to “ Her Majesty’s part, and to serve against them.” Sir Richard Bingham thought that nothing had so much overthrown Ireland, as “the universal arming” of the Irish, and considered that strict order would have to be taken thereupon in the future (p. 447). Edmund Spenser wrote of the hatred of the Irish for the English, and gives this opinion as to the suppression of the rebellion (p. 433); “great force must be the instrument, “ but famine must be the mean; for, till Ireland be “ famished, it cannot be subdued.”

In accordance with the fifth instruction to editors of calendars, given by the Master of the Rolls, by which it is directed that “striking peculiarities of expression, pro- “ verbs, manners, &c., are to be noticed,” the following examples may be cited, in addition to those already quoted in this preface:—“mischief a brewing” [p. 16]; “pal-houiste or sorcerer,” “have an use,” “I am in for a byrer” [p. 17]; “such smoke could not be without some secret fire,” “maniples or battalions” [p. 19]; “delaied” (diluted) [p. 22]; “to have two strings to his bow,” “to keep two strings to his bow” [pp. 24 and 372]; “voluntary men” (volunteers) [p. 24]; “one mece (? mess) of milk” [p. 25]; “dispended” (expended) [p. 28]; “have an eye to” [p. 30]; “impovereth” [p. 32]; “*mortui non mordent*” [p. 54]; “if God had not tentred our garrison” [p. 70]: “*recipitur voluntas pro facto*”; “cursed Her Majesty, bell, book, and candle” [p. 74]; “preded,” or “preaded” (preyed) [pp. 75 and 77]; “took a breath in the matter” [p. 81]; “is at a great afterdeal” (disadvantage) [p. 84]; “some pad in the straw” [p. 91]; “regiment” (command) [p. 97]; “turn over the leaf” [p. 115]; “revealing tales out of school” [p. 154]; “carriages” (*impedimenta*) [p. 161]; “to be a backset (support) for him” [p. 163];

“stop (as the rural proverb is) two bracks with one bush” [p. 164]; “commoning” of wrongs [p. 174]; “temper” (temporise) [p. 177]; “cirichts” [p. 178]; “evicted some islands” (for, evicted people from them) [pp. 179, 327, 355, &c.]; “for anempst” [p. 180]; “was crossing to have any dispatch” (taking measures to prevent any dispatch) [p. 193]; “brabbling” [p. 204]; “*mala parva mala dilabuntur*” [p. 210]; “prepare for my long home” [p. 213]; “one foot is already in my grave” [p. 223]; ten muskets “with their furnitures”; “on sea-board” (on board ship) [p. 245]; “solde” (pay) [p. 255]; “some new overthwarts” (obstacles) [p. 265]; “to put for” (undertake) [p. 274]; “mawgur the berd” (despite the beard) [p. 319]; “cursitors” (runners) [p. 320]; “inland Scots” as opposed to “Scots-Irish” [p. 330]; “fall together by the ears” [p. 332]; “powldred” their prey [p. 336]; “have got such a fore hand” [p. 339]; “wear hose or breeches, after the English manner” [p. 342]; “make fair weather with them” [pp. 343, 451]; “build castles vainly in the skies” [p. 349]; “paireth” (groweth worse; French *pire*) [p. 352]; “to put toys (fancies) into the people’s heads” [p. 356]; “to leave (raise; French *lever*) me up” [p. 359]; “maled up with a malinge corde” (French *malle*) [p. 385]; “nugation” (trifle) [p. 417]; “judicial” (judicious) [p. 418]; “undertaking courages” [p. 420]; “to himwards” [p. 421]; “conycatchers” [p. 429; cf. “conycatched” p. 369]; “*cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*” [p. 429]; “shameless dealings have shameless answers”; “trooses” (? trews) [p. 430]; “inhabitance” [p. 432]; “brought out of square,” “intermixtion” (intermixture) [p. 434]; “did more ambite” (were more ambitious); “unthrifths” (spendthrifths) [p. 435]; “deleve” (deliver) [p. 436]; “dilling”; “paud” (wager) [p. 437]; “break

the ice of that enterprise"; "expedite" (expeditious); "homelings" (natives); "valiance" (valour) [p. 439]; "original" (origin); "aneere" (approximate) [p. 440]; "it skills (matters) not" [p. 441]; "new lords, new laws" [p. 442]; "garryzed" (garrisoned); "contain" (continue); "a black swan" [p. 443]; "impedite" (impede) [p. 451]; "mewed me up" [p. 460]; "to be even with" [p. 461]; "have correspondency" (co-operate) [p. 463]; "has made an atonement with" (has been reconciled to) [p. 463]; "could not claw this coast" [p. 488]; "had his hands oiled with the oil of angels" [p. 499]; "powerable" (powerful); "when the thieves go to execution, the judges ride away" [p. 501]; "all was fish that came to net"; "as clean plucked as though he had come from the poulterers" [p. 505]; "gallymanfry knaves"; "as the old proverb is, it was not for nothing the cat winked, when both her eyes were out"; "called a chapel of ill counsel"; "gaped to see which way the world would wag"; "martlemas men"; "to rule the roast"; "I smell him as far as the Old Bailey"; "by the pity of a pilchard"; "Kilkenny visions"; "one wolf will not prey upon another" [p. 506].

Attention may be called to the following:—William Paule's account of Lord Burgh's last illness; the charges against Ormonde's secretary; the papers on the Stanton family; the letters in commendation of the famous Puritan divine, Provost Travers, of Trinity College, Dublin; the proposal to send State despatches by the post, to save the expense of special messengers (p. 344); the plan for "the reformation of Ulster," by settling Dutch there, as the nation "fittest and aptest" for such an enterprise; the workings of Dr. Cragh, or Creagh, Father Archer, and other priests, against the Government; the state of the clergy in Ireland (pp. 430, 431); the reports by Chief

Justice Saxey on the state of Munster; the advices of Spanish preparations against England and Ireland (among the pensioners of the Spanish king is one "Mr. Fawxe," at 15 crowns a month); the Welsh origin of Tyrone (p. 462); Sir Warham Sentleger's losses; the "stages of the new posts laid for the service of Ireland," *viâ* Holyhead and Bristol; and the "Book on the state of Ireland," with which this volume concludes. The author of the last speaks of the importance of keeping Ireland, "being the "part (although chargeable) that doth serve for a back "armour to England."

ERNEST G. ATKINSON.

September, 1895.

IRELAND.

ELIZABETH.

VOL. CCII., PART 1. 1598. JANUARY—MARCH.

1597-8.

Jan. 3.
Dublin.

1. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. "I, the Lord Lieutenant General, being returned three days past from a parley.

ERRATA.

Page 10, line 23. For *Lord Deputies* read *Lords Deputy*.

" 161, " 19. For *Glynus* read *Glynns*.

" 227, " 2 from bottom. For *fome* read *some*.

" 303, " 6 from bottom. After *No.* insert *137*.

" 405, " 27. For *Hooper* read *Hopper*.

" 482, " 32. For *Hunt* read *Huel*.

" 502, " 4. For *Sir Henry* read *Sir Hugh*.

Lord Lieutenant, and the rest, did not only reprove him for them, but also did reject the articles, insomuch as, when Tyrone pressed them upon me, to send them to Her Majesty, I assured him that the next fire I came to, I would burn them. For our parts, we think that these petitions, and the other impertinent additions inserted in his book of grievances, may derive as much from some others, that are inwardly discontented with Her Majesty's Government, though they forbear apparently to show it, as from himself. And yet, out of what root soever they spring, it cannot but savour much of an ill mind in him, to be the patron of them, and to present them to Her Majesty's Lieutenant General; a course which, in former treaties with other Commissioners, he did not use, and therefore the moresuspicious that he is not now so well inclined to conformity as he seemeth to pretend. Yet I, the Lord Lieutenant, am of opinion that, if I had had warrant to receive him thoroughly to Her Majesty's mercy, and to give him peace

IRELAND.

ELIZABETH.

VOL. CCII., PART 1. 1598. JANUARY—MARCH.

1597-8.

Jan. 3.
Dublin.

1. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. "I, the Lord Lieutenant General, being returned three days past from a parley, which I had with Tyrone near Dundalk, wherein I was assisted by the Bishop of Meath and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, have acquainted us, the Lord Justices and the rest, with my proceedings there, amongst which, I have showed Tyrone's submission, subscribed with his hand, and certain articles, which I and my assistants prescribed to him, for the better observation of Her Majesty's peace, and other things requisite for Her Highness's service. And likewise I have shown Tyrone's book of grievances, with another writing, containing some petitions of his; the doubles of all which we have sent to your Lordships herewith, humbly leaving them to your Lordships' consideration; though, for our parts, we find cause of great dislike in Tyrone, both for some points in his book, containing sundry matters not being done since he entered into rebellion, and, if they had been done, yet altogether impertinent to him; and also for the greater part of his petitions, being, for the matter they contain, over haughty and insolent for one in his condition to make offer of to his Prince. In which respect, I, the Lord Lieutenant, and the rest, did not only reprove him for them, but also did reject the articles, inasmuch as, when Tyrone pressed them upon me, to send them to Her Majesty, I assured him that the next fire I came to, I would burn them. For our parts, we think that these petitions, and the other impertinent additions inserted in his book of grievances, may derive as much from some others, that are inwardly discontented with Her Majesty's Government, though they forbear apparently to show it, as from himself. And yet, out of what root soever they spring, it cannot but savour much of an ill mind in him, to be the patron of them, and to present them to Her Majesty's Lieutenant General; a course which, in former treaties with other Commissioners, he did not use, and therefore the moresuspicious that he is not now so well inclined to conformity as he seemeth to pretend. Yet I, the Lord Lieutenant, am of opinion that, if I had had warrant to receive him thoroughly to Her Majesty's mercy, and to give him peace

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for two or three years, as he did desire, that he would have forborne to pester his book with such arrogant matters; and I think still he will not be so stiff in urging these matters further, if he be once assured that Her Majesty will have him thoroughly dealt withal for his recovery, and will send authority and direction for the same; but this we leave to the event, and to Her Majesty's resolution how she will have him proceeded withal. In the meanwhile, I, the Lord Lieutenant, have given him an abstinence from prosecution for two months, from the 22nd of the last, by which respite is gotten the victualling of the fort of Blackwater for five or six months, without raising Her Majesty's army, or stirring the country for the same. Neither could that fort have been relieved by Her Majesty's forces, if it had been put to that trial, for that all the companies, both of horse and foot, are so extremely weak, impoverished, and decayed, as out of eighteen companies of foot, which I, the Lord Lieutenant, had with me at the borders for that purpose, I could not draw 600 men meet to carry into the field; and the residue of Her Majesty's army, dispersed in Connaught and other places, hold the same proportion for poverty and weakness, the bodies of the men being so miserable in show (as I, the Lord Lieutenant, and my assistants now viewed them at Dundalk), as they resemble more prisoners, and men worn out in body and mind with some hard afflictions, than soldiers meet to serve a Prince; which lamentable state of the army doth not a little grieve us, considering we have no means to relieve them, but have from time to time done our best to contain them with hopes and promises, which might be some comfort to them, but gave no relief to their necessities. And particularly for their apparel, which was promised to be sent long since, and but a small proportion as yet come, the want thereof doth not a little discourage them, for that they depended altogether upon it, forbearing to make other provisions for themselves against winter, inasmuch as they expected the coming of that. In our last letter of the 29th of November we wrote to your Lordships what proportion of that apparel was then arrived here, namely, 3,500 pair of shoes, 2,350 pair of stockings, 250 doublets, 400 shirts, and 1,300 hats; since which time we have not heard of any more, humbly praying your Lordships to give order for the sending of the rest with all possible speed, that they may be distributed to the companies, to help preserve them from the cold; which, in compassion of their nakedness, we are driven to urge more than we would, humbly beseeching your Lordships to bear with us therein. And likewise that your Lordships would haste away victuals, and money for their lendings, we having here no means to sustain them that way, such are the wants and poverty of this country, greatly increased since our former despatches, humbly assuring your Lordships, upon our duty and credit, that we can go no further than we have done touching those helps here. By which necessity both the discontentments of the country are still increased through the burthen of the soldiers, who are driven to range from their garrisons to seek relief of the subjects (who make that a cause of breach of the composition), and also the soldiers do become more

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loose and less dutiful, and in time may grow to greater contempts of discipline, seeing there is no provision made for their pay, clothing, and sustenance, though there hath been of late some example of justice by death done by me, the Lord Lieutenant, upon sundry of them offending in that point.

“Touching Tyrone’s motion made to me, the Lord Lieutenant, at this parley, for a thorough peace to be made with him and his adherents for two or three years, as is afore touched, we know not what to gather of his meaning therein, for, though for Her Majesty, we may consider thus much, that, by winning so long a time, he may think that Her Majesty, being weary of so great a charge of her army, would withdraw some part of her forces, and so leave the realm in less strength, and more open to his rebellion and the invasion of the Spaniards when they shall see opportunity; yet I, the Lord Lieutenant, and my assistants, in debating that point with him at the parley, seemed to gather that Tyrone’s meaning was that, by the benefit of such a time, he might recover fully Her Majesty’s favour, and by degrees grow into assurance of his safety, which he now so much doubteth, and likewise, that the rest, that have taken part with him in his disloyalty, might be wrought to their wonted duty and obedience, and be drawn to retire to some better trade of life, to live of their livings, without depending upon war and spoils. This is that which was observed in the parley touching that motion, and what we infer thereupon for Her Majesty. But, for our parts, we doubt their meaning is not so good in this point as they pretend; yet we humbly leave it to be further weighed by your Lordships, and that it would please you to have Her Majesty’s resolution expedited with all speed, whether it will please Her Highness to proceed further with him by way of prosecution; and in that course to enable us thoroughly with means and provisions, according to two former projects, conceived here and sent to your Lordships, the one dated in January 1595[-6], and the other in February 1596[-7]; or to have him further dealt withal for a thorough peace, as he desireth; and in that case to send authority and warrant to such as it shall please Her Majesty to employ therein, and to limit the conditions. Wherein, upon whether of these two choices it shall please Her Majesty to resolve, it is good that her pleasure be signified hither out of hand, to the end that, if Her Highness will have him proceeded withal to a peace, the time may be taken before the spring of the year, to the end to take from them, if it may be, their hope of the coming of Spaniards, from whom we have long time seen doth grow the chiefest countenance of all these rebellions in Ireland, and who, we assure ourselves, do cast every way to entangle Her Majesty, not only in this realm, but also in any other part of her dominions, where they may get entrance. And, albeit we have not so good means to discover the designs of that King as your Lordships have, yet, by all advertisements that come to us, we find that he beareth a deep sting of mind against Her Majesty, and hath a meaning to express it, specially against some parts of this land; and it is not

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unlike but he will this year put more timely to the sea than he is wont to do, considering his fleet and army are kept together (as we are advertised, and we have sent from time to time all our advertisements to your Lordships) in Ferrol and about Lisbon, ready to take every advantage of wind and weather; which we are bold to remember to your Lordships, and to leave to your consideration how requisite it is that some part of Her Majesty's ships of war be in the like readiness to be at sea before them, for the better surety of both the kingdoms; and particularly to regard the defence of some of the west parts of Ireland, as Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, where it is like they will make their descent, desiring your Lordships' direction to me, the Lord Lieutenant General, which of these places you will have me fortify, if you mean to have any fortifications made there.

"Touching other books of grievances and demands of O'Donnell, Maguire, and other Tyrone's adherents, they were not ready at the time of the parley, but, Tyrone promising they should be collected and sent to me, the Lord Lieutenant, and by me to be transmitted to your Lordships, that shall be performed, when the books shall be sent in, though we think they will be no other than have been sent to your Lordships before, and by you returned hither again, whereupon ensued the conclusions made with them all by Sir John Norreys and me, the Secretary, in April 1595. And yet, touching O'Donnell, there is reason to stand more doubtful of his conformity than of any of the rest, for that, being absent from this parley, he wrote letters to Tyrone in the time of the parley, full of arrogancy and pride, dissuading him from peace, inasmuch as he protested by his letter that, howsoever Tyrone should conclude with the English, he and M'William would never accord thereunto unless Sligo might be brought under him; alleging further, that he marvelled Tyrone would now proceed to agreement without him, considering that Connaught was at their devotion, and they were strong in Leinster, and Ulster as yet untouched. But the Earl of Thomond being sent to him afterwards at his own desire, two days after the shutting up of the parley, it seemeth by his report that O'Donnell made show of another mind; but of this the Earl of Thomond, who now repaireth to Her Majesty, and was present at all the parley with Tyrone, can make best relation to your Lordships.

"We have heard nothing as yet of the 900 soldiers to come out of Picardy, nor of the 2,000 which we wrote for supplies in the beginning of November last, to be here by Christmas; which we pray your Lordships to haste away with all speed, the rather for that the army (as formerly we have advertised) continueth weak by daily diminution of the numbers, both by death and running away to the enemy, and the rest that remain consisting upon Irish, three parts of four. And for such proportion of victuals of all kinds, as have arrived here since our last despatch, your Lordships shall receive herewith the Victualler's certificate thereof, both how it hath been issued, and what remain is left. And likewise we send to your Lordships herewith a list of all the companies of

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horse and foot in Her Majesty's pay for the field; which though they contain great numbers in roll, yet they are rather an army in description than in substance of men; so great is the diminution in numbers, besides their alteration into Irish, and other frauds to Her Majesty in her pay, which though we have laboured much to redress, and were in hope to repurge many abuses, yet now, by reason of Mr. Kyffin's sickness, who travailed faithfully in this matter, and now lieth at God's mercy, the remedy of these abuses will be more slow and defective, than otherwise it would, if he had health to stir abroad.

"Phelim M'Feagh, one of Feagh M'Hugh's sons, being sent for by me, the Lord Lieutenant General, came in yesterday, and made his personal submission, the double whereof we send herewith to your Lordships, his other brother remaining in the country upon protection. And being questioned withal by us to leave his dependency upon Tyrone, and rest only upon Her Majesty, whose subject he was, he made a scruple thereat, till he might be freed by license of Tyrone from his oath he had made to him, which is the case of all the rest of the Irish that have combined with him. Nevertheless, he said he would seek his release from him, which he doubted not to obtain within few days, and then, after the obtaining thereof, he would forsake Tyrone and all others, and depend upon none other than Her Majesty during his life; and further than this we could not draw him to at this time. But if it please Her Majesty to bestow his father's lands upon him and his brother at reasonable rents, we think it not much inconvenient to Her Majesty, so as they put in good pledges for their loyalty, which it is like they will do. And the regaining of them will be a good means to resettle that part of Leinster, though in some other parts, as, namely, in the county of Kildare, one of the Earl of Kildare's base brothers is now in open action, having drawn to him near 200 loose people, and specially the Connors, against whom there is now a force sent out for their prosecution. It may please your Lordships to send out of hand authority and direction for concluding with Feagh M'Hugh's sons, with whom, till we may know Her Majesty's further pleasure, we can take no other course than to keep them upon protection, and to live upon their friends. In the meanwhile it will be seen what they will be in duty towards Her Majesty, this man having already afore us taken his corporal oath not to attempt any hurt, directly or indirectly, to the fort of Rathdrum, being in his country, which fort now we have committed to the keeping of Captain Mountague, who hath undertaken to keep it with a lesser number of warders than before; and we have cut off the allowance of 10s. sterling *per diem* allowed before to Captain Lee for the same; as also we have cut off 10s. sterling *per diem*, allowed by the late Lord Burgh to Mr. Christopher St. Lawrance for his government of the garrison at the Cavan, having removed from thence all the soldiers, saving one company to guard the fort and castle there.

"Lastly, though by our many despatches of late we have advertised at large the dangerous estate of this kingdom, and the

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several distractions thereof, increasing more and more in most parts of the realm, yet we are bold still to remember your Lordships, that so much do the Irish prevail daily, that, without speedy prevention by Her Majesty, either by a resolute prosecution of the rebels, or to stay them by some other course of pacification, the state of the realm is like to grow to further dangerous terms, to the hazard of altering things to an Irish Government, which we see they have long aimed at, and now are very near to prevail, if God and Her Majesty prevent them not the sooner; and, their fortune making them confident in anything they shall attempt, they seek daily by device to seduce and draw Her Majesty's soldiers to them, and to attempt upon Her Majesty's holds and places of strength, where they may have hope to prevail, either by treachery or force; as of late they have gotten the castle of Olderfleet, standing upon the north seas towards Scotland, being kept by a Constable and warders for Her Majesty, which we doubt not but they will deface out of hand, for that it served for a place of strength for Her Majesty to lay a garrison upon any occasion. We are informed that this castle of Olderfleet was betrayed by one of the warders, who now remaineth with the Scots that took it, the place wanting nothing, but being furnished plentifully with victuals and all other things for the sustenance and safety of the soldiers. And the Constable himself, named Moses Hill, being this night come hither, we mean to take an exact examination, both of him and others, touching the losing of the place, and as we shall find any culpable therein, so to do justice accordingly."—[*Postscript.*]—"Since the perclosing of this letter, Mr. Kyffin is departed this life, in whose place it may please your Lordships to consider of some other to be sent hither out of hand, whom we wish to be as well qualified for the service he is to be employed in as Kyffin was. If Her Majesty will give order for any fortifications to be done here, it may please your Lordships to cause to be provided an engineer. We hear of one Jentill, remaining with Alderman Martin, to be a skilful man for that purpose."—Dublin, 1597, January 3. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed*:—"Received at Whitehall the 18th." pp. 8.

Inclosure (the other inclosures mentioned are wanting):—

1. I. "*The most humble and penitent submission of me, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, presented in mine own person to the Right Honourable the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, Lord Lieutenant General of all Her Majesty's forces and armies in Ireland, having for his assistants in this action the Lord Bishop of Meath, and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Knight, two of Her Majesty's Privy Council within this realm.*"—Dundalk, 1597, December 22. *Signed by the Earl of Tyrone.* pp. 1½.

1. II. "*The humble petition of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Lieutenant-General of Her Majesty's army.*"—[1597, December 23.] *Duplicate of No. 114 in Vol. CCI. Copy.* pp. 1½.

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1. III. "*A particular of such butter and cheese as hath arrived in Ireland, sithence the first of November, 1597.*"—[1597, January 3.] *Signed by Robert Newcomen. p. 1.*

1. IV. "*A collection of the strengths and numbers present at the garrison places following,*" viz., *Newry, Carrickfergus, Cavan, Dundalk, Blackwater, Louth, Dublin, and Carlingford. Total, 2,321. Signed by Sir Ralph Lane. [1597-8, January 2.] One sheet.*

Jan. 3.

2. "*Points to be answered of the Lords Justices' and Council's letters. Endorsed:—1597, January 3. pp. 2½. [These are various points in the preceding letter, which was not received until January 18; so the endorsement is erroneous.]*

Jan. 3.
Dublin.

3. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers to the joint letter of the Council of this date. "*Only this I say, that it is high time for Her Majesty to make her resolution, how Her Highness will have Tyrone and the rest further dealt withal, whether to take them down by prosecution, or to stay them by some milder course; wherein I know not what to advise, other than that these sores of Ireland are too far gone to be recured with sharp medicines, but do rather require rest, till by time they may be made more apt to receive a full recovery; and still am I bold, in my wonted plainness, to manage this point with your Honour, having no humour to persuade to war; which for these three years I have seen hath brought forth nothing but consumption of Her Majesty's treasure, and a dangerous disjoining of this Government, which, in many years, cannot be put in joint again, what good endeavours soever be used; and I am of opinion that an intermission and surceasing from war for two or three years will do more to reclaim the rebels, and recover the Government to some good way of stay and settling, than to renew another war, which must be merely borne out of Her Majesty's purse, this kingdom being not able to contribute anything to the charges thereof. Besides, by a small surceaunce from war, this great knot of confederacy, which is strong and general amongst them, may be unknit, and the factions dissevered; a matter which by force I doubt will not be done, but at too heavy a charge to Her Majesty, and a dangerous exposing of the realm to a lamentable ruin at home, and a fearful invasion of the foreign enemy, who, it is like, will not pass over the opportunity of this year, as he hath done the years past. I doubt Scotland hath intelligence with these Ulster rebels, but whether that King be a party, or the matter carried under a cloud by Huntly and his side, I am suspicious. But your Honour may decipher the truth; only this I have discovered, by a spy of mine about Tyrone, that from the King of Scots he receiveth letters, and from some others powder and munition; besides the King hath made Sir James M'Sorley knight, who since hath surprised the castle of Olderfleet, and is now to marry with one of the Queen of Scots' women.*"—Dublin, 1597, January 3. *Signed. Endorsed:—"By the Earl of Thomond," "Received at Whitehall the 18th." p. 1.*

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Jan. 4.
Dublin.

4. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. Sends Burghley a "list of the state of" the army in the north, consisting of 36 companies of foot, and six companies of horse; total, 2,321. [*See enclosure IV. to No. 1; there is no list accompanying this letter.*] After leaving 1,542 of these at various places kept in Her Majesty's hands, and deducting the hurt and sick, he will not be able to draw into the field above 700 men, "who are altogether unfurnished of all necessaries." Prays their Lordships to have a speedy and careful consideration hereof. Refers to the joint letter of the Council [*dated January 3*].—Dublin, 1597, January 4. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"By the Earl of Thomond." p. 1.

Jan. 4.
Dublin.

5. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. Hopes his letters from Drogheda have come to Burghley's hands. Thought fit to write, hoping to hear sooner from him of Her Majesty's pleasure for war or peace.

"I assure your Lordship if (by your good means) the intolerable wants of money, munition, apparel, and victual, be not largely supplied presently, all the army which remain are like to perish; who, at this instant, be in such miserable state as it would pity any true subject to behold them; and the countries are so ruined and wasted by the rebels and soldiers, as they are utterly unable to give them relief, many of themselves having, for poverty and want, forsaken their houses."

The victualling of the Blackwater, and some other places. Tyrone's pledge in Ormonde's hands.

"The raising of the army to victual the same would cost Her Highness 8,000*l.*, and their state is such as they are not able to carry arms, a number of their captains and leaders being young men, void of experience and discipline, who never paid any of their soldiers their lendings nor imprests, nor yet hath the countries nor towns (where they lay in garrison) been paid for their diet, which doth greatly decay and impoverish them.

"The fort of Blackwater hath been heretofore an excessive charge to Her Majesty, by mean of the often victualling of the same, being never victualled but once without an assembly of the whole army. I understand this fort is built square without any flankers, and the rampier there falleth daily, as I am informed by Captain Lister and others; for repair whereof I caused some pickaxes, shovels, and spades to be shipped in a bark of victuals bound for the Newry, for the victualling of the fort, and sent in her some powder, lead, and match. I have given strait charge to Sir Henry Bagenall to send the same away upon the landing thereof at the Newry, and in the meantime to haste away such victuals as be now at the Newry, which, with that the ward have already, will serve for nine weeks, and I must allow the marshal 5*s.* sterling for the hire of every garron, as my Lord Burgh did before.

"My Lord, though Tyrone desired to be received to mercy, and to have peace for a year or two, or for longer time, yet do I understand that he looked this year for the arrival of Spaniards in the

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west part of Ireland, and is still in expectation of them, whereof I thought good to advertise your Lordship, that Her Majesty and your Lordships may prevent their malicious purpose."

The fortification made at Waterford is to small purpose, though very chargeable. With half the cost a better defence might be made.

"I do send your Lordship herewith [*wanting, but see No. 114 of Vol. ccx.*] certain requests offered by the Earl of Tyrone unto me, being a collection of things delivered him from every part of the realm, which, in regard they were unreasonable and unfit for me to receive, I told him I would suppress and burn. I am persuaded they were devised by some of the Pale, whom I will do the best I may to know. For all this, I hope the Earl will be drawn from many his unreasonable demands."

Will forbear to appoint a Governor of Knockfergus, till he hears further from Burghley. Sends "a touch of an ease of Her Majesty's charge," procured by himself, through causing the Sergeant-Major and Mr. Kyffin to muster the companies. Thereby nearly half of Her Highness's charge is eased. Death of Mr. Kyffin. Commends him. Wrote to Sir Conyers Clifford, who is now come to Dublin, and to others, to take the musters in those parts where they have charge, but has had no return as yet. Sir Conyers complains grievously of the wants of the companies in Connaught. Is unable to relieve them until treasure comes. Thomas FitzGerald, a base son of the Earl of Kildare, is now in action with a great number of traitors. Sent commission to the Earl of Kildare to prosecute him, and appointed 1,000 foot and 60 horse to that end. As yet hears of nothing done.

Is informed that Alderman Martin has a man called Gentill, who is reported to be a very good engineer. If any fortification is to be made at Waterford, Cork, or any other place in the west, it were good Gentill were dispatched about the same presently. The fortification at Duncannon, or any place else upon the haven, can be no let to any enemy, who may land beneath the passage and march to Waterford by land.

Sends copy of a letter from Burghley's "old servant," Captain Constable, now prisoner in the north. Desires to be advised how to deal for his enlargement.

The castle of Olderfleet was sold to the Scots by some Englishmen that were wards thereof, as may be seen by the testimony of the Commissary of the Musters, copy of which he sends. Apologises for the length of his letter.—Dublin, 1597, January 4. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 2½. *Incloses,*

5. 1. *Captain Robert Constable to the Earl of Ormonde.* As soon as he credibly understood of his Lordship's appointment as Lieutenant General, he was forced to certify his distressed and miserable estate, being a prisoner along with Mr. Henry Banks, a gentleman of Sir John Chichester's company. Has used all means to make Sir James McDonnell agree to a ransom, but he

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will no way yield thereunto. Is constrained therefore, to signify his demands, which are these, viz., the delivery into his hands of his base brother, now in Dublin Castle, and the giving up to him, or the rasing, of Olderfleet Castle. Sir James says the castle is his by inheritance. Hopes in his Lordship's care and good consideration towards such gentlemen and soldiers as hazard their lives and spend their goods in the better furtherance of Her Majesty's service. Olderfleet Castle is of small importance, and rather a needless charge to the Queen. Sir James's pledge is but a boy, and base born, and but small respect would be shown for him by the rebels, if they disposed themselves against Her Majesty. Humbly craves the help of the Earl of Ormonde, "for that the place of our bondage and miserable being is far off, and we [have] no means either by letters or otherwise to solicit or importune your Lordship."—Dunluce, 1597, December 7. Copy. p. 1.

Jan. 5.

6. Captain John Price to Sir Robert Cecil. Has been confined to his chamber by illness. Within fifteen years has received sundry hurts in Her Majesty's service in Ireland, "which I do now feel to my great pain." Has never had, nor sought, any recompense, but only the Queen's gracious favour for his comfort. Encloses a note of his services. Prays that he may be paid the money due to him, which is about seven score pounds. The Lord Deputies and some of the Council have signified under their hands their knowledge of his service.—1597, January 5. *Holograph.* p. 1. *Incloses,*

6. 1. *Divers services done by Captain John Price. No date.* p. ½.

Jan. 5.
Carrickfergus.

7. Captain Richard Atherton to [the Earl of Ormonde]. "At my coming to Carrickfergus the tempest grew so great and extreme that, after great danger, I was driven to Scotland, where I did continue the space of three weeks, for want of a convenient wind. And there I was credibly informed of the arrival of James M'Sorley, accompanied with his brother Randal. And, before his going to the Court, he caused a proclamation to be made at the town of Ayr ["Eayre"], that what soldier soever would go over with him into Ireland, he would give them entertainment, and there they should attend his coming from the Court. And, in the time of my abode there, I was given to understand that the King entertained him very kindly, and granted him 150 men for his aid, but the common report goeth that he hath 500 men; but certainly he hath leave to entertain as many as will go voluntarily with him. He was expected at the waterside about the first or second of January, and also it is reported he shall marry the Earl of Gowrie ["Gory"] his sister. Also, in the time of my abode there, I chanced to converse with a Baron, called the Lord of Gilhille, who doth derive himself from Kildare, and writes himself Adare. And after I sojourned the space of three weeks,

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and conversing with him about Sorley and his aid from Scotland, at my departure he did call me apart, and disclosed unto me a way to withdraw all the Scots from M'Sorley, and to bring in all the Islands, and wished me to make some one of Council acquainted withal. So I thought good to acquaint your Lordship withal; but he earnestly charged me not to acquaint any one man with the secrecy thereof, save only one of the Council, for, if it were discovered, and not practised, it were his utter undoing. His practice is this, that, if your Lordship doth think it convenient to send two or three hundred soldiers into his country, he will deliver unto the chief thereof four of his own castles standing upon the seaside, all furnished with all provision fit for such purpose. But first he would have your Lordship to send Captain Ed. Garratt, and some one or two of good judgment, to view the places, and to come as if they were weather beaten; and, if they like of the place, he will send two of his sons for pledges, lest any evil practice should be doubted. And, if those surveyors will promise to send any men, he will provide beef, meal, beer, and all provision, according to the number that will come. And to cause such men as will be sent there to be drawn away, the King will come to such composition that he will bring in M'Sorley and all the islands; and he is persuaded that this may be done without any breach of league or truce that is between Her Majesty and the King, especially if it be done or enterprised by the Earl of Kildare or any other nobleman of Ireland, and in regard that M'Sorley hath aid from the King. Thus of his determination I thought it good to acquaint your Lordship withal, committing the censure thereof unto your Lordship's good judgment."

Arrived at Carrickfergus on January 1, with 25 soldiers that he brought from Dublin to reinforce his company. The day following he received the late company of Sir John Chichester, but 25 in number, and the one-half of them unarmed. Is not acquainted as yet with the state of the country, so cannot certify his Lordship thereof; but the garrison is miserable and like to grow worse, for victuals are very scarce, and not to be had for money. If any supplies come from England, begs to be remembered.—Carrickfergus, 1597, January 5. *Copy. pp. 1½.*

Jan. 6.
Dublin.

8. Lieutenant Isaak Woodrington to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the miserable captivity of Captain Robert Constable. The demands of Sir James McDonnell. Olderfleet Castle has been taken by treachery; so the base-born pledge in Dublin Castle is all that remains to satisfy him. Commanded by the Lord General to repair to the place of service. Begs Sir Robert's assistance for the deliverance of Captain Constable. Was for some time servant to Lord Hunsdon.—Dublin, 1597, January 6. *Signed. p. 1.*

Jan. 8.
Dublin.

9. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Burghley. The importance of speedily appointing some one to continue the good course begun by the late Mr. Kyffin, in reforming abuses in the musters and checks. If Burghley be not provided with a man at present, advises that one

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of the Irish Council be charged with the work. Recommends the Earl of Thomond, who has followed the service in almost every part of the realm. "Besides, his Lordship affecteth English customs, both in ordering his private house and family, and reducing his country to the rules of law and justice; and is willing upon all occasions to answer any employment that the State doth call him unto; and is of good valour and judgment to perform the same."—Dublin, 1597, January 8. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"By the Earl of Thomond." p. 1.

Jan. [? 8].
Dublin.

10. Sir George Bouchier to Sir Robert Cecil. Doubts if Her Majesty can be paid for the munition delivered to the soldiers. Desires some direction from the Privy Council, as he is anxious to diminish Her Majesty's charge. Begg for license to repair into England for two months.—Dublin, 1597, January [? 8]. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed*:—"By the Earl of Thomond"; "Received at Whitehall the 18th." p. 1.

Jan. 9.
Dublin.

11. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. Has received this day the letters from the Queen, the Privy Council, and his Lordship. The passage serving for England, and the Earl of Thomond being ready with the packet, could not fully answer, but will do so before leaving Dublin. The Earl of Thomond will inform him of the state of Connaught. Earnestly commends the Earl. Sends the original letter of O'Rourke, which is the cause of his repair to the State. By his next will advertise the decision of the Council.—Dublin, 1597, January 9. *Signed. p. 1. Incloses,*

11. i. B. O'Rourke to Sir Conyers Clifford. Acknowledges Sir Conyers' answer to the letter sent by Terence O'Farrell. Has replied at length. Will not at present inveigh against the Binghamms, his adversaries. His confidence in Sir Conyers, under whose hands he desires a grant of all his lawful demands. Prays that the bearer may be sheriff of the county for seven years. [Postscript.]—Has received the enclosed letters (wanting) by Owen O'Higgin, and can hardly believe that Sir Conyers was ever privy to any part of their contents. Took the bearer's oath to have all the letters back after Sir Conyers' perusal of them.—Lough na Koolo, 1598, January 2. *Signed. p. 1.*

Jan. 9.
Dublin.

12. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges certain letters received by him. Will answer them later on. The Earl of Thomond is especially chosen, both by the Earl of Ormonde and the Council, to particularise the estate of Ireland to Her Majesty. Praises the Earl of Thomond's loyalty and good service.—Dublin, 1597, January 9. *Holograph. Endorsed*:—"By the Earl of Thomond"; "Received at Whitehall the 18th." p. 1.

Jan. 9.
Dublin.

13. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. The division of the work of the muster master made by the late Lord Burgh. Maurice Kyffin endeavoured to encroach on the portion assigned to Sir Ralph, and kept to himself the certificates of the musters and checks, so that the book of the half-yearly charge could not be made up. After

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his death, an order was procured from the Lords Justices and the Lord Lieutenant General that Kyffin's papers might be searched, and that those relating to the musters might be taken up. It was found that all the certificates of musters and cheeks had been conveyed away by him, and that he had taken a book oath of his man not to discover what he had done with them. The inconvenience thereby caused. Instructions of their Lordships to Sir Ralph. Kyffin's servant will not confess, notwithstanding "great threatenings and imprisonment." Will do as good service in his office as any before him. Says that Kyffin, as is well known, failed in his undertakings, save where he was assisted by Sir Ralph and his ministers. Ten shillings a day saved by Kyffin's death. Advises that two commissaries be appointed for that sum; they will each do more good than Kyffin. Praises the Earl of Thomond, who will be able to tell Burghley of the state both of the army and of the kingdom, "Her Majesty's expenses wherein being infinite, all Her Majesty's loyal subjects here pray to the Almighty with honour speedily to give a good issue to the same, to His glory and Her Majesty's contentment."—Dublin, 1597, January 9. *Signed.* pp. 3.

Jan. 10.
Dublin.

14. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the rest of the Council to Sir Robert Cecil. After despatching the Earl of Thomond this day, they received a packet dated 28th ult., enclosing two other packets, one directed to the Lord Lieutenant General, which they have sent on to him at Kilkenny; the other addressed to Sir Conyers Clifford, to whom they delivered it, he being now at Dublin. Another letter from the Privy Council to them was in the same packet. Will answer it after the Lord Lieutenant comes to Dublin.—Dublin, 1597, January 10. *Signed* *Endorsed* :—"Received at Whitehall the 21st of the same." p. 1.

Jan. 12.
Dublin.

15. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the bearer, Captain William Warren, who is repairing to England. Ever since he was able to bear arms he has followed the service in Ireland with good commendation.—Dublin, 1597, January 12. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 12.
Dublin.

16. Petition to the Privy Council by Gerald Plunkett, of the Grange, in the county of Dublin, gentleman, Walter Sedgrave, James Taylor, and James Betagh, of Dublin, merchants. In the year 1592 they were bound by recognizance in 400*l.* for the appearance of Philip O'Reilly, of Bealancarke, in the county of Cavan, before the Lord Deputy or other Chief Governor of the realm, on twenty days' warning. Philip O'Reilly, several times after that, appeared before the Lord Deputy and Council, but his appearance was not entered in the Council book. He then went into rebellion and was slain. Petitioners are now called in question for the forfeiture of the said recognizance. Pray that the penalty of 400*l.* may be remitted, or that it may be allowed upon imprest bills and warrants due upon Her Highness.

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Sir Robert Cecil signs a note, dated from Whitehall, 1597, January 8, referring the petition to Sir Roger Wilbraham, the Solicitor-General in Ireland. The latter, under date January 12, 1597, gives his opinion. He says that the petitioners are like to be undone, many of them being poor merchants and gentlemen living in the Pale, who have had their lands wasted as well by the said O'Reilly as others, and who have brought in O'Reilly's eldest son as a pledge to the castle of Dublin. Thinks that they "might by instalment, remission of part, or otherwise, be made able to satisfy some portion." pp. 2.

Jan. 17.
Dublin.

17. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Enclose letter and discourse from one William Paule, a late commissary for musters in Ulster. Have thought it their duties to transmit with all possible speed the very originals. Captain William Warren, whom they nearly touch, departed before their arrival, or would have been stayed. Paule was committed to the castle of Dublin by the late Lord Justice, Sir Thomas Norreys, for his bad behaviour as commissary, and was so continued by themselves and the Council, until, after nine weeks' imprisonment, they thought him sufficiently corrected for his offence, and gave order for his enlargement. Understand he still remains in the castle for his charges due to the Constable. His committal to prison has bred much discontentment in him, though he be wise and well qualified. Whether these informations proceed from that humour they know not, but, howsoever it be, they are of opinion that, since Sir Edward Moore and William Warren are now in England, as are also Francis Michell and Guy Clinton in the same letters named, it were meet they should be dealt with, as Sir Robert thinks fit, for the safety of Her Majesty and furtherance of her service. As for Garrett Moore, who remains in Ireland, will hold such course with him as they shall be directed.—Dublin, 1597, January 17. Signed. pp. 2. Inclose,

17. I. William Paule to the Lord Justice Loftus. Having observed the sincerity of his Lordship's devotion to the advancement of Her Majesty's service, he ("a worthless rat of England's region," yet zealous of Her Majesty's and his country's service) is emboldened to address himself to his Lordship in certain particular advertisements of weighty importance.

"So it is (Reverend Lord) that intelligence hath been given to Her Majesty of certain evil-disposed seminary priests and such like lewd persons arrived and lurking in corners in this land, with wicked traitorous intents and purposes, not only to stir up the inhabitants of the same to undutiful disloyal behaviour towards their natural and sovereign Princess, but also to extend the drift of their malicious plots and devices to the further grievance of the realm of England, and the imminent danger of Her Majesty's most sacred person and estate, the which God Almighty defend." The Queen recommended the care of these mischiefs to Lord Burgh, who authorised Paule by name to use all

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lawful means for the discovery and apprehension of these priests. Accordingly he prosecuted the principals, viz., Stanley, Archer, Walsh, and Mercer, until restrained by his committal.

"Walsh was housed in Dublin. I told Mr. Treasurer (for none but he, myself, and the intelligencer are acquainted with this business) the street, the house, the chamber wherein Walsh lay, and yet for all that was he let alone, and lived boldly underneath the nose of the State ten or twelve days together, and no man said unto him that blackened his eye, until at the last, by my Lord's command, I laid the plot, and induced a party to apprehend him. When the deed was done, Mr. Treasurer wrote that he had taken the priest, whereas in very deed he was no otherwise guilty of his apprehension than in setting of his hand to the authority, only for warrant to the party produced and instructed by me to attack him." Walsh is still prisoner in the castle, and has been once or twice examined.

"Archer, that dangerous man, born in Kilkenny, another of the principals, lurketh thereabouts continually, sometime in Munster with the Lord Roch, and sometimes in Tipperary with the Lord Mountgarrett, whose son is married to the Earl of Tyrone's daughter. But most and ende (sic) he keepeth with one—Laffam, a brother-in-law of his, married to Archer's sister, who dwelleth in Tipperary, sixteen miles from Kilkenny, where he is abiding at this time, and may be had at all times within a sennight's space. This Laffam hath been High Sheriff of the county, a man well known to the State, and much devoted to your Lordship (as I hear); so as, if your Lordship would be pleased either to deal with the Lord Mountgarrett (with whom I daresay you may do all in all), or else with Laffam his brother-in-law, to bring Archer unto you, upon some pretence of service or otherwise in your Lordship's good discretion, your Lordship in taking of him should therein perform an excellent piece of service to the State, and such as would be thankfully accepted in England." If Archer is not found in the above-mentioned places the Bishop of Kilkenny may be commanded to lay wait for him when he comes to visit his friends in that city. His haunt is with Michael Shrathe, the schoolmaster. Archer is wary, for he has warning that he has been sought for, so his Lordship must be circumspect and secret also. Recommends giving a warrant of assistance to the Bishop. Could cause the man to be killed, if it were as lawful as convenient, but it were much better to have him alive than dead; and better that he and all his kin were hanged than that his practice should prevail.

"Hears no certainty of Stanley otherwise than that there were two certain priests, who came from Wexford to Dublin, and passed by Mellifont into the north, with special advertisements out of Spain at the last treaty. By their descriptions and the sequel, one seems to be Stanley and the other Mercer. They abode but two or three days in town, but while in Dublin they were at Captain Warren's house and at Ralph Toole's lodgings. It is verily thought they brought letters conveyed from beyond the seas from Captain Warren's

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wife's son, Mr. Bathe, now a friar of the order of Franciscans in Douai, and others from Mr. Stanihurst. From Dublin they passed towards Mellifont. Understands since that Mercer is dead, and buried privily hard by Mellifont. This is all he can learn of them by intelligence. But that he depended upon his Lordship's promises of enlargement, he would have used other means for their apprehension while in Dublin; but relying upon his Lordship's promises in vain, he foreslowed the time but for a day or two, and in the interim they were gone.

"Coming from Wexford it cannot be but the Seneschal should understand of them, for I hear that Archer and they meet thereabouts many times to confer about their businesses in hand, by whose pravity and persuasions the nation of the Kavanaghs, whose sept can make some 400 foot and 60 horse, are combined in league with Tyrone (as I hear), and will be ready to rise out at his commandment with Phelim M'Feagh, so soon as ever the truce is determined, and it is to be feared withal that all the Irishry will do the like, and that is supposed partly the cause that the Seneschal hath made away a portion of his living thereabouts to stop odd gaps since his enlargement out of the Castle."

By the discourse enclosed his Lordship may perceive that there is cause to suspect Captain Warren's and Garrett Moore's loyalty. Fears very much, as well for the reasons therein mentioned as by the hovering of these priests here and thereabouts, that they have intelligence one with the other, and that there is some mischief or other a brewing amongst them. It is wisdom in such cases to doubt the worst. Does so the rather that he hears of an intention Captain Warren has to go shortly to England, upon pretence to procure some Government in the north. "It seemeth by the late Lord Deputy that he hath been too inward with this State, and truly, until he purge himself from the suspicion of the odious imputations in the enclosed, I do advise your Lordship seriously that he may not be permitted to go into England at all, or at the least wise he should be defended from presuming into Her Majesty's presence. Disagreement of intelligences as to the death of Mercer. Fears they be all packed away for England for some notable evil intent. His mind bodeth no good to the Queen, or to the State, from Stanley, Mercer, Warren, or Moore.

"You see that the Deputy, so soon as ever he began to find out their juggling, was taken away, not without the suspicion of poison, and you may discern by whom too. And it is most certain that men, knowing themselves so far engaged, will be most desperately minded, and therefore I beseech your Lordship instantly, be not too hasty in dispatching of Warren away; for, that both he and his brother Moore are already acquainted with the accusations against them, may appear by their peremptory expostulations, and what men may or will resolve in such cases is doubtful." His Lordship, being nearly allied unto them, may be the more easily abused by them in his affection; therefore is the more vehement in his persuasions. Zealous men cannot argue coldly in matters of this nature.

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"The times are tickle and dangerous, and I have met with some strange cross measure here, and I know no reason for it, unless it be that Carroll the paymaster, with whom I am encumbered, be friend or foster-brother to some of the Carrolls mentioned in the intelligencer's relation. It hath been my harm that my Lord [Burgh] imparted these secrets unto me, and that I have dealt in them accordingly for discharge of mine allegiance and duty, and I am sure that I have smarted for it, and endured the malice of some great men for their friends' sakes." Nothing shall discourage him, though he perceives it is a duty full of danger to do Her Majesty service in Ireland of this nature. Had he been a suspected person, or known rebel, or been "condemned for a notable palkowiste or sorcerer," or had uttered "horrible blasphemous words (such as are indictible)" against the Queen, yet might he have conceived hope of deliverance before this time; for divers such have been enlarged since his commitment. viz., the Seneschal of Wexford, O'Quin of Munster, Walshe, Rose Toole ("that notable traitorous thief, Feagh M'Hugh his widow"), Hovenden (Tyrone's foster-brother), Maurice Mulloham, &c. Because he was an unhappy follower of the unfortunate Lord Burgh it is thought "profitable Irish policy" to keep him in prison, when other suspected persons and egregious malefactors are set at liberty. Understands his Lordship has been his heaviest adversary in secret, though openly he has shown him great kindness. Provided the State receives no prejudice, cares not what becomes of himself. Ought to have been cherished in his devotion, than discouraged as he has been by eleven weeks' restraint.

Understands that the Earl of Clanrickarde by name yields a certain benevolence of 200l. or 300l. yearly in the nature of a "black rent" to some about the State, for helping him to his Earldom, and bearing him out on all occasions. Cannot tell how true the report is. If it be so the practice is of dangerous consequence, "yet too common, as it is thought, in Ireland."

Hears likewise that the Irishry "have an use," where they have preyed the civil subjects' goods, to yield a portion to some one or other about the State, to procure their protection and pardon; whereby men are marvellously animated to commit any outrage or villainy for their own advantage, whereas they are assured of remission for the half part of their thievish gettings and spoil.

The ship recovered by O'Connor Sligo should be well guarded, for it is to be doubted that O'Donnell, or some of his people, will be greedy of the spoil lying so near their noses.

Douglas, the Scotch merchant, should be thoroughly sifted concerning the arrival of the 6,000 Italians "de la tertia de Naples" at Lisbon, and the King of Castille's preparations. Douglas is known to have served in the Low Countries with the enemy, and may be a practiser or a spy, as well as a merchant.

Would do more if he could in discharge of his duty. "You know that I am in for a byrer, and altogether a stranger here, and remain the Constable's prisoner for my charges and fees; otherwise

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I would attend your Lordship, and will when I can." Refers the rest to his Lordship's grave consideration and secrecy.—[Dublin] Castle, 1597, January 15.—[Postscript.] "I hear (alas) by Philip Williams that Captain Warren is gone. Mehercle, male metuo quorsum evadat; tu, quod te dignum est, facias." Holograph. Endorsed:—"Received 15 January in the evening." pp. 5½.

17. II. *A discourse or information by William Paule, alluded to in the preceding inclosure. "It hath been a common saying in Ireland of long time, and at this day it is commonly said amongst many, and especially amongst those that are best affected, and in that respect most zealous of the prosperity of Her Majesty's service, that the Traitor and his complices have too many friends and well-willers amongst us, insomuch as some of sound judgment are of opinion that there is nothing almost done or concluded upon in Council, or otherwise, which may import the enemies, but straightways some of them have notice and intelligence of it; and hereof the Arch-Traitor himself will brag and boast often times, saying that he hath many good friends assured unto him amongst us. And, to confirm the same, I have heard that some use, in their letter written unto him, to entitle themselves familiarly your Lordship's very loving friend, or your Lordship's assured friend, &c., which were intolerable to such a traitor in some States, for his subtlety is such as he maketh use of these trivial things.*

"To the same purpose thus much I remember well of mine own knowledge. It was a common received opinion, settled amongst us in the camp, that the rebels had such certain particular intelligence from us continually that, if the Deputy took horse but at any time to ride abroad, or to take the air, they should forthwith have perfect notice given them, both of the fashion of the apparel which he ware on that day, as likewise of the colour and stature of the horse he rode upon. And, further, it cannot be denied but that they were made privy to our wants always as soon as ourselves. All these things would not be wrought and brought to pass without means, nor by their ordinary petty bare-breeched spies alone; and, therefore, though there were no certain authors known of them, yet some were suspected more than others, and the over great affection and familiarity of them gave just cause of vehement suspicion, though little or nothing hitherto have been said unto them.

"Thus much further I remember, while the Queen's fort at Blackwater was in raising, there was a certain odd letter specially spoken of, said to be sent by some on our side to the traitor Tyrone, to this tenor and effect: that the English churls (so they term Her Majesty's obedient best subjects in scorn) were weak and in wants, and therefore a fit time for them to set upon us, and to beat us. Bearing these things in mind while I travelled in the north about musters, I heard, by chance and caught hold of a certain report, which came by tradition from a surgeon of the Newry (I remember not his name), but he is well known to be the same man that was taken away by that rascal Con McO'Neill, Tyrone's son, and

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retained as prisoner in an island or fastness. He, by the means of a kinsman of his about the Earl, who sometimes served the old honest O'Neill in the place of a secretary, was informed that Mr. Moore (whether Sir Edward or his son Garrett Moore I know not) had sent letters unto the traitor Tyrone to the sense and effect aforesaid, to wit, that the English churls were weak and in wants, and therefore a fit time for them to set upon us and beat us, or words to the self-same purpose, which is, in effect, to overthrow the Queen's army, the which God Almighty defend, and confound all traitors. I being desirous to sift out this matter thoroughly, as deeming it of importance, and considering withal that such smoke could not be without some secret fire, I thought it fit before my departure from the Newry to break with Mr. Marshal in the matter; and so I did, informing him first what I had heard, and requesting his advice in the same, intimating that I meant to impart it to my Lord Deputy. Mr. Marshal said that he had heard as much in effect, and wondered by what chance I came to notice of it, concluding that he would inquire further, and confer with my Lord at their meeting. Behold what happened. In the march from Armagh, which I take was on Friday, the 7th of October last, the army was divided by my Lord's order into maniples or battalions, and Warren's horsemen and Garrett Moore's, leading in the avant-gard, strayed out of order so far wide from the rest that, others following them, thereby the whole army was divided as it were into two parts, the one half marching one way and the other half another way, which was such a dangerous error and oversight in them, as might have overthrown us all had the enemy followed and fought with us, as once they were determined; for errors in warfare cannot with safety be twice committed. My Lord Deputy, though then he were so extremely ill, as he could not lift up his head for very anguish and pain, yet being lifted up by others in his lictiere [litter], and espying so great disorders in the army, such as was never seen in Ireland before during his time (nor had there been, had he had his health), it put him quite out of patience into such a chafe and amazement, that thereby he seemed almost transported into a trance for the time for extreme grief and anger, exclaiming often piteously in pathetic inward sense of singular zeal, 'Oh, gracious good Queen, how art thou served? How art thou cosened? Alas, and woe is me, how is thy service betrayed on all hands in this country? This' (quoth he, correcting himself) 'is Warren's and Garrett Moore's doings. These men will never keep order, nor kill any enemy of the Queen's.' Yea, these dealings and their doings put him quite out of patience, so far that his mind ever after ran still on that theme to his own harm, insomuch as he could not contain or refrain, but ever and anon would be talking of it to himself and to others, always condoling the miserable state of the Queen's service with such iterated accents of significant compassion, as stirred grief in the very standers by to behold so strange a continued combat between compulsion and honourable respect.

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"The next day, being Saturday, the army was to march home through the pass of the Moyrie. Now, somebody had told my Lord, as he lay in his bed, that Captain Warren and Garrett Moore were gone away three hours at the least before the other companies were ready to march. 'And are they gone again without leave?' (quoth my Lord) 'will they never cease to corrupt all good orders of discipline? They shall dearly abide it, and God send me health.' This deed of theirs did the more offend him, because he was informed that the rebels had propounded in council the day before to fight in that pass, which he doubted [feared] the rather in regard of the Serjeant-Major Captain Brett's death and his own indisposition happening both together. This also gave him occasion to renew the remembrance of the foul disorders committed by them the day before. Whereupon he sent for Mr. Marshal, and first, bemoaning the state of the Queen's service zealously after his wonted manner, he willed the Marshal expressly that Captain Warren and Garrett Moore should be committed to safe keeping, and it appeared, by his speeches afterwards, that he verily believed that they had been committed accordingly. And, forasmuch as Mr. Marshal seemed to give but slight regard to his words, as feigning to imagine he had spoken idly, my Lord of himself perceiving his diffidence and slackness, began to tell him a very pathetical discourse fuller of sense and reason than of idleness to my seeming, all tending to this effect, that Garrett Moore had written in certain letters to the traitor Tyrone, viz., that his brother Warren had flattered and humoured the Deputy so cunningly that he had already gotten a company of foot of him; and further that he could so coax him (that was the very term which he used) as that he might have of him what he would, and win him to do in a manner what himself listed; my Lord saying further, 'I gave him a company indeed to prove him, but it was to overthrow himself; adding this withal, that he supposed and verily thought that Sentleger was as far in as any of them.'

"Thus much my Lord uttered upon his death bed to the Marshal, four or five days before his decease, with such sober relation, as savoured nothing at all of idleness, but of sensible troth. Inso-much as Mr. Marshall confessed unto me afterwards that he wondered much at it, and how my Lord came to the understanding of these things, and wist not well what to say or do in them, but referring all to further consideration. Shortly after my Lord departed, and so the matter rested with him, till of late it hath been fatally revived by the parties themselves.

"To the point that my Lord Deputy should be poisoned, I have heard it so muttered indeed by divers; but I took no notice that Captain Warren or Garrett Moore should be doers in it, before Philip Williams told me for certain that it was commonly bruited that my Lord was poisoned, and further that Sir Edward Moore was sent for and gone into England about such a matter; and that I understood withal that Garrett Moore goeth about like a censor, ministering captious interrogatories to my Lord's people,

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and, namely, to Francis Michell, Guy Clinton, &c., in inquiry what words my Lord uttered against him and his brother Warren on his death bed? who raised the report that my Lord was poisoned? sending forth such tempestuous thundering threats and execrations as end in no other diapason but blood, murder, death, or damnation to the party that dareth presume to utter it, with such terrible necromantic words and fashions as were able to conjure up a spirit, raise an earthquake, or work wonders, or at the least wise to affright a simple body clean out of all five mother wits. Howbeit, I have hitherto passed them over with silence, not of simplicity, but for respect as uttered in haste, heat, or choler, and by such men as (peradventure) act more in words than their hearts dare perform with the sword; but sithence it is urged so far I will now discharge my conscience.

“The proofs in such cases seldom fall out pregnant at the first sight, but the collateral inducements and circumstances most considerable in my conceit are these hereafter following:—

“First, the brave resolution of the Deputy, his audacity and forwardness showed in the execution of all manner of martial services against the Traitor, and the occasions thereby iterated for him and his to fear the issue of such resolution, and his rounder proceedings, which threatened a short conclusion of the wars, and consequently the ruin of all rebels, not to be prevented by temporising, sophistical, dilatory circumvention or delays, nor otherwise possibly to be avoided, but either by battle, which they will not abide, or else by violence or violent means to be committed directly in and against the person of the Deputy.

“Secondly, the antiquity of familiarity, greatness, and intelligence between the Moores and their partakers and Tyrone's foster brethren and complices, their often conferences and mutual kindnesses, manifested reciprocally one to another, and their ordinary orations tending to praise and commendation of Tyrone; all which things are better known to Mr. Marshal and others than unto me.

“Then the Deputy's sickness, and the strangeness of it happening as it were in the nick (*sic*), and notably upon his purpose and determination to go through the Dungannon, the latest important resolution which he had considered in time, but not of least moment and account in regard of Her Majesty's service, whose treasure is exhausted with a lingering war. Whereas such a blow, well stricken as he had plotted, might happily have concluded all miseries in one. The discovery of this plot, though it were kept as secret as might be, together with the letters formerly written, seen and revealed by the barber of the Newry, the copies whereof were had, as some suppose, though it be not known what became of them, or whether they were embezzled when my Lord's casket was ransacked; all which things enforce a kind of necessity of sudden desperate dispatch.

“Furthermore, it was told me by a worshipful gentleman of very good credit and account, that my Lord being thirsty after his

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travail through the pass of the Moyrie, and affecting drink to cool his thirst at the quarter beneath the Newry, the first night he set forwards towards the Blackwater, Garrett Moore's drink was much commended, whereupon my Lord drank of it in his tent, I mean Garrett Moore's tent, for my Lord had none on the field; but, so soon as ever he had drank, and it was down, it was observed that immediately he fell into a sudden extreme cold fit of a fever, and so continued passing cold still in extremity to the hour of his death, and never found heat in some parts after that, notwithstanding the great fires made, and the many clothes cast upon him; and every such extremity of excess argueth poison, as they say. And surely, whether it were an Irish ague that he had, accompanied with an extreme cold, as I thought at the first (because, as alchemists assign sulphur the seed of all metals, so some make agues the common matter of all diseases), or an extreme cold accompanied with a pestilent fever, I know not; term it what you will, this is most certain, in some parts he was pinched with extremity of cold, and in other parts parched with excess of heat. That he was cold we found sensibly by feeling of his face, hands, feet, and exterior parts; and that he was hot, we discerned by the appetite he had to cooling drinks, as white and claret wine 'delaid' with water, beer and syrups, and such like coolers; as also by the casting off of his clothes, and discovering of his upper parts bare to his breasts; and the casting abroad of his arms, together with his often coveting to come out of bed to the fire twice or thrice in an hour, as he did. I say, the contrariety of these things, and his unquietness withal (to our seeming which were about him) confirmed his actions of impatience to proceed as well from sense of excessive heat as excessive cold." . . . "But the truth is this. I am no physician, nor take upon me to be privy to the principles of that art. Howbeit, I remember I have heard thus much by discourse, that it is not only possible, but easy and feasible, for him that is his crafts master in that profession, to prepare poison so artificially that the same shall take effect, and yet be of so strange operation, that the party sped shall seem to die of any other ordinary disease at the choice of the compounder. But the comprehension of this still passeth the compass of my slender understanding. Howbeit, this I may say, if it be possible in art, or to be had in Italy, why not in Ireland?

"Lastly, it is reported by Edmund Cullen, the Barber-Surgeon of Dublin, that when my Lord's body was opened in the Castle, on Christmas Eve, it gave at the head in abundance, which some (who take upon them to be skilful) affirm to be a certain token that he was poisoned in deed, that the operation of the poison causes that corruption, the reliques whereof, being putrified, wrought out at the organical parts of the head, nine weeks and more after the breath went out of his body.

"Now Irish games have Irish tricks, as they say, and fine wits wily fetches and trains to serve their own turns. And so it may be that Captain Warren and Garrett Moore, doubting what might

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befal them (oh beware the cowardice and terror of a guilty conscience), or having some secret items of these things, thought it best for them to begin first, and to be beforehand, or to outface the matter by imitation of Phormio in Terence, who exclaimed bitterly against the falsehood of the world, when as he himself was approved the thief. So it may be Captain Warren taketh occasion to except against the credit of my musters, and Garrett Moore to entangle men with cross interrogatories, thinking thereby to discredit us all beforehand, what with one device or other, and so to stop our mouths in other matters; or, at the least wise, he maketh account with slanderous calumniation to thrust me out of office in the north, and so both to discredit and disable me utterly to prosecute any suit against them. But I defy them both in that respect for any harm that any of them can tell by me. For I fear not the men, though I dread their notice the more, as not ignorant of the nearness of the matches and affinity with your Lordships and some others in high place of authority, that sway most in Council; and therefore, I humbly beseech your Lordships to have consideration of them and of me; considering this, that there is no reason in the world to retain me longer in prison, under pretence of musters, at the appetite of my adversaries, who thirst after my blood, my spoil, and my undoing. Howbeit, for my own part, I wish charitably that Captain Warren and Garrett Moore may free themselves as well from the envy and pain of these odious imputations, as I can, with a safe conscience, clear myself from the blame of erroneous musters." Endorsed:—"Captain Warren and Garrett Moore, January 8, 1597. Received from William Paule, 15 January, in the evening." Holograph. Unsigned. pp. 7½.

Jan. 20.
Dublin.

18. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Replies to the passage in Paule's letter as to the apprehension of the priest Walsh. Paule was used by Lord Burgh as an assistant to Burnell, who was rewarded with money for the arrest. Paule and Michell were discharged from their places as commissaries for misconduct. Michell has gone to England, with disposition of evil practice against Wallop. Regards him not, nor any promoter else. Knows that in the end he will shame them in their own untruths.

Two days past the ship with apparel put into Dublin haven, having endured great extremity. She has not yet discharged her lading, but will with all convenient speed. Dublin, 1597, January 20. Signed. Seal. Endorsed:—"Received the 29 of the same." p. 1.

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19. "An estimate of sundry sums of money claimed to be owing to divers towns, and others inhabiting in the countries, for diet of soldiers and other necessary commodities delivered for provision of the army, before the last of March 1597."

To inhabitants of counties and towns, 7,767*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*; to sundry private persons, 7,000*l.* sterling; to the inhabitants of the Pale for beeves, 1595-1597, 7,632*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*

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"It is to be remembered that, besides these sums afore-mentioned, there are greater sums of money due to the towns and country for diet of soldiers the last summer 1597, whereof no notice is yet given. And likewise 2,000 beeves were taken up in divers countries this winter, which are delivered to the victualler and salted, but not yet paid for."—1597, January 20. *Signed by Philip Hore. Endorsed*:—"Mr. Treasurer's certificate with many imperfections." pp. 3½.

Jan. 20.
Dublin.

20. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Has no other matter to write touching the Government than what is set down in the general despatch [? of January 3], in which he was driven "to be somewhat large." Finds fresh cause to doubt that "Scotland runneth on still to bear up this rebellion in Ireland." Besides Egerton's advertisements, which he sends herewith, he has other discoveries thereof from one that is near about Tyrone. "I doubt that out of that cloud in Scotland will break out some further tempest in the north of Ireland, and by that I observe, by all my intelligences, I gather that Tyrone, by entertaining matter there, seeketh as a cunning traitor to have two strings to his bow, fearing lest the Spaniard should fail him." Thinks Egerton's advertisements for Scotland are over large to hold truth in every point, but Sir Robert has better means to discover this.

"Here is as yet no return of ships from the vintage out of Spain, nor any advice come to our merchants from their factors in no part of Spain nor Portugal, which maketh the merchants doubtful that their ships and men are stayed to serve the King's turn in some attempt against Her Majesty's dominions. This may best be prevented by sending out some of her ships to be at sea before him.

Sir Robert may see, by the inclosed letter of the Marshal, what he writes of Tyrone and his holding of the truce. It may be a presage of Tyrone's further conformity hereafter, "but that as yet is rather to be doubted than believed."—Dublin, 1597, January 20. *Signed. Seal. p. 1. Incloses,*

20. 1. Captain Charles Egerton to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Arrival of Captain Atherton and his company from Scotland. They bring advertisements that the King of Scots in great discontentment has sent one ambassador to the Queen and three others to his friends, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Brunswick, and the King of Poland. Some say he has also sent into France and Spain, and that he is now holding a Parliament in Edinburgh. Also, that he has laid a tax of 4s. sterling to be levied on every mark land throughout his realm. This, by report of the Scottish gentlemen, is the greatest tax that ever was heard tell of there. Great likelihood of war between England and Scotland. Sir James McDonnell is upon his return from Scotland, and is licensed by the King to take up 150 "voluntary men." These he brings with him, unless this cessation stays his intent.

Captain Fisher's company arrived on January 5. The same day Captain Merriman, being embarked with intent to pass for Dublin, by great mischance within three miles of this town fell

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overboard and was drowned. Is a humble suitor for his charge. No warrant has yet come touching the command. Is given to understand that Captain Warren is authorised therein, and is presently to make his repair to Carrickfergus. In the meanwhile every private man does what he list. The want of money greatly discontents both officers and soldiers, and they are hardly drawn to do their duties. The countries about are reasonably quiet, but in Carrickfergus there are no fresh victuals to be had for money. Most of the tenants of the town are fled with their goods to their friends in the country, "so that here is not so much as one mece of milk to be had for money."—Carrickfergus, 1597, January 6. Holograph. Seal. p. 1.

20. II. Sir Henry Bagenall to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Small news to impart. Tyrone is returned to Dungannon, and has dispersed his forces. Hitherto he holds the truce in reasonable good manner. Has so ordered matters, that he hopes there will be no great cause to trouble Fenton. The full proportion of victuals for the Blackwater fort is already sent thither. Heartiest remembrances to Sir Geffrey and Lady Fenton.—Newry, 1597, January 12. Signed. p. 1.

Jan. 20.
Dublin.

21. Sir Conyers Clifford to the Privy Council. Acknowledges their letters of December 28, and the Queen's of January 9. The O'Rourke he made mention of is not the same man as the one their Lordships asked about, who was the legitimate son of the late O'Rourke, and he who offered to make his submission to Sir John Norreys, and to yield Her Majesty composition. That man could not bring in one man of the province, nor pay one penny of composition.

His dealings with Teig O'Rourke, younger brother of Brian O'Rourke. Disappointed with Teig, and so was enforced to seek some way for the recovery of Brian, who in truth (if he may be gotten) will prove the best instrument for Her Majesty's service now in action, Tyrone excepted. Will, on his first returning into Connaught, obey their Lordships' commands for his speedy recovery, upon the best assurance he can give.

When O'Connor Don and M'Dermott were enlarged by O'Donnell, Sir Conyers sent to them to understand their affections. They "returned" to him by Donogh O'Connor Sligo, that they would do in all things their uttermost for Her Majesty's service. They would have come to him then but for his hasty going to Dublin about O'Rourke. They also sent word by O'Connor Sligo that, in the time of their cruel imprisonment, they dealt with divers of the country, who are sworn to join with Sir Conyers on his first drawing down to O'Donnell's country. The chiefest of these are O'Dogherty, M'Swyne a Doe, and Neale garr O'Donnell, all men of force in that country. O'Connor Don and M'Dermott were of opinion that the month of March would be the fittest time to overrun O'Donnell's country. Is assured of this, as it is the time of sowing their corn, and, forces being amongst them at that

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time, they could not use that season, which would altogether dismay the people. Will so use both O'Connor Don and M'Dermott that they shall continue their malice towards O'Donnell, whom, however, he may not deal with, because of the two months' truce, without leave of the Lord Lieutenant.

Whereas their Lordships require an account from him of the composition in Connaught, and of his proceedings in the civil government, he states that, two years before his entry into that charge, the people had been in action, O'Donnell had his continual incursions, and Her Majesty, in the time both of Sir Richard Bingham and Sir John Norreys, had ever an army for the resettling of the people; yet were they, until his time, in their former disobedience, much wasted and spoiled by all these causes. So Her Majesty will not receive any great revenue before the country has been fully settled one year, whereby they may build again their houses, and sow corn for their most necessary relief. The first and most necessary work for Sir Conyers to undertake in all these confusions was to gain their loyalty, and upon the best assurance they could give. Trusts this is thoroughly done, for as many as he has dealt with. So must he deal with the rest, until he has got the entire province from the jurisdiction of O'Donnell. Until Sir Conyers has one of the frontiers, Sligo or Ballyshannon, he fears the people will not fall to building or husbandry, yet are most willing to acknowledge their loyalty to Her Majesty. Has from time to time written of this to the State in Dublin. Nevertheless, the revenues and impost for the last year, beginning at Michaelmas 1596, and ending at Michaelmas 1597, amount to between 1,100*l.* and 1,200*l.* Assures himself that the next year will draw from the counties of Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon, nigh upon 2,000*l.* sterling, which is more than ever was accounted for by Sir Richard Bingham in the most peaceable and quiet time.

As to the civil government, if he should call the people to sessions before such time as they saw Her Majesty's forces there to defend them, he fears that they ("living all yet without houses") would be made more ready for O'Donnell than now they are. Yet he undertakes to send the wildest of those who have submitted to Dublin to answer any matter done since receiving protection. Thinks it most convenient, as soon as either Sligo or Ballyshannon are fortified, to draw the people by gentleness to answer sessions, and such other civil government as the time and causes will require.

Proofs of the truth of his complaint that for seven months he had received but 1,000*l.* for all the companies in Connaught. Was driven to use all the means he could make, either by his credit, or his poor estate besides. The Lords Justices and Council, after long searching into the truth of his accounts, have written to their Lordships in his favour, the moneys being charged by the treasurer and victualler upon the captains. Humbly desires the favour of their Lordships, as the present treasurer is appointed only for the lendings. Protests it is a great part of his estate. If he had not taken that care, "the army must have broken."

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Sir Henry Wallop's declaration of moneys delivered to captains in Dublin in June last. The 4,271*l.* sent into Connaught by Bycknell. Sends a list of the companies Bycknell paid. As in seven months, beginning 14 February 1596[-7], he received only 1,000*l.*, so in eleven months, beginning at the same date, and ending the 14th instant, there have been but two months' lendings, and no other means for the victualling of the companies, except 500*l.* in the latter end of November last. None of the last treasure sent has come to him. Sends also a note under the victualler's hand as to the corn and victuals of all sorts that have come into Connaught, whereby their Lordships will see whether the companies in that province have been so chargeable to Her Majesty as in other places.

The reason that moved him to require 1,000 men from England was, not to increase any number, but to exchange Irish into English. Two parts at least of the companies with him were Irish. This he ever thought to be dangerous, and that it was "more safe and speedy for Her Majesty's service" to make two parts English, or rather more, if he might. Another principal reason for his asking for the 1,000 English was, that he might place 500 of them in Galway, so that, if any attempt was made by the Spaniards, he could secure that place, and thus discourage the rebels by obtaining "so good a back for his retreat." Further, having so many English, he could the more easily disarm, not only the Irish soldiers, but also the multitude.

In the project sent by Sir William Russell and the Council for the prosecution of the war, there was demanded for Connaught a force of 3,000 foot, 300 horse, 200 kern, and 100 pioneers; and for Lough Foyle, a force of 1,000 foot, 100 horse, 100 kern, and 100 pioneers. Now, by his experience of the people, he thinks Her Majesty shall not need to be charged (if prosecution go forward) with more than 2,000 foot and 120 horse for Connaught and O'Donnell's country. If O'Rourke make his submission, only 1,500 foot and 100 horse will be wanted. Hereby their Lordships will see, either that he has done something for Her Majesty's service, or that they were much deceived by that project.

Thinks it his duty to show how Her Majesty may be eased touching the waste and charges, whereof the victualler makes demand, and has had allowance. Though he cannot particularise what may be done in the general kingdom, yet as to Connaught he will undertake thus much. The quantity of corn to be sent for that province shall be delivered to the mayor and corporation of Galway. Upon their receipt he will deliver his hand for so much, and then two principal men of the corporation shall be chosen to disembark the same, and to bestow it in garnelle for preservation. The charge of this shall be borne by the captains, and themselves shall subscribe that they are all well pleased and contented with the same. For, as matters of waste are merely the Queen's loss and the victualler's gain, so have the inferior sort of victuallers their private gains upon the soldier, which is a principal reason to induce

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the captains to be well pleased herewith. As the victuals will have to be transported, as the service shall require, to Sligo, Ballyshannon, and other places of garrison, the captains shall also bear the charges thereof. Thus Her Majesty shall be free from all further charge, after the corn has been delivered in Galway. The two chosen members of the corporation shall put in sufficient sureties for a just account, and shall receive their monthly deductions from the soldiers' entertainment. Their account of the treasure "dispended" for the corn to be made every three months or six months, as their Lordships shall appoint.

As he sends the victualler's certificate for the proportion sent to Connaught, so he cannot but deliver the allowance which he demands about the issuing thereof, as waste and extraordinary charges, which will haply amount to a full third part. Thus their Lordships may conceive the scant proportion which came to the necessary relief of the companies [in Connaught], out of what Her Majesty sent for Ireland.—Dublin, 1597, January 20. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed*:—"Received at Whitchall the 29 January." pp. 5. *Incloses*,

21. I. *List of the captains paid by William Bycknell in Connaught.*—[1598, January.] p. 1.

21. II. *A particular of the corn and other victuals sent into Connaught from 1 January 1596-7 to 31 December 1597. Signed by Robert Newcomen.*—[1598, January.] p. 1.

Jan. 21.
Dublin.

22. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. Return of the Earl of Ormonde from the borders of Leinster. Proceed to give such answer to their Lordships' letter of December 28 as the state of the time and garboyles of the realm will permit.

The reasons for Her Majesty's losses in victualling were, the universal scarcity of all kinds of victuals in Ireland, and the issuing of the corn sent there at less than half the price it cost in England. Send victualler's certificate (*wanting*). His accounts being now to be declared before them, they will see as nearly as they can that Her Majesty is not defrauded in any of his rates, or other allowances demanded by him. Where their Lordships note that the Governor and other chief officers were victualled at those base prices, to Her Majesty's charge, they find, upon inquisition thereof, "that the Lord Burgh had the greatest part of his provisions out of Her Majesty's store, upon his own warrant" [*these words are italicised by Burghley*]. Were not made acquainted with this; but, in passing the victualler's account, they will make a more exact examination, and censure the fault upon whomsoever they shall find it to light. As to the allowances made to pensioners, clerks of the works and munitions, with others of that quality, they know of no such allowances made other than in times of journeys. This has been always usual, and due defalcations have been made from time to time out of the several parties' entertainments. This could not be helped, especially when journeys were

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made "into Irish countries and remote parts, where little more is to be had for men's relief than that which is brought with them." By this necessity, also, such as had sterling pay, and in that respect were ordered long since to victual themselves always but in times of journeys, have been driven to "discontinue" that order, and must depend still upon the store so long as they are employed in journeys, or, at least, till the realm grow to more calmness and greater plenty of victuals.

Send herewith (*wanting*) the several allegations of Sir Conyers Clifford and Sir Henry Wallop as to the payments to the companies in Connaught. Find that the difference in their certificates grows more upon a mistaking of the time, and some payments made at Dublin, of which Sir Conyers could take no notice, than upon substance of matter.

The remnant of the apparel is this day come to Dublin Harbour. Send the merchants' details thereof. Will proceed to distribute the whole to the army with all the speed they can, being not a little glad that it is come, for the soldiers being in great want of apparel, may be now somewhat comforted. Will observe their Lordships' order as to the defalcation for munition. Do not think the Master of the Ordnance can with any certainty give an estimate for the year "in respect of the uncertain issuing of munition to the companies."

Can add no further as to the defeat at Leix than is now advertised in the examinations taken by the Earl of Ormonde, which are sent herewith, along with a letter from himself (*these are wanting*).

Have confirmed Captain Egerton in his command at Carrickfergus. Two companies sent to reinforce the garrison. One of these was, by contrary weather, "put into" Scotland for a time, but has now safely arrived at Carrickfergus. No great alteration there since the last treaty with Tyrone; only Neill M'Hugh M'Phelim, one of the competitors to the country, has lately escaped out of prison in the town, and has committed some stealths. He attempted the castle of Edendoghcarrick, kept by Her Majesty, but did not prevail. Shane M'Brian M'Phelim, who was pardoned in September last, remains still detained in Carrickfergus for a debt which he owed to Sir John Chichester. Have given order to Captain Egerton to make stay of him till they see there be less cause to doubt him. Sir James McDonnell ["James McConnell"], who gave the overthrow to Sir John Chichester, and surprised the castle of Olderfleet, is now in Scotland. Send Captain Egerton's advertisements, and also such particulars as have been sent to them touching the overthrow of Sir John Chichester.

Order given as to the late Earl of Clancarr's lands. The Commissioners appointed to inquire into them cannot do their work until April or May next. Some alteration necessary in the Commission. Sir Robert Gardener is tied to Dublin. Sir Henry Wallop is sickly. The Solicitor-General is absent in England. The only remaining Commissioners are the Chief Baron and the Master of the Rolls. The base son of the Earl of Clancarr, who was recommended from England last year, still behaves well. Florence

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McCarthy has not yet shown himself before the Council, or made any public proceeding in his claim. Have cautioned the Lord President of Munster to "have an eye to" him and his doings.

With respect to what is answered to Her Majesty for the composition in Connaught, Sir Conyers Clifford has promised to report. Will see that the ministers who serve in that province are paid out of the composition as far as it will go. The composition in the English Pale, in lieu of cess, is answered in beeves and other helps taken up for the army, to a far greater value than the composition amounts to. Thus the country having overpaid, Her Majesty remains greatly in their debt. Have no other means to repay them than by suffering the composition to run on until they are satisfied. Pray that some special treasure may be sent over out of hand, to pay the country for their beeves, and the towns for the diet of soldiers. Satisfaction has long been expected on the Council's promise. Disappointed them on the arrival of former treasure. Fear this will greatly increase their grudge and discontentment. Have given order for their tickets to be sent in. Inclose treasurer's abstract of those already brought in (*wanting*).

Have issued a Commission to inquire into the oppressions of the captains and soldiers in Kildare and other counties. On its report, will consider both as to the punishment of offenders and satisfaction of the complainants, and certify accordingly.

The 14,000*l.* sent by their Lordships has arrived, except about 500*l.*, which is wanting of the loan of Cheshire. Cannot tell how long the money will last, not knowing how many men are able to serve, by reason of the death of Kyffin and the bad dealing of his man. The latter should have delivered to the Council all records and writings which his master had concerning the army; but he has refused, saying he knows not where they are, unless sent into England since his master's death. By whom they are sent, and whither, they cannot get out of him, though they have kept him close prisoner in the castle ever since Kyffin's death. There he shall remain till he gives better light on those writings. Will do their best to draw the money out to the uttermost. Have ordered Sir Ralph Lane to collect a perfect state of the army. But the borrowed money, 3,131*l.*, must be first deducted and repaid. Out of this, 2,162*l.* was converted to answer the lendings of certain companies. This will help to make the present treasure go further in the lendings. A small portion must also be reserved for extraordinary expenses, which cannot be put off, especially if the Earl of Ormonde undertakes a prosecution against "these rebellious beggars" in Leinster. Part must also go to his entertainment and that of the Lords Justices. All the rest shall go to the lendings, and the treasurer will send a certificate by the next.

Ask for more treasure, as they have no means to help themselves. They have often signified this to their Lordships. Beseech them to weigh in what extremities they are, "in a country destitute of all helps and comfort," yet having so great a number of soldiers and servitors for the wars, to cry out continually upon

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them for their wants. Can give nothing but words and promises. See these begin to be out of taste with them, through their long durance, and smart of their miseries. They took occasion of further discouragement and grudge when they heard of the small portion of treasure now arrived. Besides, their poverty and nakedness make them more apt to forsake Her Majesty's service, and run to the rebels, being (as they expound it) not provided for by Her Majesty. How dangerous this may prove, they who remain in Ireland are like to feel to their further hazard, if the distress be not presently looked into and remedied. Have had of late sundry credible advertisements, that the rebels in Leinster and the borders of the Pale promise all soldiers who will come to them xij*d*. a meal, and meat and drink. How easily this may entice wavering and light soldiers who are in want of all things, they leave to their Lordships' consideration. The rebels have no other means to make this great pay to the soldiers than by the ruin and spoil of the subjects.

Beg that with all possible speed they may have a large provision of victuals, especially of bread-corn, butter, cheese, and herrings. A good proportion of the corn to be sent to Galway, there to be stapled for the answering of Connaught. Other portions of the provisions to be sent to Carlingford, for Newry and the Blackwater, and to Carrickfergus. The proportion for the garrisons of the English Pale and Leinster to be sent to Dublin or Drogheda.

Pray for a supply of munition according to the certificate of the Master of the Ordnance sent herewith. Desire that their wants may be remembered with all speed, so that they may "contain" the soldiers, and "preserve the country from utter ruin."—Dublin, 1597, January 21. *Signed*. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Whitehall, 29 January." pp. 7. *Inclose*,

22 I. "*The whole proportion of apparel sent over by way of Chester, and from London, into the realm of Ireland, and provided by Urie Babington and Robert Bromley, merchants of London, for Her Majesty's garrisons.*"—1597, January 20. *Signed* by George Bromley and Thomas Hassall, factors. p. ½.

22. II. *Captain Charles Egerton to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. Arrival of Captain Atherton and his company from Scotland. Parliament held by the King, and ambassadors sent by him. Land tax in Scotland. Sir James McDonnell favoured by the King. Arrival of Captain Fisher's company. Captain Merriman drowned. Asks for his charge. Since the taking of the castle of Oldersfleet, the Scots have not attempted anything against Carrickfergus. Notwithstanding some of this garrison have given them provocations, by taking of stealths; "which practice hath been from time to time the chief ground of all the troubles in this country." The warders of Edenduffcarrig, after they had been thoroughly victualled for three or four months, and further relieved by the help of Shane M'Brian, sallied forth and took eighteen mares and garrans from the poor inhabitants*

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around, and demanded beeves of them. Thereupon the country, and Neill M'Hugh M'Phelim, attempted the castle, brake into the bawne, and burned the door of the main keep; whereupon the ward killed all those mares and garrans in the cellar, and by this wilful accident put the house in danger of being lost; otherwise, no attempt would have been offered them. Begs for an honourable care of their general wants, which he trusts Captain Charles Mansfield [*? Mansell*] has signified before this. Is taking order for a new door for the said castle, and for sending more victuals thither. —Carrickfergus, 1597, January 6. Copy. pp. 2.

22. III. A few particulars of the rout of Sir John Clichester and his forces near Carrickfergus by Sir James M'Donnell and the Scots. [On the third page of the sheet is a duplicate of these particulars.]—[The date is in November 1597, as the defeat is stated to have been on "the 4th of this present."] pp. 2.

22. IV. Account of the expense and issue of twelve lasts of corn-powder and 600 culivers sent to Ireland from the Tower of London. The amounts are chargeable on the entertainments of the captains named. "Remain of powder in the store in Dublin Castle, the 4th of December 1597."— $3\frac{1}{2}$ lasts, or 84 barrells. Signed by Sir George Bouchier. pp. 9.

Jan. 21. 23. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Concerning the moneys
Dublin. paid to Sir Conyers Clifford in Connaught. Sends certificates (*wanting*). Sir Conyers protests he did not mean to tax Sir Henry any way by writing as he did. No difficulty as to the payments at Newry and Carrickfergus.—Dublin, 1597, January 21. Signed. pp. 2.

Jan. 21. 24. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. "We see here
Dublin. many dangers, and generally there is no hope of any good meaning in Tyrone, for, since this last cessation, he hath appointed divers septs of villains, against his promise, to range up and down in the heart of this kingdom, wherein he hath two mischievous intents; the one, he "impovereth" the subject, and, by the example of this liberty given unto these beggars, it is doubted there is a great faction made for Tyrone against he next show himself in the civilest parts of the kingdom. Her Majesty's army, I assure your Honour, was never so out of order; so as, if he break before the companies be supplied, he will do much mischief, which will not in long time be recovered. And this I do assure your Honour, if he once break forth again, his aim will be at all, so as the preventing him is of great weight. For all matters touching my own charge, I send unto your Honour what hath been done (*wanting*); and, if Tyrone be prevented in his new faction, I trust to make a good end of my charge.

"I do by a letter desire your Honour's father to favour me, that the countries of Tyrconnell and Fermanagh, which are the countries of O'Donnell and Maguire, and for which countries I had a patent from my Lord Burgh, as large as he might grant them, that they may not be passed unto any other man's charge,

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if upon the settling of the country, Her Majesty will have them under government, but that they may be annexed unto the government I have; as well because I must endure the brunt for the recovering of them, as also [because] they lie fittest to the province of Connaught; and in this my suit I most humbly desire your Honour's favour." Has mentioned this only to Burghley and Sir Robert. Unless he obtains the grant by their means he will not seek it. Prays for the payment of such money as he has laid out of his poor estate for the relieving of Her Majesty's army. Without it he will be so greatly hindered that he will not be able to live. The Lords Justices and Council have written in his favour, but not before they made a full trial of the truth of every particular. "For I will assure your Honour, never any man liveth here with so little favour as myself; and for no cause that I ever gave any of them, but merely out of their partiality unto Sir Richard Bingham, who, I assure your Honour, might well be contented to have his matter heard at the Council table of Ireland, for the Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and the Treasurer, they (*sic*) are his tried friends; and, if I can ever be gotten upon advantage, I assure your Honour I shall find no favour; and if they will let me live quietly until then, I shall think them my friends."—Dublin, 1597, January 21. *Endorsed*:—"Received the 29 of the same." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

Jan. 21.
Dublin.

25. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Since the perclosing of his other letter now sent, the Lord Lieutenant General has acquainted him with Her Majesty's pleasure that he should attend his Lordship as an assistant in these treaties with Tyrone. Will do the best service he can in that course, notwithstanding the envy and hard interpretations stirred up against him in Ireland, when formerly employed in those affairs. His grief at this has done more hurt to his health than all the other toilsome services he has passed through, for the space of nineteen years, in "this rebellious land."

If Her Majesty can break the intelligence that Scotland has with Tyrone, and separate the King from him, his recovery will be the more speedy and better assured. Touching the Spaniards, Tyrone knows it is overdangerous for him to draw any force of them into any part of the north, though it may be he has given his consent for their coming into the west of Ireland. Now that the Lord Lieutenant General has time before the expiration of the truce, has advised his Lordship to turn all his endeavours to compound the troubles of Leinster, "whereby he shall have the better commodity to shake the great bear of the north, if he will be obstinate, having taken from him so great a help as Leinster." Reason to think that he will come to good conformity, now that Her Majesty has thoroughly authorised the Lord Lieutenant to conclude fully with him, unless his former fear of danger to his life stick too fast in him. Still holds that that foolish impression of fear will be the only let to the good success of this business.

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Will advertise their proceedings, as there shall be occasion.—Dublin, 1597, January 21. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Jan. 21.
Dublin.

26. Robert Newcomen to the Privy Council. In reply to their late letters respecting the losses in the victualling, states that these for the last year did not arise wholly, as is supposed, by loss of victuals, but by means of the highness of the prices in England and Ireland, and the smallness of the rate at which the victuals were issued to the soldiers. This the Lord Deputy and Council have often held grave consultations to reform, "but never could find any means how the soldiers could afford to pay any more." So they gave him their warrants to issue the victuals at those mean rates from time to time. Thus there was lost on wheat sent from England 8,810*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*; on biscuit bought in Ireland, 1,757*l.*; on the cheese sent from London and Bristol, 1,046*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*; besides other losses. Has sent the particulars by his agent, Samuel Mollinex.

Touching the delivery of part of the victuals to governors and chief officers, it was only in this manner. A small portion to Lord Burgh, for his household in Dublin and his retinue in camp, was delivered to his Lordship's officers on his own warrant. Was commanded by their Lordships to issue the victuals as Lord Burgh should from time to time direct. Finds the Commissioners of his accounts do not only scruple to allow him these, but likewise refuse to allow him the sum of 200*l.*, which he borrowed on credit, and delivered to Lord Burgh in ready money, at his last setting forward to the northern journey. Unless their Lordships are pleased otherwise to give order for his satisfaction, craves that Lord Burgh's goods may be in part stayed until both Her Majesty's victuals and the 200*l.* be answered. The goods were all shipped and ready to depart before their Lordships' letters came, or he would have been a suitor for the same in Ireland. The victuals charged upon Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Conyers Clifford were delivered unto them for their horsemen and footmen, and not otherwise. The other victuals he issued were by warrant of the Lord Deputy and Council. Has put down Her Majesty's loss estimatively. Will make up a perfect account, which he hopes the Commissioners will shortly take in hand.—Dublin, 1597, January 21. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"Received at Whitehall the 29 January." *pp. 2.*

Jan. 22.
Dublin.

27. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Burghley. Her Majesty's wish that, of all incident commodities heretofore reserved for a Lord Deputy, two parts should go to the Earl of Ormonde, and the third part be divided between the Lords Justices. Rest well satisfied with this resolution. Certify as required, the quantities and values of the corn, beeves, and other things incident to the place, as told them by an officer of the late Lords Deputy, Sir William Russell and Lord Burgh.

The tithes incident to the State (besides the tithes of Dunboyne) were set last year at 429 pecks, for which Lord Burgh, before his

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death, compounded with the parties, and payment was made to Lady Burgh's agents. The tithes of Dunboyne amounted last year to 648 pecks, for which the agents of the said Lady Burgh had satisfaction also. The port-corn reserved upon leases amounts to 1,621 pecks per annum, out of which is to be deducted yearly, for the portions of the three judges, 522 pecks, viz., to each of them 174 pecks of the several grains. There is also to be deducted, for the tithes of the village of Port Marnock, sometime in the possession of Jaques Wingfield, certain pecks, the number of which they know not at present. The measures of these pecks are several, according to the markets of the countries and places, where they are due. Likewise, the rents paid for them to Her Majesty's use by the Governors are several. Are sure that a great number of those pecks will not in these times be received, through the waste and desolation of the places out of which they are due. Thus the foresaid deductions being made, and the Lord Lieutenant's portion allowed him, there will not be left for them above 100 pecks a piece.

The beeves reserved from the Lady of Lackagh yearly, are 24, at 14s. Irish the piece; from the O'Reillys out of the county of Cavan, 235 clear, without payment of any rent to Her Majesty. At first those beeves were 400, at 13s. 4d. the piece, but, in the government of Sir John Perrot, were reduced to 235, without paying anything. From Magennis, for the chieffery of his country, are due 120 beeves per annum, at 13s. 4d. a piece. The beeves from the Lady of Lackagh and the O'Reillys were compounded for and satisfaction made to Lord Burgh for one year.

These are all the incident commodities they know to be due to the Governor for the time, except some small demesnes belonging to Her Majesty's house of Kilmainham. If the Lord Lieutenant General be pleased to have these wholly for his better maintenance, they will be very well content therewith. If they find any more certainty of these matters they will not fail to advertise their Lordships of the same. [*Postscript.*] Mean, according to Her Majesty's pleasure, to be abstinent from making of knights. Yet, being importuned by the Lord Lieutenant General, in behalf of his nephew, Walter Butler, and of his near kinsman, James Butler, they presumed to grace them with knighthood this day.—Dublin, 1597, January 22. *Signed.* pp. 3.

Jan. 22.
Dublin.

28. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. Having answered the points in the joint letter [from the Privy Council], thinks good to touch on a few concerning the general state of Ireland. What hope may be had of any honourable or safe peace to Her Majesty, Burghley may see by the demands of Tyrone sent over to England. In this time of cessation he works upon all the advantages he possibly may, to strengthen his wicked action, which makes Sir Conyers hope little good meaning in him. Since the first of this treaty the Earl has suffered all his partisans in Leinster to live in the places nigh the State, where they have probably spoiled as much as ever he did, when he declared himself "most aparante." By this liberty

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the poor subject is wasted, and the Earl has continually 700 or 800 men ready in those parts to assist him, whensoever he may draw thitherwards, such as those of the Moores, O'Connors, Geraldines, Tooles, Nugents, and divers other septs joined with them for spoil.

Fears Tyrrell's last journey into Leinster has made a great faction for Tyrone, when he first shows himself in action again, as the Maccoghilans, the O'Malleys, the Omalaughlins, the Odoynes, and the 'Magoeghams,' which people inhabit the borders of Leinster. If they once stir, it may be suspected that divers, who live quietly in Westmeath, will also be enforced to join with them, which would make this a more dangerous war than hitherto it hath been. To meet with all those mischiefs when they shall break out, Her Majesty's army has not, since his time, been in the general misery it is now grown to. "The companies [are] weak in number; divers entertained insufficient; no store of victual; the treasure last sent dispended for times past; the people so poor and discon[ten]ted that I do assure your Honour, if the country be put to bear the soldier again, they will not endure it. Neither in truth are they well able, the scarcity of all manner of grain and victual is so great amongst themselves." If Her Majesty accept not of this peace to avoid all mischiefs, the army must be supplied with 2,000 or 3,000 men from England, and so provided with money, victuals, and munition for six months, that immediately upon their arrival the northern part of this kingdom may be invaded, and the great rebels there so prosecuted that they "may lose the name, which they have by sufferance amongst the people, of greatness." The want of all these things is the cause why Her Majesty has been so greatly charged, and so little service has been performed.

The time is now ripe for Her Majesty to resolve what is to be done; for, by the end of this cessation, will be the fittest time of the year for prosecution. This time being lost, Her Majesty will but spend in the maintaining of the army, without impeachment to the rebel before harvest next. These two times, of the sowing and reaping of their corn, are the times in which they must be hurt.

Prays that he may have a patent putting under his government the countries of Tyrconnell and Fermanagh. For these he had a commission under the Great Seal from the late Lord Burgh. Hopes to lessen Her Majesty's charge in those parts. Assures himself that "the name only that they were committed to his charge" would bring great good to the service, by persuading such people as would fall from O'Donnell that they should be ever free from his tyranny. Does not desire any more augmentation of fee than they will yield upon their submission, nor more of what they will yield to Her Majesty than Burghley is pleased to think him worthy of.—Dublin, 1596 [*error for 1597*], January 22. *Signed, Endorsed by Burghley*:—22 January, 1597. *pp. 2.*

Jan. 22. 29. Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil. Craves pardon
Dublin. for his long silence. Had purposed to return in person, so thought

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it needless to trouble him with letters. But being forced to a longer stay, is bold to deliver his opinion and knowledge of "the lamentable estate of this accursed country." Did not go with the Earl of Ormonde to his last treaty, partly because he was not required, but especially because his horses being long before at Chester, and his own departure daily expected, he could not thrust himself into the journey without some jealousy or suspicion of his meaning, which haply might have interrupted the course of the treaty, whereof in truth there was great necessity.

"At my first arrival in this kingdom I found it very miserable; the soldiers starved, the poor people oppressed, and all generally blaming the cessation, which, nevertheless, I am persuaded might then have taken good effect, if it had not been crossed by device, or hindered by ambition." In the beginning of Lord Burgh's government there was a foundation laid of a war, which without doubt would have proved honourable to Her Majesty, and have ruined the traitor, had God been pleased to spare the Deputy. Yet these good beginnings had their errors, which before his death Lord Burgh saw, and would have redressed to the good of the whole kingdom. First, the building of the fort at the Blackwater seemed necessary, because it gave an entry into the enemy's country, near the place of his greatest credit and chiefest strength. But, because the place was too little, and the garrison too weak, it stands in no more stead than a guard to assure the passage; and, not being able to victual itself, it required a whole army for that purpose. This, assembled from all the garrisons of the land, oppressed in its passage the whole Pale. Thus the commodity of the fort did not answer half the hurt that the country received by it; besides, that one garrison, without the assistance of others conveniently placed to the continual annoyance of the enemy, could little avail. Secondly, Armagh was ill abandoned in regard of the conveniency of storage both of victual and munition, the easy victualling of the fort without an army or trouble to the country, and the freeing all the champaign ["champion"] country on this side the Blackwater from the enemy's creaght, which in the winter can hardly be forborne. Thirdly, the general hostings never hurt the enemy, but grieve the subject, neither can they be profitable for many reasons. The time of the assembly is known long before, which gives occasion of practice and prevention to the enemy. The provision of cows and victual is hardly made. The carriages are so many that no expedition can be used (the overthrow of all enterprises in Ireland). The country is oppressed with a multitude of soldiers on the way to their *rendezvous*; and many times the army is dissolved for lack of victuals, before half the time of the journey is expired, and commonly with the loss of a fourth part through sickness and famine. A retreat is no sooner made than the enemy possesses the place he held before. So there is no way to end the war but by strong garrisons, fitly placed and well maintained. These, keeping the enemy still occupied, may force him to a continual charge and keeping his soldiers together, or will easily be able to take his creaght, the only means of his maintenance. The

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places for the garrisons are well known to Sir Robert, so will not presume to appoint them. "Only I dare affirm upon my life that there is no other means to save the kingdom than by war, nor no (*sic*) other way to prevail in war than by garrisons; and therefore the sooner it be done the better." The cessation was very necessary, the army being weak, compounded most of fresh [recruits], and all discontented for lack of clothes and other necessities. Yet the inconvenience thereof is almost as great as the necessity of it; for besides that in this interim they haunt the towns and provide armour and all other necessities, the protected men, who increase daily, feed upon the subject, converse and confer with our soldiers, and win the best of them with their arms to their faction. What they leave uneaten in this peace they will burn and spoil in the war; so, the whole country being wasted, the poor soldier will find no relief for his money hereafter.

Some think it very needful to assure Leinster, and to sever the rebels thereof from the Earl; because, having thereby to do but with Ulster and Connaught, Her Majesty might lessen her charge, and end the war more easily. But whosoever discerneth the pride of Tyrone, the opinion which all the rebels conceive of him, and the oaths whereby they have bound themselves to him, may be well assured that they will accept of no conditions that may be honourable to Her Majesty, or keep them any longer than may serve their own turns, or shall stand with the Earl's good liking; all the rebels in Ireland depending upon him only, and at his direction in all things. "The enemy by many good successes is grown insolent and untractable; in discipline and weapons he is little inferior; in body and courage equal, if not superior to us; which cannot be denied, seeing their soldiers and ours are for the most part all Irish; little differing, saving that the men of most spirit follow the rebels, and leave the rascals to the Queen's service." At the victualling of the fort at the Blackwater, of 1,700 soldiers, there were not 300 English. Speaks this upon his own knowledge, and will justify it upon his credit. Supposes the like proportion of English will be found in other places. Trusts regard will be had hereto in time by a present and sufficient supply; otherwise, at the first landing of an enemy that will offer good pay, the whole kingdom will be in danger, if not before. "I am not ignorant that a peace with Tyrone were very necessary; for, by assuring him, all the kingdom will be assured, both against home rebellion and foreign invasion; but, because I see no means to satisfy Her Majesty's honour, and to remove his long-concealed and settled jealousy, it is far more safe to prepare for a present war in time, than by a longer abusing hope of peace to impoverish the subject and enrich the enemy, who, growing still in strength and pride, will suddenly break out as a flame of fire to consume all."

Craves Sir Robert's favour in a suit which he trusts shall not be thought unreasonable. Last year's restraint of Irish shipping, the poverty of the people, and the continual bruit and fear of invasion,

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have so discouraged the merchants that few trading for wines will adventure to farm the impost at any certain reasonable rate, which was the only mark he shot at. Since his coming to Ireland, he has spent almost a thousand pounds, and is like to return without his purpose, unless her Majesty shall have some gracious regard for him. He now pays 2,000*l.* yearly for the impost on wines that come into Ireland. If Her Majesty would abate 500*l.* of her yearly rent, which is now but casual, he will undertake to establish a certainty of the rest; whereas in eight years before his last lease, there were made by her officers not above 4,500*l.*, which was less by 1,000*l.* yearly than by his travail and expense shall be well assured during his whole term, though these times differ far from the former, and are many ways more casual. Can despair of nothing Sir Robert shall undertake for him, and expresses gratitude for his favours. [*Postscript.*] "There is nothing in this miserable country worthy your Honour, and yet I have presumed to send you two horses; one of them is reasonable fair for his stature, well conditioned, and as swift as may be found in Ireland, if he fall to a perfect pace (as I trust he will). I know he will please you well. The other is very young, of a good race, and easily paced. I pray God they prove as I wish them. A few days past I sent your Honour a very good flying goshawk, and a passenger tassell gentle; but because the year was far spent, and the hawks fed up, I appointed the goshawk to be put in the mew at my own house, and the tassell to be left with Sir William Vane's falconer to be trained for your Honour, in hope he will prove a high flier, being very likely, and lately taken. I shame to present your Honour with such trifles, but I beseech you to accept them, and believe that my heart would as willingly afford greater matters."

Has commanded the bearer to attend Sir Robert's good pleasure for his suit hereinlosed (*wanting*). It differs nothing from Her Majesty's last letter, but in the sum of his yearly rent.—Dublin, 1597, January 22. *Holograph. Seals. pp. 5.*

Jan. 22.
Blarney.

30. Cor[mack] Carty to Sir Robert Cecil. His uncle, Sir Cormack M'Teig, knight, father of his adversary, Charles Carty, contrary to the trust reposed in him by the writer's father, Sir Derby M'Teig, knight, still labours to dispossess the writer of his inheritance of the country of Muskerry and manor of Blarney. Sir Cormack refuses to stand to the ordinary trial of law. Prays Sir Robert's furtherance of his causes. Recommends the bearer his servant.—Blarney, 1597, January 22. *Signed. p. ½.*

Jan. 23.
Dublin.

31. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to Burghley. Whilst Maurice Kyffin was alive they were greatly troubled with the matters of the musters and checks; but, since his death, they are more impeached therein. Are, therefore, driven for the time to suffer Sir Ralph Lane to continue in the execution of that place; and the rather that now is the time to make up the captains' reckonings. Refer to a letter of Burghley's of 24th June last, signifying the dismissal of Sir

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Ralph. Desire to know Her Majesty's pleasure. Would, without prejudice to Sir Ralph, "remember" his Lordship how requisite it is that "a sufficient stirring man" be employed in these matters of the musters and checks, the frauds and disorders whereof will hardly be redressed without the ministry of such an one. Pray that they may hear Her Majesty's resolution therein out of hand. Send so much of Burghley's letter as concerns Sir Ralph Lane (*wanting*).—Dublin, 1597, January 23. *Signed. p. 1.*

Jan. 23.
Dublin.

32. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. Acknowledges Burghley's letter of the 29th of December. Has victualled the fort of the Blackwater for six months, having received a pledge from Tyrone to lie in his hands until the victualling and sending of other necessaries was accomplished. The truce for two months. Will, when he meets the Earl, proceed according to Her Majesty's instructions lately received. Tyrone has kept the peace very well in the north, and dispersed his forces (as the Marshal wrote). This he never did before, since he was proclaimed.

"The 14,500*l.*, sent hither for payment of the lendings of November and December, will give small contentment to the army, and much less to the poor subjects that delivered beeves and victuals at mean prices; whom it were a most charitable deed to relieve speedily; who, for want of money to be given to the soldiers for their lendings after those two months, are like again to be burdened with the army as before they were, though themselves are in case to starve for lack of victuals."

Begs for money, victuals, and munition. The Master of the Ordnance has sent a certificate. "I am credibly informed that, in the first journey made into the north by my Lord Deputy, there were thirty-six barrels of powder spent and consumed before they came in sight of any rebel; which seemed very strange unto me."

Expresses his thanks for being allowed two parts of the commodities incident to the Lord Deputy. Is informed that the most part of the whole year's allowance of corn and beeves was received and sold by Lord Burgh, who served not half a year in Ireland.

Captain Morris's company was cased before the receipt of Burghley's letter directing its continuance. It had but nineteen soldiers, who were delivered to reinforce another company. The Lieutenant and soldiers certified that since Captain Morris had the company assigned to him, he never paid them any money, most of them being unfurnished with arms at the time of their discharge.

Is of opinion that it were not amiss to appoint Commissioners of the Council to examine how the late treasure was expended, which ought to have paid lendings to the army for thirteen weeks. Many have eight weeks' lendings due to them.

No news as yet of the arrival of any of the soldiers from Picardy at Waterford, as promised. If they, or some supplies out of England, come not to make the companies strong, the traitors, that are now in great numbers in every part of the realm, will stand upon prouder terms than otherwise they would.

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Understands by some that came this day from the Blackwater fort, that the same is fallen in several places. So fears that, if the Earl of Tyrone break off at his next meeting with him, the fort will be in danger of being lost; for the ground where the same is placed is such, that, "what they repair in one day, twice as much falleth the next day." Took order for sending one hundred pioneers there presently.—Dublin, 1597, January 23. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Jan. 23.
Dublin.

33. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. The Privy Council's letter to him of the 23rd November, for provision of 50,000 pipestaves and 50,000 hogshead boards, to be prepared and carried to Wexford, there to be ready for lading the hoys appointed to come with soldiers from St. Valery to Waterford, did not come to his hands till the 10th January. Albeit the warning given is so short, yet has taken such order that the said proportion is already carried to Wexford. The hoys will contain a greater number. Will presently be able to furnish as many as will fully load them. Lately loaded a Dublin hoy from Wexford to London with 30,000 hogshead boards, of which he wrote to Burghley on the 29th December that Her Majesty might have the first refusal.

With respect to the Privy Council's pleasure for delivery of these pipestaves and hogshead boards at Waterford or Wexford, it may please them to understand that "so hard is the passage from Wexford to Waterford, though a very short cut, yet full of flats and dangers, and so unfit the shipping of Wexford to receive such loading, as to deliver the same at Waterford would be a great increase of charge, even of above 20s. the 1,000 at the least."—Dublin, 1597, January 23. *Signed.* pp. 1½.

Jan. 24.
Dublin.

34. The Earl of Ormonde to the Queen. Acknowledges Her Majesty's letter of the 29th December, with her instructions for proceeding with the rebels in Ireland. The proportion of money now sent over is such as will hardly pay the last two months' lendings to her "decayed army" in Ireland; and, for want of a greater supply, the ruined counties and distressed towns, where the garrisons lay (and must yet remain), will grow discontented and desperate, having had little or no payment of long time from Her Majesty's officers, for the diet of the companies or for beeves delivered to the army, although (before Ormonde's employment) divers large sums were sent for the same. Recommends a Commission to examine how the former treasures were issued, and the soldiers and country as yet unpaid. This has brought the people to such poverty, that it is like to breed great discontentment and famine among them. Will take the best course he can to see that Her Majesty's treasure be expended as signified.

Understands by some advertisements that the King of Scots means to trouble Her Majesty in England, if he may be helped by the King of Denmark and the Spaniards, and that he is now to send aid of men into Ireland with Sir James M'Sorley Boy. Sir James is to marry the daughter of the Earl of Gowrie ("Gorrye"), though it was said in Scotland that he was married to Tyrone's daughter.

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Begs for victuals, munition, and money. The lendings shall be paid to the soldiers by poll, and the poor subject shall be saved from oppression. By this means the supplies promised from Picardy and England may be kept in some strength. Has victualled the Blackwater fort for six months at least, and sent munition and other necessities there also; "which, if it were done by raising your Highness' army (as before now hath been), would cost your Majesty 10,000*l.*, besides the intolerable charge of your poor subjects." Prays God to bless Her Majesty with a most happy and victorious reign, to the overthrow of all her foreign enemies, and [of] all other unnatural traitors.—Dublin, 1597, January 24. *Signed.* [*Postscript in Ormonde's hand.*] "Most gratios Sofferayne, Lucas remaynes in the same trothe and duetye to your highnes that he hathe ever donn, and so woll continue to his last gaspe. If he had slept, as your most excellent Majestye writeth, ther had benn manye moe traytors alive then now (I thank God) are; whiche might have benn made knowen to your highnes longe er this, if I had not benn wronged. Your Majesties most humble and faithfull subject and sarvant, Lucas." *pp.* 2.

Jan. 24.,
Dublin.

35. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Understands from the Earl of Nottingham that Sir Robert has performed the part of a good friend to him [Ormonde], when some causes came in question before Her Majesty concerning him. Expresses his thanks. Refers to the joint letter from the Council for news. "And hereafter I will make bold to trouble you with my proceedings in this Her Highness' service, whereof I have charge, the time being more miserable than hath been seen heretofore, the rebellion being in every part of the realm, and no proportion left of money, munition, nor (*sic*) victuals." Arrears due to the poor subjects.

Prays Sir Robert to deliver to Her Majesty the letter he encloses (*see* No. 34).—Dublin, 1597, January 24. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Jan. 24.
Dublin.

36. The Countess of Desmond to Sir Robert Cecil. "Having a desire to come into this my native country, hoping to live in better sort, and to recover part of my own (whereof I have received no benefit as yet), do find it in so great poverty, as I am sorry of my coming." Her confidence in Burghley and Sir Robert, her chiefest patrons in her greatest distress. The cause of her long troubles were false informations. Time has shown her loyal and dutiful inclination. Will never fail to continue the same to her end, in whatsoever state she may be. The great dearth of all things in Dublin is such that it is impossible for her to endure the excessive charges, having (in a sort) no other means to maintain the same than only her bare pension. This for a long time she has received beforehand, to furnish her present wants. Desires Sir Robert's continued furtherance of her case.—Dublin, 1597, January 24. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Jan. 25.
Dublin.

37. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. The working of his enemies in Dublin, who seek to draw some other into Mr. Kyffin's room. Did not malign Mr. Kyffin in his lifetime, "though, in the opinion

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of wise men, he quite failed in the best course" of Her Majesty's service. Would he most unwilling to be stained with a second disgrace, unless he was justly charged with insufficiency or dishonesty. "I will in all things concerning mine office in all former times of my greatest imputed errors justify myself, but not always all my officers. What was done amiss was done by the negligence or ignorance of some of them." Has so well discovered this, that no man appointed to the office of the musters shall be so able to discharge it as he. Has employed a long time in the invention of a certain order for the severe execution of his office, and the reformation in Her Majesty's whole army (without any increase of charge to the same) of most ruinous errors in it, by the absence of the captains from their charges in garrisons. If Her Majesty will let him make trial of it, he will save her the entertainment of a surveyor, and doubtless in a very short time deserve her commendation, which, after so many undeserved disgraces, will greatly comfort him. Affliction bringeth understanding; and, as he has had a great part of the one, so, if Her Majesty make use of his service, she may assuredly reap the fruits of the other.—Dublin, 1597, January 25. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 25.
Dublin.

38. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. [*Duplicate, with slight alterations, of the preceding letter.*—Dublin, 1597, January 25. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 26.
Whitehall.

39. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. Acknowledge their letters of the 3rd inst., received by the hands of the Earl of Thomond. Have imparted them, and all other writings brought over, as mentioned in the said letters to Her Majesty, whose pleasure was that they should presently return some answer.

First, she liketh well of the Earl of Ormonde's dealings with the Earl of Tyrone in the late parley, and allows his discretion and judgment in rejecting the Earl's petitions on that occasion. When Ormonde shall have any new occasion to deal with Tyrone, he shall let him know of his insolency and pride. Professing himself a subject, he yet opens his mouth in reprehension of the state and government of the realm, to impeach the law, and to impugn Her Majesty's royal authority for matters not pertaining to himself. He is to be told to act according to the submission made by him. Tyrone's agreeing to a truce for eight weeks, on condition that the same be observed towards him and his partners. "Therein he showeth himself to be a head of a faction, and forgetteth the words of his submission, taking upon him therein as a patron of others being offenders, whereas he might be reasonably allowed to be a humble petitioner for them to have Her Majesty's pardon, as himself, upon his repentance, might and may have." Mean not to give them further arguments to reprove his insolencies. At the next parley, Tyrone is to be so dealt with, as not to be put in any desperation, but in assurance and hope of Her Majesty's favour and restitution to his former estate. He is to be told, also, that his "complices" shall receive pardon and restitution upon their

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submission. Her Majesty finds no cause to change her former directions given in her letter of December 29, and in the Privy Council's letter of "about the same time," which they see had not been received before the coming away of the Earl of Thomond. They are to proceed to the execution of these directions, "and considering the state of that realm, how chargeable and dangerous a matter it is to have this rebellion continued, Her Majesty is moved, in compassion of the miseries of that realm, to extend her mercy and favour in a larger sort than otherwise the offences of her rebels by any kind of submission can deserve." Therefore, if Tyrone yields to those of the articles prescribed to him, which are held to be most necessary, and gives assurance by good pledges and by disarming his extraordinary forces, the other articles may be forborne for the present. If agreement is not come to with Tyrone, whereby the troubles of Ireland shall continue, the Council, as those best acquainted with that State, are "to give Her Majesty some good account how to proceed towards the reduction of that realm out of the danger and misery, wherein it manifestly appeareth to be, and by your writing is likely to increase."

Are glad to hear of the victualling of the Blackwater fort. Sorry to see the general weakness of the forces in Ireland. "And so we well see, by some books sent now unto us, a strange and uncertain declaration, differing in the books sent hither signed by Sir Ralph Lane; whereof the one containeth a monstrous declaration of the numbers of all men in pay to be 9,904, and the monthly charge 11,405*l.* sterling; such a book as never was warrantable, as we think, since the first conquest of Ireland; and yet, if that monstrous certificate should be accepted, there is to be added to that charge a loss to Her Majesty in prices of victual of above 1,000*l.* a month, for so it is to be gathered by the victualler's certificate lately made." Besides this "excessive book, there is another sent unto us, signed also by Sir Ralph Lane, containing 674 horsemen and 7,500 footmen, the same being numbered as they be in the rolls, without any manner of deduction either for absent[ee]s or deficient. And likewise a third book, signed by himself also, containing in a total number 2,060 footmen and 219 horsemen; in which book, all the captains serving in Ulster, having charge most of them of 100, the same are so deficient, as many of them have not above 50, and some scant thirty. The view of all which various papers thus certified without any book of checks, either for victuals or defect of numbers, breedeth in us here a great discontentation, and a hard opinion of any diligence there used, either for the maintenance of the strength of the army, or diminution of his charge."

As to the complaint that some of the apparel had not arrived, state that the portion which had arrived was sent by land; the rest was shipped in the beginning of December, and, being forced into Portsmouth, was stayed there by contrariety of wind until the end of December; at which time the ships were conducted into St. George's Channel, beyond Scilly, before the first of

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January. Account that they have arrived at Dublin. Wish the distribution of the apparel to be made only to such of the army as shall be found ready for service.

With respect to the demand for money, consider that what was last sent had not arrived when the Council's letters were written, as they gathered from the Earl of Thomond. Require speedily to be advertised how the same is expended, specially for the lendings as it was meant. "For victuals, we know not how to satisfy you with such quantity as it seemeth you desire, considering the great want and extreme dearth here in the realm, and therewith the extreme and uncertain charges of transportation by sea." Send 1,000*l.* by Molyneux, the victualler's agent, and promise 2,000*l.* more in a few days, to be employed in buying necessary victuals in Ireland.

Tyrone's motion for a peace for two or three years. The different opinions in the [Irish] Council thereon. Some guess that Tyrone thinks Her Majesty may, during that time, withdraw some part of her forces, and so leave the realm in less strength, and more open to his rebellion, and the invasion of the Spaniard. On the other side, the Earl of Ormonde, the Bishop of Meath, and Sir Geoffrey Fenton seemed to gather that Tyrone's meaning was that, by the benefit of such a time, he might recover fully Her Majesty's favour, and grow into an assurance of his safety, which he now greatly doubts; and that, by such time being given, the rest of his partners might be brought to their wonted duty and obedience. Her Majesty's resolution is desired upon these different opinions; whether she will proceed further by way of prosecution, and enable them thereto with all means and provisions; or, otherwise, have him further dealt with for a thorough peace, sending authority to that end. The answers to these questions being of great difficulty, they are to follow Her Majesty's directions sent last month, wishing the peace fully made without limitation of years, but with as good assurance as they can obtain. Doubt not but that a new parley in a short time with Tyrone will prove what may be hoped from such a peace; and thereupon Her Majesty shall more readily determine her resolutions, either for peace or war.

"Then followeth in your letter your opinion, by your advertisements which do come unto you, that the King of Spain, for the malice which he beareth against Her Majesty, meaneth to express the same against some part of that land, considering, as you are advertised, that he keepeth his fleet and army together at Ferrol and about Lisbon; which you do remember unto us, as thinking it requisite that some part of Her Majesty's ships be in readiness at the sea before them; and, namely, for the defence of some of the west parts of that realm, as Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, which your advertisement we think very true, and your request very reasonable; whereunto we will open unto you also our opinions, and the state of Her Majesty's affairs at this time, as they do occur.

"We know it to be true that his army and navy remaineth ready, to be prepared to come to the sea this present year; and,

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though offers are very lately made to Her Majesty and the French King to treat of a general peace, yet Her Majesty meaneth not to neglect her preparations to the sea, for defence both of this realm and of that. For which purpose we trust Her Majesty shall be well able to perform the same, by the large offers and grants, made to her in this Parliament, of subsidies and fifteenths for divers years following. And yet, nevertheless, Her Majesty mindeth to join with the French King, to give ear to such motions as shall be made for peace on the behalf of the King of Spain, which are in words and messages offered by the Archduke of Austria to the French King, both for himself and the Queen's Majesty; and for that purpose, according to the request of the French King, her Majesty sendeth certain of her ministers, whereof I, the Secretary, am one, to understand further the issue of those offers, which time will shortly prove what may be trusted thereto. And yet, in the meantime, nothing shall be left here undone that may tend to make ready forces, both by sea and land, to withstand the Spanish forces. Thus much we have thought good to impart unto you as Councillors of State, the discovery whereof being known to the rebel, being wisely used, we think may do good to move the rebels to desist from their expectation of aid from Spain."

The Council write that they have heard nothing as yet of the 900 soldiers who were to come out of Picardy, nor of the 2,000 written for in November last. As to the former, they have been ready ever since November to be shipped from St. Valery, but have been stayed, partly by loss of shipping with victuals for them by tempest, and partly by contrary winds, and now, last of all, by the unaptness of the harbour for any meet shipping for their transportation. So it is presently ordered that they shall be shipped with speed at Dieppe. Hope they will very shortly hear of their arrival, as appointed. As for the 2,000 men, are doubtful what to answer at present, considering the number of newly-erected companies of late years. Give divers numbers since 1595, making a total of 7,466 men, "a number whereof account is worthy to be made, both for their bodies, how they are, or have been, bestowed, and for the armour and furnitures which they have had out of this realm, to the great burthen of this realm, with the charges of the great sum of money yielded by Her Majesty for their conduct and transportation, and greater sums of money expended by the countries where they were levied, for their furniture. And this we write to you as Councillors, to put you in remembrance how burdenous those your demands are in our sight, without some better satisfaction to be had from you, before any such new charge may be laid here upon the realm. And when you do require these supplies to fill up such numbers as be diminished by death and running to the enemy; and for that they which remain, being three parts of four, do consist of Irish, we think it had been very convenient and necessary to have explained these several diminutions by some perfect and particular

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books of musters of every band, expressing the same particularly, until which time of your certificate you may well think we have great cause to suspend so great a charge.

" You make mention of a list of all the companies of horse and foot in Her Majesty's pay, which though, you write, they contain great numbers in roll, yet, as you write (*sic*), they are neither in description than (*sic*) in substance, by reason of the great diminution in numbers, and other frauds to Her Majesty in their pay; which though you have laboured to redress, yet by Maurice Kyffin's sickness, whom now we understand to be dead, the remedy of these abuses would be more defective than otherwise should be, if he might have stirred abroad.

" And now, perceiving in the ending of your letter that he is departed, and your request to have some other sent thither out of hand, to be employed as he was, we are very sorry of the loss of so good a servant, and, as soon as we may find out one to supply that place, we will take care thereof; doubting how to find any meet man willing thereto, considering the hatred borne to the said Kyffin for his truth and earnestness in service, which is like to be continued again (*sic*) his successor, if he shall follow Kyffin's former examples; who, we perceive by report from thence, at the time of his death did commit his books to one Tedder, his trusty servant, to be kept until I, the Treasurer of England, should be acquainted therewith, and give direction how the same should be used. And to that purpose (as we understand) he caused him to be sworn not to deliver those books to any other without my knowledge; whereupon, for his refusal to deliver the said books there, he hath been committed to prison; whom though we cannot discommend for observing of his oath, yet we think you did well to urge him to have the books, for to understand the true state of the musters, if the said books were fully perfected. And to that end I, the Treasurer, have already by my private letter directed him to deliver the books as you the Council there should think fit. And yet I do desire you that the party imprisoned may not be burthened with the expense of his imprisonment, except he shall give further cause than his refusal for observing of his oath. And, touching this matter of musters, we would be glad to understand what number of officers are appointed as Commissaries in [*? the*] several parts of the realm, and who they are, and what entertainment they have, and how far Her Majesty is charged therewith in her treasure, and what good and profit is found to follow thereby, beside the entertainment of Sir Ralph Lane, to whom we would know what service is limited, considering the books afore mentioned, and now sent hither, are signed only with his hand."

Are glad to hear of the submission of Phelim M'Hugh, one of the sons of Feagh M'Hugh. Wish that his brother, who yet remains upon protection, might be induced to come in. Her Majesty is well inclined to their having their father's lands, and desires to know what rents were formerly paid her by him, or

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what rents it were reason to ask, the sons putting in good pledges for their obedience. "In which case, and other the like, we think it reasonable that the charges of the pledges should be borne by them, for whom they are pledges, and not by the Queen's Majesty; and yet the same charges to be moderated reasonably by the gaolers."

Think the Council have done very well in sending some forces to suppress the Bastard of Kildare, supported by certain of the O'Connors in a kind of rebellion. "If any of those O'Connors, or any of the O'Moores now in rebellion, have been such as heretofore have had any of the lands in Offally limited unto them, or their predecessors, to dwell upon, and have been expelled from the same (as we hear some have been), and [the lands] granted away from them, some to Irish and some to English captains, whereby they have been put from their habitations, and so left to live idly and disorderly; Her Majesty, hearing of some such report, without knowing the truth thereof, would have you, the Lords Justices and Council, to cause due inquisition to be made thereof, and to certify the truth, with your opinions what were fit to be done, to reduce the said O'Moores and O'Connors to obedience."

Are sorry to hear of the loss of the castle of Olderfleet ["Underfleet"]. The examination of Moses Hill, the Constable thereof, and the punishment of any found culpable, very well allowed.

"And thus have we at length discoursed upon all the necessary parts of your letter, being thereto provoked so to write, considering the length and particularities of yours, noting, by the subscription of your names, no more to be parties thereto but four, besides you the two Lords Justices, and you the Lord Lieutenant, observing the lack of the Treasurer's hand, who, we think, will shortly satisfy us better than we are with the knowledge of the expense of Her Majesty's treasure, and her savings by the true muster-books, and checks and allowances for vituals and apparel now sent; a matter so much desired by Her Majesty to be cleared, besides many other doubts moved by our former letters, and never well answered, as Her Majesty hath a meaning, being forced thereto for lack of good satisfaction, to make choice of some special person, to be shortly sent thither, being both a martial man and experimented in the services of that realm, with some instructions for good inquisition of the state of things doubtful and disordered, and thereof to return a particular answer to Her Majesty."—The Court at Whitehall, 1597, January 26. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 59^b-65^b. *Copy*. pp. 12.

[*The next letter in the Entry Book is dated May 28, but, after the preceding letter, there is this memorandum:—"There was a dispatch made to the Lords Justices and Council in March, whilst Mr. Secretary was in France, the copy whereof is not entered in the Council Book, but remaineth with my Lord Treasurer."*]

Jan. 27.

40. Memoranda of events and divers payments in Ireland, from November 1597 to January 27, 1597-8. The last entry but one is:—"Maurice Kyffin died the third of January." pp. 2½.

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Jan. 31.
Dublin.

41. Sir George Bourchier to Burghley. Touching the deduction for munition out of the soldier's pay. "The summer suit of the soldiers' apparel, amounting to 16s. 8d., cannot by all likelihood answer the munition, a culiver being priced at 24s., besides such powder and other necessaries," as are required upon the musters. His certificate of the munition that will be needful at the end of next March was sent by the last packet. Little remains in the store in Dublin Castle. Will send his man over for the supply, and also to give account of the state of his office.—Dublin, 1597, January 31. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

Jan. 31.
Dublin Castle.

42. A. Blaccadell to Sir Robert Cecil. Has vowed to be his, and to live and die in his service. The late Sir John Norreys would have written in his favour. Desires Sir Robert to give credit to the bearer.—Dublin Castle, 1597-8, January 31. *Signed. p. 1.*

[January.]

43. "Certain articles concerning my employment to Tyrone, and what service was done your Majesty by my travel, and how it was hindered by others." [*Appears to have been addressed by Captain William Warren as a remonstrance or petition to the Queen.*]

When he was employed to Tyrone, the Earl submitted, and proffered to put in good pledges, and to "give" a fine of 10,000*l.* Got 500 beeves from Tyrone in part payment of his fine, and put these into Armagh, where the garrison was famishing. Would have undertaken to have got the whole 10,000*l.* if Sir William Russell had not crossed it. Got from Tyrone the best pledges in his country, and these have remained prisoners ever since in Dublin Castle. Obtained knowledge of the coming of the three Spanish ships, and gave notice of all the intelligence that passed between Spain, and Scotland, and Tyrone. Through himself great store of goods, taken from subjects in time of cessation, were restored. Got the King of Spain's letter then sent to Tyrone and delivered it to the Lord Deputy and Council; which was very chargeable to him. Enticed away from Tyrone all the workmen that were sent to him by the King of Scots to make pieces, and was forced to relieve them all himself. "I brought Tyrone to Sir John Norreys and the rest of the Commissioners alone, without any in company with him, without any promise or word for his return; where they might have stayed him, which showed that I was not very far in love with him."

Gives reasons why the articles of peace, agreed to on both sides, were not performed, and why the parties broke off.

"Sir William Russell, then being Lord Deputy, understanding that Tyrone had proffered a great fine to your Majesty, underhand employed my brother, Sir Henry Warren, to Tyrone, commanding him straightly not to acquaint me withal, which he accordingly performed, and did promise Tyrone from him that, if he would write his letter to the Lord Deputy, promising to give your Majesty twenty thousand pounds for a fine, he would assure him it should never be demanded of him, but only for a show; alleging

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that the effect of his letter, which he brought to Tyrone from the Lord Deputy, was that he should give credit to him in anything he should say or promise him; whereupon Tyrone made him answer that he was unwilling to promise one thing and write another; yet, nevertheless, he got him to write a letter that he would pay a fine of twenty thousand pounds. Whereupon Sir Warham Sentleger and I was (*sic*) sent to Tyrone to receive this great fine; which being demanded he utterly refused to pay, alleging my brother's promise given to him to the contrary, and the Lord Deputy's letter, which then he showed to me, which I acquainted Sir John Norreys withal; whereupon I was called before the Lord Deputy and Council together with my brother, where I justified both his letter and my brother's promise. Which underhand dealing overthrew your Majesty's service, hindered all our proceedings, and put the traitor into such pride, as he would not yield to anything; and, besides, got me many a heavy enemy, because I would not be false in your service, nor dissemble what had been done."

The breach of faith in detaining the King of Spain's letter to Tyrone, "which caused all the Irish not to trust any man ever since, whereupon they broke into rebellion again; whereas otherwise he might have sent the copy, which would have been sufficient, and afterwards he might have broken for a better purpose, and not have hindered the service then in handling; which, if they had forborne, I would have undertaken to have brought Tyrone, or his eldest son, into England, whereof there is good proof.

"Sir William was very ready to break his word in detaining the letter, because he was assured it would cross Sir John Norreys's proceedings, preferring his private ambition before the good of your Majesty's service; but when Tyrone came to him to Dublin upon protection, and was to be charged with many articles of treasons, he would not then break his word in staying of him, which he might have done then without any breach at all; for Tyrone being examined whether he came in upon protection or not, he denied his protection, where he might justly have taken advantage of him and kept him.

"In this employment I was forced to oppose myself against the Lord Deputy and all his faction, without respect to any, or else to be false to your Majesty in your service, in concealing their underhand dealings, which I have not forborne to make known; wherein I have purchased myself many enemies, by whose means and by their information I have obtained your Majesty's hard opinion. My reward on allowance for all my travel and charge was but 10*s. per diem*, which I was then promised, but never paid; yet would I not slacken your Majesty's service, although it were to my great charge, at the least 3*l.* and sometimes 4*l. per diem*, besides the supplying of myself continually from time to time with horses, my travel being then very great, and, besides divers sums of money laid out for intelligence and messengers, by direction from the Commissioners, which as yet I could never be paid.

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'And, to disprove their suggestions against me, in that I should be great or inward with Tyrone otherwise than became me in duty, I am neither of their traitorous generation, nor have any Irish blood in me, nor any kin or alliance to any Irishman living. And, in proof that I am, and always was, forwarder to adventure myself in your Majesty's service than those that seemed to hate him most, I was forced to supply some of their rooms, who quit their places and lost their colours in the fight at Monaghan against the traitor Tyrone, which I was fain to make good, where I slew divers of the enemy, the report whereof I refer to divers knights and gentlemen that are now in Court, who were then present.

"And afterwards when Sir William Russell, then Lord Deputy, and Sir John Norreys had the chase upon Tyrone, I was the first man that charged him and his company, and killed divers of his men, took of his best gentlemen prisoners, and not long afterwards was by them and his brothers sore wounded myself in divers places, and many of my men killed, and divers hurt, besides the loss of twenty-two horses; and afterwards had all the little land I had burned and wasted by them, and all my goods taken away, and my house broken, which hath (*sic*) been the only tokens of friendship betwixt Tyrone and me. And, besides, I have at my own charge made up an hundred horse, whereof I have fifty now in pay; besides a hundred foot, which I did likewise make up to serve your Majesty, without any allowance given me for doing thereof.

"And likewise, in the wars of Sorleboy, I made up fifty horse at my own charge, and was left in his country, where most of the captains refused to remain; and yet, notwithstanding, I undertook the place, having divers of my men hurt and slain, with the loss of many of my horses, where the traitor William Stanley was hurt; and yet never in my life had any manner of recompense, wherein if I shall be disproved in anything which I have set down, then let me be thought the unhonestest man living, and lose your Majesty's favour, which I esteem more than anything in this world."

Is ashamed that he should be forced to speak in his own praise. Has presumed to set down his services against the traitor Tyrone. For the rest of his time spent in Her Majesty's service, he will leave it to the report of the world.—[1597-8, January.] *Probably written in reply to William Paule's charges. Copy. pp. 2.*

[January.] 44. Brian O'Rourke to Sir Conyers Clifford. "With dutiful salutations. Your worship may give credit to the bearer in my behalf, not omitting to salute my lady with hope of merry meeting. I take leave, &c. B. O'RUAIRK."—[1597-8, January.] *Holograph. p. ½.*

Feb. 2. 45. William Paule to Sir Robert Cecil. Has long desired to do him service. Resolved to follow Lord Burgh's fortune for a while, thinking at the last to have been recommended from his mouth. But now that breath is gone, which should have blessed him with so good hap. Lord Burgh acknowledged to his last hour how much

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he was bound to Sir Robert. The chiefest respect, which makes him importunate at this present, is grounded upon a certain necessity to discharge himself of some duties, imposed by occasion of his employment in Lord Burgh's lifetime.

Upon the relation of John Burnell, of Dublin, merchant, concerning the practice of certain evil-disposed priests, Sir Robert commended that business to Lord Burgh's care. His Lordship gave Paule authority and instructions for the discovery and apprehension of the priests. He travelled alone with the intelligencer into Munster, housed Walsh in Dublin, and, because no man else would, laid a plot, and induced a party to apprehend him. The displeasure incurred by Paule for this action. Those who ought to encourage such duties are aptest of all secretly to slander or reprove for them. So thankless and so dangerous an office it is, to endeavour to do Her Majesty service in Ireland of this nature.

After the northern journey, was appointed special commissary of Ulster for the execution of the late ordinances for lendings and apparel. The directions to him contradictory. For, whereas he was commanded by Lord Burgh to send his muster-rolls and certificates to his Lordship, one Carroll, a muddy-headed fellow, employed by Mr. Treasurer as paymaster, would needs exact certificates from him before Lord Burgh saw them, and thereupon issued the Queen's money without the Deputy's consent or warrant, contrary to the ordinances. Acquainted Lord Burgh with the abuse, but he imagined that Mr. Treasurer had had some private letter out of England to warrant his doings, and that the contradictory directions of the paymaster might be intended to cross his proceedings. Nevertheless Lord Burgh resolved, upon his return from the journey, "to bolt out the mystery, and to reform the amiss," and wrote a caveat to Mr. Treasurer that he should not be too hasty to issue the Queen's treasure upon his own warrants without some privy token from his Lordship. It may be that since Lord Burgh's decease all those warrants were accepted for advantage. When Paule came to Dublin to seek redress for these enormities, and it was understood that Lord Burgh was dead, he was forthwith clapped up in the cage of the Castle, and there continued a quarter of a year, without ever being called to his answer, until the other day, when the Lord General was so honourable and good unto him as to procure him audience, and shortly after he got enlargement and restitution to his office, "but I fear me much, with such intention as the Cambridge doctor had, by re-admittance to do one double disgrace by twice expulsion. Howsoever, I cannot yet be persuaded that any one penny of the two months' lendings for September and October were (*sic*) duly paid; for, whatsoever money is paid at the paymaster's discretion, without the Deputy's warrant or allowance (as that was) is unduly paid." The commissary's certificate of musters, however just and true, is no sufficient authority. Gives authorities for this. The abuse in this respect prevalent in former time. Some reformation made by the Lord General. Comments on the inconveniences still attending the payments. Want of due publication of Her Majesty's ordinances. Difficulties of the com-

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missaries. "It is in vain for any man to endeavour to serve (or almost to live) in Ireland, but with infinite disparagement, unless he be well backed in England."

While in prison, became acquainted with a fellow prisoner, surnamed Blackcadell, commonly known by the name of Captain Blague. He is of Irish blood and birth, born in Galway, where he has wife and children and some small possessions. He has been a traveller the most part of his life, and professes arms, having had charge both by land and sea. He was taken prisoner by Sir John Norreys at Morlaix, and used by him as an intelligencer. Exchanged conference the oftener with him, "for he is a good linguist, witty, and courageous enough to perform anything that he taketh in hand, though utterly without any grounds of art, saving what he hath gotten by long experience abroad." Guesses that by means of certain Irish bishops he had credit to deal with the chiefest persons of the League in Brittany and Maine, about Mr. Anthony Bacon's time, to whom he showed some pleasure once, as he says. Finding some matter in the man, Paule put him in remembrance of his natural duty, instilling comfort of grace and liberal requital, if Blackcadell deserved as well as he might. The latter told of a practice broached by Father Parsons, the Jesuit, to surprise Flushing in Zealand on the removal of the Governor, or such like commodity of occasion, and that 100,000 ducats were to have been sequestered into the Jesuits' hands for that purpose three years ago. "He bare me likewise in hand" that he was to have come into Ireland in commission with "Signor Alphonso Cogo," and that he feigned himself sick to avoid the occasion; advertising Sir John Norreys in the interim of Cogo's coming with Bermingham, Lawley, "Don Henrico de Morran," and others, in a Spanish pinnace. Blackcadell affirmed that, if his directions had been followed, the said pinnace might have been taken, and the passengers intercepted. He said, further, that he advertised Sir John Norreys of the Scots' conspiracy with the rebels of Ireland three years ago, affirming that O'Donnell was the principal agent in that action. O'Donnell is "mere Scottish," for his grandmother was sister to the Earl of Argyle, and the present Earl of Cantire is his uncle by the mother's side. Proffers of service by Blackcadell. Understanding that Sir John Norreys had written to Sir Conyers Clifford in his behalf, Paule communicated the proffers only to Sir Conyers, who confessed the affirmations as to the importance of the place in Connaught to be true, and the device to be good, but seemed to distrust the sincerity of Blackcadell. Paule thinks the latter always was, and would still be, "a cross intelligencer," but means may make him firm. Entertained him at first to sift out the truth of Burnell's relation, which seems every day of less credit, being bolstered out for the most part with idle imaginations, and certain names of a few needy soldiers who were never in Spain in their lives. There is no woman called Countess of Desmond by the Irish, other than the wife of O'Connor Sligo. Thomas M'Morris, entitled a Baron from the Court of Spain, is "the very same shag-haired knave that was in England, and followed the French King, in Sir Henry Unton's time, in the nature

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of a jester." William M'Morris is his elder brother. "Alexander Walsh and his brother Alexander (*sic*) are both base slaves, whereof the one was enlarged out of the Castle of Dublin in Sir Thomas Norreys's Justiceship, and soon slain by the churls of the country for taking extortion. The rest are but wretched, miserable, rake-hells, all the pack of them." Whereas Burnell avouched that Mercer died at Naas in one Cadell's house, Paule caused Blague to inquire the truth of his cousin, who acknowledges that such a man was at his house, but that he died at Sir Edward Moore's in Mellifont. "God grant it be no worse, *quia mortui non mordent*."

Blague's sworn promises. Paule told him he would make his proffers known to the Earl of Essex and Sir Robert, thinking then to have obtained leave to go into England. But the Lords Justices have denied him a passport, and so he is fain to commit these things to paper. Imagines they have been digested in England long since, but thought it not amiss to revive them again. Is of opinion that Blague may do much good, but can do little harm; good, because of his credit with divers prelates and others of the best sort in Ireland, Scotland, France, and the Court of Spain; little harm, because he "is altogether unacquainted with our estate and affairs." Offers to be employed with Blague. The latter is prisoner in the Castle, and shall remain there until Sir Robert's pleasure is known. If he intends to employ him, it were not amiss that he were sent to Sir Conyers for a time, to avoid suspicion, "for there is as much peril in Dublin as at Dungannon." Blague must put in good security for his loyalty, before being trusted with his liberty. No semblance must be made of aught in Dublin, or all will be marred. —Dublin, 1597, February 2. *Holograph. pp. 5½.*

Feb. 4.
Kilkenny.

46. Thomas Archer, sovereign of Kilkenny, to Sir Robert Cecil. The Corporation of Kilkenny have made suit to the Queen to grant them certain points of charter appearing in enclosed supplication (*wanting*). Desires the furtherance of this suit by Sir Robert and Burghley; "the rather that the enabling and maintenance of the ancient corporations of this poor distressed realm have proved from the beginning to be no small furtherance of Her Highness's and her most noble progenitors' service."—Kilkenny, 1597, February 4. *Signed. p. ½.*

Feb. 7.
Athlone.

47. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. Recommending O'Connor Sligo, the bearer, to his Lordship's special favour.—Athlone, 1597, February 7. *Signed. p. ½.*

Feb. 8.

48. "A note of O'Rourke's demands, the 8th of February 1597," apostilled in the margin.

"That he may be received unto Her Majesty's most gracious pardon, with all his followers, and forgiveness of all the hurts they have done during their rebellion. (*Granted.*)

"That he may have his country, both spiritual and temporal, passed to him and to his heirs by patent. (*Granted.*)

"That for the better strengthening and defence of the country of Leitrim a garrison may be at the Cavan and at Ballymote, and

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the garrisons to be commanded to answer O'Rourke as often as he may have occasion of service to send for them. (*There is already a garrison at the Cavan, and there will be also one at Ballymote or Sligo.*)

"That both the Constableness and Collectorship of the county of Leitrim may be given to Charles Trever by patent during his natural life." (*This has been struck out.—E. G. A.*)

"That Her Majesty do build a gaol at Leitrim, at her charges. (*Granted.*)

"That a reasonable number of ward may be allowed, upon the Queen's charge, to defend the said gaol, and the same ward to be of O'Rourke's choice. (*Granted, upon such assurance as the Chief Commissioner shall like of.*)

"That the Governor of Connaught may procure a sufficient warrant in O'Rourke's behalf, not to be arrested for any matter without a special direction from Her Majesty, and the rather for that it is openly known how the Bingham's maliciously urged his father to go into exile. (*Sir Richard Bingham hath nothing to do in that province.—Both article and note are struck out.—E. G. A.*)

"That he may have warrant to confer from time to time with such gentlemen as shall be in action of rebellion, and what he promiseth in the behalf of Her Majesty, the same to be performed so far as it shall extend unto the special service of Her Majesty only. (*Granted, so far forth as he do from time to time acquaint the Governor with his purpose and proceedings.*)

"That both the arrearages, temporal and spiritual, of all his country may be forgiven him, and such other of that country of Leitrim which do owe any arrearages. (*Her Majesty leaveth that to the opinion of the Governor and Council to make some end.*)

"That he, with all his country, may not be contributory to any kind of hostings or cesses other than his composition, which shall appear by his patent. (*Granted.*)

"That the Governor do procure for him martial law within his own country. (*Granted.*)

"That, if O'Rourke's cattle be driven of necessity to the county of Sligo or Roscommon, or into any part of those countries, they shall never be cessed by any manner of cess, either by officers, captains, or companies, or any other whatsoever, saving what O'Rourke himself doth impose upon them by way of cess or otherwise. (*Granted.*)

"That, if it were a general peace between Her Majesty and all the Irishry in faction against Her Majesty, that (*sic*) in consideration of his submission now first made, and that he shall have many adversaries in private by reason of the same, therefore it would please you to sue for half a troop of horsemen to attend him, without check, during his life. (*Granted.*)

"That, if O'Donnell or Tyrone, at any time upon their submission, shall have more favourable conclusions than are now postilled, that (*sic*) then you will be a means to obtain the like for me. (*Granted.*)

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"That, if he be driven by extremity of the Queen's enemies to forsake his country and lose his goods, that (*sic*) then the Governor will sue and obtain for him such living as may be correspondent to his calling. (*No need to doubt Her Majesty's grace.*) pp. 1½.

Feb. 11. 49. Articles of contract, between the Lord Treasurer and Robert Grome, for the supply of 1,000 quarters of wheat, "of the best sort usually growing within the counties of Cambridge and Norfolk," and one hundred quarters of white peas, into Her Majesty's garners at the Bridge House and Tower Hill, near London. — 1597, February 11. *Copy.* p. 1.

Feb. 17. 50. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to Dublin. Burghley. For payment of 500*l.* borrowed of Thomas Veasie, of London, merchant.—Dublin, 1597, February 17. *Signed.* *Seal.* p. 1.

Feb. 17. 51. John Lynche to Burghley. Has in his last petition declared [London.] the extreme want and misery of the Mayor and inhabitants of Galway, whose factor he is. Unless some relief be transported thither speedily, "the greatest part of the inhabitants will both starve and abandon that town." They beg license for transporting 100 quarters of wheat, rye, beans, and peas, and twenty tuns of beer. Will enter bonds that the same shall be unladen at Galway, and not elsewhere.—[London], 1597, February 17. *Signed.* p. 1.

Feb. 17. 52. Arthur Hyde to Burghley. Desires his Lordship's favour for the ending of his cause against Condon. His great charges and distress.—1597, February 17. *Signed.* p. 1. *Incloses,*

52. 1. *The complaints and petitions of Arthur Hyde, Esquire, addressed to the Privy Council, with respect to his lands in Ireland, in the possession of which he is molested by Patrick Condon and by Edmund Gibbon, called the White Knight. One sheet.*

Feb. 19. 53. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Burghley. "I gather by your Lordship's letter of the 26th of the last month that your Lordship noteth that in my last I wrote only of the death of Kyffin, and in favour of the Earl of Thomond, not having touched any other points concerning this estate. A matter which I hope your Lordship doth note, rather by way of admonition than as a fault in me; wherein, for my defence, I humbly beseech your Lordship that I may be cleared in your Lordship's opinion by my sundry former advertisements, written to Mr. Secretary Cecil, touching this Government and the distresses thereof; besides the public letters, which from time to time were addressed from this State, the same being all of my collecting and penning, wherein I was specially careful to set out at some length the sores of the kingdom, knowing that those letters should come to your Lordship's view; and yet I never failed to write privately to Mr. Secretary of such further particular matters as were meet for his Honour's knowledge apart, and did humbly desire his Honour to impart the same to your Lordship, in discharge of my duty to you both, to whom, and to none other, I

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account myself bound to owe all my services both in that kind and all otherwise. But now, taking a better feeling of mine own omission, and that I confess it belongeth to me in special duty to answer your Lordship, above all others, that way, I will, God willing, hereafter repair this fault; though I know my frequent writing to your Lordship of these disordered affairs cannot be pleasing to your Lordship, the matters and subject thereof being sour, and altogether savouring of excessive charges to Her Majesty, and grief to me, that hath in mine eye daily the lamentable confusions of this Government.

And for the point of Her Majesty's charges, considering the great masses of treasure often sent hither, with special direction to be converted only to the defraying of the army, it is strange, notwithstanding, that the companies cry out still for want of pay, and the country and towns, that have strained themselves above their power, to diet the soldiers and furnish beeves and other helps to the army, are not satisfied, but do continually complain, pestering the State with their griefs and discontentments therein. And out of this want of pay to the army, and the towns, groweth not only all the disorders amongst the soldiers, who break loose upon the country and havoc the subjects; but also it is a great mean to estrange and alter the hearts of the people from Her Majesty's Government, inasmuch as they see their burthens increase daily, and no provisions made, either to ease them, or to satisfy them of their debt; where, if they were in some measure regarded with payment, they would have better means to give relief to the soldiers, and thereby the ruin of the country be prevented, and their grudge and discontentment stopped, which (under your Lordship's favour) cannot but break out to worse degrees, if present order be not taken for payment of the country and towns. For my part, it is a matter above my reach and reason, that so great quantities of money are sent hither from time to time, and yet neither the army nor country contented, and Her Majesty's debts still increasing, and no money at all to be found to answer any necessity of service, how great soever it be, which in other times hath not been so; and I see no reason but of the money sent hither out of England, and distributed to the army, the greater part should remain still in the realm, which is here seen not to be so, for that within a very short time after the dividents (*sic*) are made, here is no show of money amongst the companies, nor any to be taken up in all the country by way of borrowing.

" Likewise, where it were meet that Her Majesty's charges might be eased greatly by the checks, wherein there was never a better time to benefit Her Majesty, both by wants (*sic*) of numbers, insufficiency of men, and defects of arms, than now, I cannot certify your Lordship what help groweth to Her Majesty by those checks, for that hitherto I have not seen any orderly course taken therein. But I have seen some books collected and presented, full of uncertainties, not carrying due respects for Her Majesty's profit, as were meet; and I doubt that sore will not be cured, without a more

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exact diligence to be used by the officer, or else some other course to be prescribed from thence by your Lordships.

“ There are many other disorders grown since the rebellion of Tyrone, which as they do eat still into the Government, and have corrupted many parts thereof, and will do more the longer they are suffered, so it is high time they were inquired upon by some special authority to be sent from Her Majesty, countenanced with some Commissioners to be employed from thence, and they to call to them, for their assistance, some of this Council, such as are thought most free from the blemish of such faults. By which course the subjects, that have been long time kept under by the extortion and ravin of the soldiers, will be greatly comforted, when they see Her Majesty taketh care to understand their grievances and wrongs. And this manner of inquisition, besides that it will lay open many faults that have long time lain hid, it (*sic*) cannot but also tend specially to the reforming of some parties, who by other means would hardly admit any discovery of their faults; and the general parts of the realm, being not a little guilty of many of these disorders, might be warned and admonished to hold a better course hereafter in their several charges; which I humbly make bold to note to your Lordship, to whose honourable consideration I submit this device, humbly desiring that I may be secreted therein.”

[*Postscript.*—Cannot by this letter give any advertisement of the Lord Lieutenant’s proceedings with the rebels of Leinster, as his Lordship is now in the action thereof, and has prolonged the time of meeting with Tyrone till the 4th of March. Encloses a letter just received from the Lord Lieutenant.—Dublin, 1597, February 19. Signed. Seal. pp. 2. Incloses,

53. 1. *The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.* Received his letter of January 12, and thanks him for his advice touching the articles therein enclosed. Would not for a thousand pounds have missed his going through Ossory, Ely, Iregan, and those parts, where he has been informed of divers causes that procured the disorders thereabouts. That day meets with most of the principal men of that country and the borders adjoining, with whom he will take the best order he may for the good subjects. Will be in Dublin next Tuesday. Has written to Tyrone to meet him at Dundalk on the 4th of March.—Durrow, 1597, February 17. Signed. Seal. p. ½.

Feb. 19.
Newry.

54. Richard Wackely to Sir Ralph Lane. Has, according to Sir Ralph’s directions laid a course to inform himself of the strength of every band in the Newry garrison, and what numbers of English there are in each. Hopes to send “particularities” by his next. Marshal Bagenall’s “short certificate” of the Newry garrison, and Kyffin’s like certificate of the garrisons of Dundalk, Carlingford, Ardee, and the rest of those parts of Ulster. By order of the State, the lendings and victuals were apportioned [to the Newry garrison] according to the Marshal’s said certificate. But he had made no mention of the absent and sick soldiers; these in some

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bands were ten, in some sixteen, more than had been certified. They, finding themselves left out of all reckoning, for money, victuals, and clothes, which they had as long served for as the rest, fell, with the residue of the garrison, into so extreme a mutiny, that the Marshal and all the captains stood in doubt what would become either of the town or of themselves. "In the end, James Carroll, the paymaster, being sent hither from the State with their lendings, the soldiers having understanding of his entry into the town, a number of them, having set themselves in the streets and in certain "castels" for the purpose, did so batter him with a fury of snowballs, that he fell off from his horse; whom they prosecuted nevertheless with that tempest and rage, that, if the captains, lieutenants, and officers had not speedily come in to his rescue, he had died in the place; and much ado they had to thrust him into a house, and to save the treasure; neither durst he, whilst he remained in the town about the issuing of the said treasure, once for his life go out of the door; but, having delivered it to Mr. Marshal in the night, stole away by water. For the next day, when every soldier was to have his part of his captain, no band there but presenting ten more at the least than there was money allowed for, and the like reckoning also looked for in their allowance of apparel, they fell anew into that fury against Mr. Marshal himself, that I protest unto your worship, all the persuasions that not only himself, but also all the captains, his friends, and others, could use for him, had much ado to stay them for (*sic*) abandoning the town at the instant. But, at the last, he, by his friends, pawned all the credit he had, that, if by the 25th of this month they were not satisfied in all from the State, whither he dispatched in their sight a gentleman at the instant, Captain Alford by name, they should take all that he had amongst them. But this, although it stayed them from the present fury, yet they protested that, if their satisfaction came not by the set day, within four days after, they, together with their fellow garrisons of Dundalk and the rest, would pass their musters upon Oxmantown Green, before Dublin, in the eye of the State and Lord Lieutenant, who should be judges themselves what wrong their muster-master had done them; of whom they talk their pleasures at large, and, instead of praying for, they cursed the dead to the pit of hell, whom they fared the worse for, and the Queen's army, they said, was utterly overthrown by, and the rebels strengthened. Hereof the State being advertised, they presently sent a thousand pounds in money to the Marshal, and a proportion of victuals agreeable to their numbers lately certified, which is come unto us of the Newry, which doth satisfy for the present. But assuredly, if victuals be not sent forthwith, both hither and to others our neighbour garrisons, it is hard to say what will become of us. The commissary's arrival here (with your worship's direction) to make several observations in his musters, how many English, how many Palemen, and how many mere Irish, doth put us all, of Ireland birth, in a mistrust that you will cashier us all, and supply the bands in our stead with the supplies that are to come of English. This is the best construction we can make of it, but

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the mere Irish do not stick to say that they are used but to serve our turns; but that they will provide for themselves, if there be no better regard had of them. Thus, sir, fearing that Her Majesty shall have but a bad reckoning of the service of many of my countrymen, if Her Majesty's greatest forces should consist of them, and wishing some good prevention of such danger, especially if the Spaniards should come, as they brag of and undoubtedly look for, for the present I cease further to trouble your worship; and by my next letters you shall be advertised, from Phelim O'Hanlon, of such particularities of the Earl of Tyrone's more secret councils, that (*sic*) he by his intelligences, which are very good, can learn. And your servant his son, Patrick O'Hanlon, commendeth his duty unto you, and desireth your worship very heartily to be a mean for him to his father, that he may go for England, and by your worship to be preferred to the Earl of Essex's service."—Newry, 1597, February 19. *Holograph. pp. 2½.*

Feb. 22.
Dublin.

55. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Again earnestly craves a speedy discharge from his place and service. The imperfections of age and infirmities of body so take hold and increase upon him. His wife and children. Does not wish to be driven to make his request known to others. Unless his revocation is speedily granted, his necessity will press him to go to England without further license, upon such encouragement as Burghley's former letters have given him. The long lingering of his account, which has already been in England a year and a half. Is given to understand that without his presence it will not be passed, a corporal oath being required at his hands. Will ever be guided by Burghley's advice. Prays that some reasonable allowances may be given him for the maintenance of such clerks as he must employ in the passing of his accounts in England, if his office shall be presently delivered over to another. [*Postscript.*]—Dangerous illness of his man Huet, who has charge of his account in England. Again begs for a speedy discharge.—Dublin, 1597, February 22. *Signed. pp. 2.*

Feb. 27.
Dublin.

56. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. Acknowledge their letters of January 26, received on the 16th instant. Delayed answering until the return to Dublin of the Earl of Ormonde, who, upon intelligence given him of some bad matter like to break out in Low Leinster, had gone thither to do what he could to prevent the same. He spent nine or ten days in Ossory, Fercall, Iregan, Ely O'Carroll, and other parts there, taking either pledges or bonds of the most suspicious and doubtful, and, receiving in Offally some information of the disorders there, and discontentment of the inhabitants, brought to Dublin two days past most of the principal gentlemen of that country, that, by their advice, some course might be taken for its better defence against the O'Connors, their ancient enemy. Purpose doing the like with the counties of Kildare, Westmeath, and Meath, most of the chief gentlemen belonging to them being in Dublin. Have sent for those that are absent. Will add

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to the holdings and forces of the countries some further strength of the bands in Her Majesty's pay, to be laid in meet places, with the consent of the gentlemen of each county, and to be victualled by the country upon their lendings. This is all they can do for the present for the defence of Leinster and the Pale, till it be seen what will become of the next meeting with Tyrone, which the Lord Lieutenant General has appointed for the 4th of March. Against that time he will prepare to draw to the borders, taking with him the Bishop of Meath and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, as Her Majesty has directed. He will observe the directions given by their Lordships when he meets Tyrone, and the result shall be speedily advertised to them, so that they may the better advise Her Majesty to determine what further course she will hold, "for the reduction of this kingdom out of the danger and miseries wherein it now is, and is still likely to increase to more (*sic*) by the late access of the Ulstermen and other strangers thrust into Leinster and the English Pale to raise stirs and alterations there." Though, since the last treaty, some few of them have been withdrawn by Tyrone's order, yet the more part are still continued. These, with the base Geraldines, the O'Connors, O'Mores, "and other loose people of all sorts drawn to them, to a head of" 700 or 800 men, have of late ravaged up and down the Pale, robbing the true subjects of their goods and wealth, besides getting into their hands the armour and weapons of the country, with many other violences done against the people, and all under the name and title of Tyrone, whose instruments they say they are, and pray for him in all their assemblies. A danger so much the greater as little or no resistance is made by the country, and way is given to the rebels to practise combinations for Tyrone, and draw parties in Leinster and the Pale. This discovers both want of courage and bad affections, if some of them be not further guilty in higher degrees. Help given them to defend themselves, and to repel the violence of the rebels. Evasions of the Sheriffs of the shires, when questioned, as to their remissness.

This danger, with the still increasing want of money, victuals, and men, "maketh up so full a hazard of this whole estate, as for our parts we know not which way to turn us to remedy it, unless it please God to put into Her Majesty's heart to supply us both out of hand, and also more plentifully than heretofore hath been; and with grief we doubt that our former several advertisements of the distresses of the kingdom, and the want of all things, have not been conceived there according [to] the greatness of our danger; otherwise we assure ourselves your Lordships would have vouchsafed to have made our supplies both more full and speedy; and even at this present the general lack of victuals is so great as we receive daily credible advertisements from the Newry, Knockfergus, Dundalk, the Cavan, and other places, that those garrisons are ready to disband and break for want of relief; and for the rest of the whole army, dispersed into several parts, we have no means here to make provision of victuals for them, howsoever I, the Lord Lieutenant General, should have occasion to enter into a prosecution, nor yet to succour the companies if it should be peace. So as,

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whatsoever may be the issue of this next meeting with Tyrone, in whom we have had hitherto small cause to hope well of his conformity, our extremities will still continue, till it shall please your Lordships to relieve us out of England. For such is the universal scarcity here of all kinds of victuals, as in many parts of Leinster and the English Pale, the common people are already driven to eat horseflesh, and do keep shambles for the buying and selling thereof, as they would do for other usual kinds of food, as we are credibly informed." Have before them continually the complaints of the army, to which they have had no means to give any lendings since December 21 last, besides sundry great sums owing to it for the time before. They are no less pestered with the clamour and grudge of the country and towns that have strained themselves to diet the soldiers, for which they have had many promises of payment, but not performed to their just satisfaction. The murmur of the subjects havocked by the soldiers, who are overpressed by their necessities, and driven to take food, "sometimes against all rules of humanity and order." It is no small means to alter the hearts of the subjects from Her Majesty's Government, when they see themselves consumed every way by the soldier and rebel, and so little regard had (as they expound it) to preserve them. Pray for "a round proportion of money" with all speed. Extraordinaries in this chargeable time cannot but rise high, though they use the best husbandry they can. Beg for victuals for divers garrisons. Twenty-two companies of foot and 75 horse in Connaught. Twenty-seven companies, and other wards, in the north. All these are garrisons in remote places. Cannot set down with certainty the numbers of the garrisons in Leinster and the English Pale, because the companies, being removable from time to time, are to be increased or diminished as the service shall require. For these garrisons they desire that victuals be sent to Dublin.

Touching the books lately certified into England by Sir Ralph Lane, they from time to time called upon him and Kyffin "to be circumspect in their certificates, and to see that they carried all due distinctions, how the companies in pay were compounded of English, mere Irish, and Irish of English birth, together with all absents and deficient, and what profit hath grown to Her Majesty by checks. So as, if between these two your Lordships were not fully satisfied with their books and certificates, we humbly desire that their faults may not be made a blame in us, for that we were never made privy to their certificates, though we often required the same." Since Kyffin's death, Sir Ralph Lane has had the whole dealing in the office of musters. Had no warrant to employ any other, nor was any good choice to be made in Ireland. This they signified of late to Burghley, desiring him to procure Her Majesty's further resolution in that matter. There are three commissaries employed, namely, William Jones for Connaught, James Birt for Knockfergus and the wards in those parts (but at 3s. 4d. *per diem* in respect of the smallness of his circuit), and William Paule for Newry, Dundalk, Carlingford, Blackwater, and some other small wards thereabouts, at 6s. 8d. *per diem*. These are all sworn to the

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ordinances. There is no special commissary for Leinster, as the muster-master or his deputy can supply that circuit. As touching the profit in checks, that has grown hitherto by the ministry of these commissaries, they cannot now send a collection thereof, but Sir Ralph Lane has promised that their Lordships shall have the account out of hand, together with more perfect books of the musters, and other things appertaining to his charge, which he may the more easily perform, now that he has the help of Kyffin's books and writings, and the use of his man, whom they had set at liberty before the coming of their Lordships' letter. These papers and writings were nothing so perfected as they expected. They were found out by the Lord Lieutenant General.

With regard to the several companies sent out of England, at sundry times, amounting to 7,466 men, and the arms they brought with them, they cannot deny but that, since the beginning of this wicked rebellion of Tyrone, "many English companies have been sent hither, as your Lordships have noted; weaponed and armed in reasonable good sort; but, for that the most part of them have been altered and transposed since, from one captain to another, by the several Deputies before our time, and many of them, by the ill handling of their captains, have been changed from English to Irish, and many discharged without our knowledge, it is impossible for us to give any certain account, either of their bodies or furnitures, considering the former Deputies and the late General Norreys took upon themselves only the disposing of those matters, not calling us so much as to the privy and knowledge of their doings." Will do their best to lessen the great and growing charges of Her Majesty, though these are not so much as they were in the late Governments before them. Many occasions, not in their power to remedy, aggravate these charges. As regards the treasure which arrived at the time of the Earl of Thomond's departure, they have acquainted their Lordships, by their letter of January 20, how they issued the same to answer the lendings. This letter was sent by a servant of the Lord Lieutenant General, and they assure themselves it has long since come to their Lordships' hands. [*Burghley writes on the margin* :—"No such letter."] Molyneux's unauthorised suggestion as to the purchase of herrings. How the money sent by him has been spent. Will do the best they can in buying necessary victuals with the further 2,000*l.* promised by their Lordships, but have small hope of getting victuals in Ireland.

Phelim M'Feagh [M'Hugh], having now come to the Lord Lieutenant General, is to go with him to the next meeting with Tyrone. Will see afterwards what course may be taken for the settling of Phelim and his brother in their countries. Touching the O'Connors and the O'Mores, who (it seems their Lordships have been advertised) have been evicted out of some portion of lands in Leix and Offally, limited unto them or their predecessors to dwell upon, and the same granted away, some to Irish and some to English captains, whereby they have been put from their habitations, which their Lordships would have to be duly inquired into and certified, they never heard of any such eviction, nor of any state of

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living they have had in Leix and Offally, since they and their ancestors were expelled out of those two countries, and the living divided to sundry gentlemen and servitors, both English and Irish, by letters patent, before Her Majesty's reign. But, if there be cause to have any further inquisition, they will give order therein, and certify.

Mr. Ashley, captain of the fort of Duncannon, having long time remained in England, they ask their Lordships to return him to his charge, which was left in the keeping of Mr. Itchingham, a gentleman of the county of Wexford, who in their opinion "is not so safe for a place of that charge in this dangerous time." Beg that the munition written for may be hastened. The Master of the Ordnance now sends a servant of his, both to solicit it, and to see it conveyed to Ireland. He takes with him a double of the proportion asked for in their last letter. [*Wanting.*]

Have given orders for the distribution of the apparel for the soldiers, the greatest part of which has arrived. Send herewith a collection respecting the same, signed by the merchant.

Are glad to find that the 900 soldiers, expected so long out of Picardy, are in so good towardness to come to Ireland. Pray that they may be hastened away, as also the 2,000 men written for in November last, and that they may all come well furnished, and with some further proportion of arms and furniture for horse and foot, to supply the wants of those already in the country. These men are exceedingly deficient in that way, and cannot be provided in Ireland, "the disorders of the time and the practice of the rebels having got into their hands the substance of all the armour and weapons, which were either to be bought of the merchant, or recovered from the soldiers and the country. And, for our parts, we will be more careful hereafter, that both the men and their arms shall be better looked unto than heretofore they have been. The consideration of the state of the realm, and the most lamentable weakness of Her Majesty's army, so altered to Irish, as more than three parts of four are of that condition, which we have often before signified to your Lordships, makes (*sic*) us more bold than we would to press this point of sending more men and arms hither; otherwise, how dangerous it is for us to depend upon the service and trust of Irish soldiers, we humbly leave to your Lordships to consider, assuring your Lordships that, if the foreign enemy should make his descent in this land, as we see no reason but that he intendeth it, we are of a constant opinion that he will put the realm in an extreme hazard, our chief means of defence consisting upon the Irish strength, which we hold very suspicious and doubtful. And for the likelihood of the Spaniards' intention to attempt against this kingdom, or some other part of Her Majesty's dominions, we have very lately received intelligence that the ships of this land, that are in Spain in trade of merchandise, are lately stayed to serve the King's turn, to carry his provisions to Ferrol, and their wines seized to the King's use at the same prices they bought them (*sic*)."

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There are many captains and servitors having charge in Ireland, who are now absent in England. The Lord Lieutenant desires that they may be returned out of hand, and particularly the Earl of Thomond. If their Lordships will have any fortification made, either at Limerick, Waterford, or Galway, or any other part, pray that they will give direction for it, and send an engineer for the purpose. Wrote for one Gentill, in their letter of January 3. With reference to their Lordships' remarks on the signatures to that letter, state that the Treasurer was absent through sickness, and so could not sign.—Dublin, 1597, February 27. *Signed.* pp. 6. *Inclose,*

56. 1. *Account of apparel sent for the use of the soldiers in Her Majesty's pay in Ireland. Signed by Thomas Hassall; and with memorandum below signed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton.*—1597, February 27. p. 1.

Feb. 27.
Dublin.

57. Henry Warren, R. Nettervyll, John Lye, Edmond Darcy, and John Sarsfeld, to Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil. That, as they have estates in the lands of David Sutton, who was attainted and executed for high treason, his son Gerrot Sutton may not be successful in his suit for the said lands.—Dublin, 1597, February 27. *Signed.* p. 1.

Feb. 27.

58. "A part of Sir Conyers Clifford his letters of the 27 of February 1597, written in a postscript, all of his own hand."

"There is come unto me a second advertisement that O'Connor Don's four pledges are already executed by O'Donnell, whereof two were his legitimate sons; the other a son to O'Byrne; the other a son to O'Hanlie. Also, he hath hanged M'Dermott's two pledges, his only son and a principal follower; whereby the men here showeth (*sic*) fully their duties, and Her Majesty will have great benefit hereby, if it be not overslipped; and this particular matter I think good to scribble in my own hand, because it is yet secret.—CONYERS CLIFFORD."

Then follows this note, in the hand of the Earl of Ormonde, and signed by him:—

"I have thought good to send your Lordship this much of Sir Conyers' letter, and though I like well of O'Rourke's being drawn in, I wish it had been left till after my treaty with Tyrone, lest [it] be a hindrance to the same. I could or now have drawn some from him, if I had not forborne the same for better purpose." p. ½.

Feb. 28.
Dublin.

59. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. Send John Allen, the bearer, to receive the supply of munition they have written for. Beg that it may be sent with all convenient speed.—Dublin, 1597, February 28. *Signed.* p. 1.

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Feb. 28.

Dublin.

60. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to Burghley. For the payment of the 500*l.* taken up of Thomas Veasie, of London, merchant.—Dublin 1597, February 28. *Signed.* p. 1.

Feb. 28.

Dublin.

61. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. Received his letter of the 26th of January, at Philipstown, in the King's County, on his return to Dublin from Upper Ossory, Ely, Iregan, the borders of M'Coghlan's country, and Westmeath, where he travelled through "very fast countries," divers of their principal men being ready to revolt and combine with the rebels. Took pledges and bonds of them, and of some of the Connors and O'Malleys. "In this journey I discovered the causes that procured divers to rebellion; the places where the Connors were relieved and maintained till their entry into action; how they were favoured by some of the principal English gentlemen in that country, the one of themselves envying and accusing the other, all which I made known to the Lords Justices and Council here (in their own presence), to whom I left the further consideration and punishment thereof. I have (with their general consents) set down a plot for the defence of those parts, and the prosecution of the rebels, and laid two parts of the charges of that service upon those countries."

The extreme wants of victuals, money, and munition, are intolerable. Several garrisons like of late to forsake their places. Begg for supplies.

"I wrote to Tyrone to meet me near Dundalk the 4th of the next month, who sent me two letters, the copies whereof I do send your Lordship, in which he sought to put off the meeting till the last of April; which I do not like of, having no better cause for the same than is written in the copy enclosed. Now, I have sent to him by a man of mine own, to meet me at the place appointed the 7th of March, though he may not bring O'Donnell with him there. What shall pass between us (if he come) I will presently advertise to Her Majesty and your Lordship; and if he be wilful, and will not do what in duty he ought, I am as ill provided for an offensive or defensive war as any man that ever served here." Has, in his own discharge, made this known to the Queen and Privy Council, and hopes to have his wants speedily supplied, "the lack of which may breed great danger to the State, especially if he should break out upon a sudden."

Will do what he can for Captain Constable, now prisoner with James M'Sorley. Captain Lee was lately charged before the Council with most foul treason, whereupon he was committed to Dublin Castle. How the proof will fall out is not yet certainly known, but there are great presumptions against him. Desires Burghley's advice from time to time in his proceedings.—Dublin, 1597, February 28. *Signed.*

[*Postscript, in Ormonde's hand*]:—"My Lord, I am sorry the traitors know our wants as well as ourselves, and the weakness of

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our forces, which putteth them into exceeding pride. My Lord Burgh left many forts in Her Majesty's hands, to her exceeding charges, and are badly builded, whereby they require the greater number to keep them. Good my Lord, haste victual to us. When I have taken order with Feagh M'Hugh's sons, I will (if your Lordship think it fit) raze down Rathdrum, and ease Her Majesty of the charges she is at there, being to no purpose, specially where it standeth, as I think. If my Lord Mountgarrett's son stay there [*i.e.*, in England] a while, I think it will not be amiss, till your Lordship know how Tyrone will behave himself. His father hath been earnest with me to write for his coming hither. I pray your Lordship to keep this to yourself." *Signed.* pp. 2. *Incloses,*

61. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Ormonde. Has received his letter of February 22, whereby he understands that Ormonde would meet him on the first (sic) of March. This is impossible, because he has appointed O'Donnell and the rest to be in readiness on the last of April, when, God willing, they will not miss meeting Ormonde. The last truce was well kept, save in the Brenny, which is daily spoiled and preyed by Mulmorey O'Reilly and the garrison of Cavan, who of late took five or six preys, and killed O'Reilly's son, and half a dozen gentlemen of the country, besides divers of their followers; and entered an island or two, that Owen O'Reilly and other gentlemen had, where all the corn and victuals of those parts of the country where in keeping; "which is and will be the death of thousands of the country people." Mulmorey O'Reilly and the lands of his father. Prays for redress and restitution. Cannot any longer forbear the cruel dealings of the O'Reillys. Begs that protection may be granted to certain gentlemen that are with him.—Dungannon 1597, February 23. Copy. p. 1.*

61. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Ormonde. The harms committed in the Brenny by the garrison of Cavan. Cannot meet Ormonde at Dundalk on March 4. O'Donnell, Maguire, and O'Rourke can take no journey in hand until the last of April, partly because the Governor of Connaught, with an army, is upon the borders of O'Rourke's country, by the Abbey of Boyle, and threatens to spoil it, unless O'Rourke submits. They will not fail to attend Ormonde at the end of April. Asks protection for certain gentlemen with him. Seeing Ormonde will not grant a protection to the Connors, desires him that, if they commit anything contrary to his contentation, not to charge the writer with it. Moreover, there have been of late certain gentlemen of the Nugents, who serve himself, hardly dealt with. They escaped narrowly, after six of their company were slain by Lord Delvin's company. If Ormonde will not consider these matters, promises he will not be able to keep those gentlemen, that are so cruelly dealt with, from seeking a revenge as well as they may.—Dungannon, 1597, February 25. Copy. p. 1.*

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Feb. 28.

Dublin.

62. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Will depart towards the borders to-morrow, as the Lord Lieutenant has prefixed another meeting with Tyrone for the 4th of March. Cannot guess what will be the issue of that meeting, so as to give Sir Robert a taste thereof beforehand. Is of opinion, from their former various dealings with Sir John Norreys and himself, that they will hold no certain time of meeting now. If they do answer the day prefixed, doubts it will be with so many impediments, and specially with the absence of some of the chiefest of them, that it will be hard to make a perfect conclusion. They nourish still an inward hope of the coming of Spaniards, and are as confident of the succour of Scotland. Upon these grounds it is likely they will either seek to put off the meeting till a longer time, or, if some hold the appointed day, the rest will be wilfully absent, to the end to cross the conclusion. The State is now in hand to settle Leinster, by taking orders with the O'Mores, O'Connors, and other doubtful septs. If these were stayed and separated from the dependency of Tyrone, it were a good safety to Leinster and the Pale, and no small weakening to Tyrone in one of his principal strengths. "For if Leinster were won again to the former soundness, the way would be far easier to manage Ulster, either for peace or war."

Has set down in the general letter the present wants of the realm, and the weakness of the army, with other things urging the imminent hazard of the whole. "In a matter of so bad taste," refers Sir Robert to the said letter. "Only this I say, that, whether this next meeting bring peace or war, the state of the kingdom will be in great peril, without speedy supplies from thence of victuals to prevent famine, of men to furnish the bands with English, being now in effect all altered to Irish, and of money to pay the army their lendings from the 21st of December forwards; besides Her Majesty's great debts owing to the country and towns, for diet of soldiers and beeves taken for the army, and out of these do rise other distresses, as the unworthy looseness of the soldier, the hateful pride of the rebel, and the pitiful cry of the people, entered already into famine." This sour subject and his want of leisure, make him pass over many things that otherwise he might touch for Sir Robert's more ample information, though in the public letter enough is said to represent their calamities. Dublin, 1597, February 28. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

February.

63. "The names of such Lords, Knights, and principal gentlemen, as repaired to my Lord General by his sending for, since his repair to Kilkenny, the 29th of January. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of February, the letters were sent abroad." *p. 1.*

March 1.

Dublin.

64. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, and the Earl of Ormonde, to Burghley. For payment to the bearer, Thomas Vesye, of London, merchant, of the sum of 1,300*l.*, borrowed by them of him for Her Majesty's service. Also for the payment to him of 128*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*, lent for the provision of Captain Rumney's company. —Dublin, 1597, March 1. *Signed. p. 1.*

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March 1.
Dublin.

65. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. The extreme wants of divers garrisons. Those in Carriekfergus, Newry, Dundalk, and Cavan like to have left. In a fortnight, will have neither money nor victuals to relieve them. The appointed meeting with Tyrone on March [4], and how he sought to put it off till the last of April. Has refused, and appointed March 7 for the meeting. "And if there should be any sudden breach between us, I have neither money, victuals, nor munition, to make an offensive or defensive war, neither such soldiers as I can assure myself of, most of them being mere Irish and protected rebels, whom (*sic*) I think, if I should come to a day's service, would rather take part with the enemy than me."

Cannot yet hear of any of the Picardy soldiers, nor of any supply out of England, for which he is heartily sorry. Prays that means may be sent with them when they come. The hearing of their landing would, in his opinion, terrify the traitors, and force them the sooner to yield to reasonable terms.

"Tyrone, at the last treaty, was sworn to acquaint me with any letter or message that should come to him from beyond the seas; in regard whereof he sent me a copy of a letter come to him from the King of Scots, whereof I do send a double here inclosed [*wanting*], with the copy of another letter sent me from Captain Atherton, being lately come out of Scotland; all which I leave to your Lordships' grave considerations, and cannot assure your Lordships whether that be a true copy of the King's letter, for that I saw not the original." [*Burghley has underlined this passage in inverted commas.*]

Upon intelligence given him of the intent of divers loose men in Leinster to enter into actual rebellion, and to join with the Connors, he travailed all these three weeks past through Kildare, Carlow, Upper Ossory, Ely, Fercall, and Offally, where he "inquired of the cause of these late rebellions, whose servants and retainers they were that were in rebellion, and who were their aiders and relievers. In this my travail I took the pledges and bonds of the Lord of Upper Ossory (three of whose nephews lately entered into action, besides two others of them that long before went into the same) and principal men in those parts for performance of their duty, obedience, and faithful service to Her Majesty hereafter. And withal have taken order for a special holding of a number of men, to be put in at the countries' own charges, to join with some of Her Majesty's forces in the several shires where I travailed, for prosecution of such traitors as shall persist in rebellion and letting the passages of other traitors coming from the north. And now have I neither money nor victuals to deliver to the companies in Her Majesty's pay to effect this service, nor any other, which, if your Lordships do not speedily supply, will overthrow what is concluded.

"In this my journey I discovered the principal and original cause of the rebellion of some of the Molloyes and Connors proceeded of some bad and indirect courses held by base and bare shifting fellows to put them from their livings, and finding things

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concealed without ground; the purchasers themselves being commissioners and men of no account nor skill, by means of whose bad dealings great troubles have risen in those parts." These are now, by order at the Council table, remedied, and the principal of those rebels satisfied, and brought to Dublin to put in pledges and assurance for their obedience. This they have done.

"I may not omit to advertise your Lordships that this late rebellion in the King's County proceeded of want of good government among the principal men of the English nation there, grown into factions and mislike one with another, who brought up as their soldiers the principal traitors of the Connors now in action, whom they should have kept under, and looked better unto, before they had grown to strength. All which I have made known to the Lords Justices and Council, leaving the consideration and correction thereof to them."—Dublin, 1597, March 1. *Signed.* pp. 2. *Incloses,*

65. I. *Captain Richard Atherton to [the Earl of Ormonde].* On his arrival at Carrickfergus, he wrote such news as he had learned in Scotland [see No. 7 of January 5]. After Captain Egerton's departure, he was left in chief command of the garrison. It is greatly distressed for want of victuals. Her Majesty's store was all spent ten days ago, so that, for the relief of the soldiers, they were driven to buy beef at an excessive rate, viz., 3l. a hogshead; that is now spent. "And also where a soldier had a bushel of corn for a month, the Victualler hath brought it to 34 days, which makes the soldiers much to murmur"; and withal, the officers have not received any money or relief for three weeks. Begs corn for the garrison. The town is so poor that they have not trust for their diet.—Carrickfergus, 1597, February 4. *Copy.* p. 1.

65. II. *Captain Richard Atherton to [the Earl of Ormonde].* The scarcity of victuals in Carrickfergus. Would give no occasion of complaint by borrowing any of their neighbours' cows in this time of peace. The townsmen are so poor that they cannot relieve the garrison for one week, until their means come. Are driven to their uttermost shifts. Desires leave to take some cows of Neill McBrian Ferto, and that he may be paid out of the next money that comes to the garrison. There arrived at Carrickfergus a bark of the Isle of Man, in which the writer found some herrings, of which he made bold to borrow five hogsheads and one barrel. These he distributed amongst the soldiers, making up four days' victuals. "If God had not tentred our garrison, and sent that unto us by mere chance, we had been driven to a very hard point." Begs Ormonde to take care of them, as they are so far from the State, and that a greater proportion may be sent unto them for some times. "A fortnight or three weeks' corn comes at a time; other while at fortnights beef or fish come, and, when that is spent we stay three weeks or a month before any more comes."—Carrickfergus, 1597, February 20. *Copy.* p. 1.

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65. III. *Captain E. Fisher to [the Earl of Ormonde].* The very bad state of the garrison. The companies are exceeding weak, and for the most part the basest that he ever saw carry arms. It may please his Lordship to take note of this. Of the last corn sent, there are at least 400 allowances yielded forth. Assures his Lordship that, upon any occasion of service, they are not able to draw forth 200 men, out of six companies of foot, fifty horse and forty warders. What his own company is, he refers to the report of any of the garrison. Received Captain North's company, who were but fourteen in all, and such as were but badly furnished with arms. His own company consists of 83 men, besides officers; 56 of these are English. Begs his Lordship to write that the Commissary may discharge as many as shall be thought by the Governor unworthy to bear arms, and unable to do any good, by reason of their baseness and want of experience. By this means the small store will last the longer, and all that are soldiers in Carrickfergus will be the better contented.—Carrickfergus, 1597, February 22. Signed. p. 1.

March 1.
Dublin.

66. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. The blame of his late certificate, signifying the numbers of men in pay to be 9,904, and the monthly charge to be 11,045*l.*, without any note of deficiencies or checks, is by the Council in Ireland and by Burghley laid wholly upon him. States that the certificate proceeded from a commandment given to him in the Council's name by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, that he should certify the army unto Burghley, as at that instant he had it of record in his charge, that is to say, in roll. He replied that such a certificate would be counted very frivolous by Burghley, who expected to be certified of the strength and of the checks, rather than of the charge without the same; and that of neither of these could he advertise. Kyffin had drawn into his own hands from the Commissaries all the certificates of musters and checks, and, at his death, left the same to his sworn servant. Imprisonment of the latter for his obstinacy in detaining them. It was only left to Sir Ralph to register the same in his office, and, at the half-year's end, to certify them to Burghley. Notwithstanding the Lords Justices' commandments indorsed on sundry petitions of Sir Ralph, and Burghley's own commandment to Kyffin's man, these papers are not yet come to light. A commission, too, was given by the Lords Justices to Richard Hopper, Deputy for the Revenues, to Mr. Treasurer, to Philip Hore, Deputy to Mr. Treasurer, and to James Raynoldes, Sir Ralph's Deputy Clerk of the Check, to search Kyffin's papers, with the assistance of the said sworn servant. The Commissioners returned answer that they could hardly bring to any head, or draw any certainty either of strengths or checks, in a month's time, so intricate and confused were Kyffin's notes. Yet without them Burghley cannot possibly have sent to him the check-book of the half year ending 30 September last. Hopes the fault thereof will not be in any sort imputed to him.

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"But for the strength of Her Majesty's army, by the poll of horse and foot, and that with good certainty, and therewithal a particular observation, according to your Lordship's late directions, of how many English, how many Pale men, how many mere Irish, and how many strong to fight, I, having sent (since the whole charge of the offices by the Lords Justices laid upon myself) three several substitutes of mine own charge, the one into Ulster, another into Connaught, a third into Leinster, that is to say, into Meath, Leix, and Offally, and into the county of Wexford, to assist the Commissaries there, and to bring unto me from them the several certificates before mentioned, your Lordship shall not fail, God willing, to be with great certainty advertised thereof, with as great expedition as such a business, incumbered with so many difficulties, as well for the danger of travel as other respects, can be performed."

Discontent in the bands, through their being scouted in lendings, victual, and apparel. The bands weak in English, but the numbers completed with Pale men and mere Irish; the greater part of them no better than protected men, particularly the bands in Connaught, and all the bands in Leinster of Irish creation, being full of the Connors and Moores, and the bastard Geraldines ["Garrodinges"] and their followers. It is doubted, if good order be not taken for the strengthening of Her Majesty's bands otherwise out of England, and in the meanwhile holding them as well contented as may be, that they will take their leave, when they see their time, with a mischief to their captains and the English of their companies.

"Nevertheless, right honourable, for mine own part, I am of opinion that the greatest number of the mere Irish and protected traitors may be made as faithful, and much more serviceable, to Her Majesty than any new companies that can for the present be sent out of England, allowing them but reasonable contentments of apparel and lendings, according to Her Majesty's gracious ordinances, and strictly enjoining a second duty, which is, the continual attendance of their captains with them in their garrisons, and their personal daily presences amongst them, and participation with them of their wants or fortunes whatsoever. For the inducement of which order with a check upon the captains in the fail thereof, and upon the officers in not performing certain duties set down unto them for a daily review of their companies in their arms within their several quarters, by which order, duly observed, they are not only kept together within their garrisons, ready upon every instant for service, but also thereby being kept from wandering abroad in the country and from eating and spoiling upon the villages of the same; I having set down for the Commissaries—as in Sir William Russell's time I did by suit endeavour to have the like by the State authorised, which now is found would have saved the English Pale from the spoil of 10,000*l.* a year at least, which for want thereof they sustained—a form of their musters, such as by my Lord Justice Gardener particularly is so allowed and approved for the strengthening of Her Majesty's ordinances, in Her Highness's most gracious meaning for the sparing of the good subject from the spoil as well

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of the soldier as of the rebel, as that, for the better gracing of my apparent honest endeavour and my device of the same, he appointed that it should be so signified in the title of the commission to the Commissaries, to be signed by himself and the other Lord Justice. Nevertheless, when it came to be signed, it was put off by others at the Council Board until the coming of the Lord Lieutenant General; and, now that he is come, it resteth unsigned, and so that unexecuted, of the good effect whereof I did assure myself I should have sent your Lordship an experimented proof by an attestation of the country itself, by the end of February last past. But, now that the oversight of the whole office is referred wholly to myself, I do humbly assure your Lordship, that I will so importune the State for the setting of it a foot, that it shall be seen, I hope, that as my endeavour shall not be less, so my sufficiency shall appear as great, and the effect of the same more available for Her Majesty's service, the benefit of the country, and with far more right to the captain and soldier, than Kyffin's was, notwithstanding the great commendation afforded him from hence for his great husbandry, before the bitter fruit of the same was blossomed, which now begins to be gathered, to a dangerous discontentment and universal disquiet and weakening of Her Majesty's army."

Is ashamed in such sort to brag of himself, but the injustice towards him and the attestation of a good conscience, enforce him thereunto. Craves Burghley's favour, especially at this time, for the repair of many ruins, as well in Her Highness's army as in the country, which by the execution of his form of musters, he dares promise, with the favour of God, fully to effect. Desires Burghley's letter to the Lords Justices and the Lord Lieutenant General, that the said form may be duly graced and countenanced by them, if it appears to them to tend to the effects above mentioned, and to be without an increase of charge to Her Majesty. Will thereby be more bounden to Burghley than if, by his Lordship's favour, his poor estate were instantly advanced by 2,000*l*.—Dublin, 1597, March 1. *Signed.* pp. 3.

March 1. 67. "A collection of the strengths and numbers present at the garrison places following, of the officers and soldiers serving under the captains hereunder named, according to the return of the musters and views taken of them, by direction of the Lord Lieutenant, by the several persons hereafter expressed." Total, 2,321.

Appended is a copy of a memorandum by Sir Ralph Lane. The above certificate is only of the late army for Ulster, which consisted of 36 companies of foot and 6 companies of horse. Out of these, in the event of a war, must be deducted, for garrison duty in divers places, 20 companies, and also 5 companies, which are to be cased by reason of their extreme weakness; thus leaving 11 companies of foot and 6 of horse for service in the field. The 11 companies are all "full of hurt, sick, and feeble men, through want of victuals and want of clothes this winter." Thus Her Majesty's forces must be reinforced with new bands and strong supplies,

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if peace cannot be made on honourable and just conditions.
Endorsed:—1597, March 1. *pp.* 3.

March 1. 68. Another copy of the above "collection," preceded by a list of captains of horse and foot in Ireland. *Endorsed*:—1597, March 1. *pp.* 5.

March 1. 69. Sir Dennis Rowghane to Burghley. Informed Burghley not only of Sir John Perrot's treasons, but of those of others far greater than he, and more dangerous to Her Majesty's crown and dignity. The truth consisted in proofs, and witnesses that are to be examined in the matter. Three are now prisoners in the Marshalsea, viz., Piers Hackett, Piers Comine, and Edmund Hackett. Has been with them, and they most earnestly requested him to tell Burghley that Piers Hackett will not only confirm all such treasons as Sir Dennis has set down in writing against the Lord of Cahir and the Lord of Dunboyne, but will set down the names of divers others, who will "both justify and prove treason" against the said Lords. Assures Burghley that the said Hackett is a special instrument and a sufficient member to do Her Majesty great service. Therefore most earnestly beseeches Burghley and the Council, especially the Lord Admiral, to forgive Hackett his last offence committed in England, as also Comine and Edmund Hackett; and to appoint Commissioners to hear and "pen down in writing" the service they offer to Her Highness, which shall be found beneficial to her. Protests that the greatest cause which has provoked him to be so slack in prosecuting his former course of service is the slackness and coldness of the Privy Council in prosecuting the matter. Is now ready to do what he can for his Queen. Beseeches Burghley to give order to the keeper of the Marshalsea to allow some relief to both the Hacketts and to Comine, especially to ease Hackett and Comine of their irons.

"I have delivered your Lordship's letter to one of the masters of the Hospital of Christ Church, called Mr. Codden, who said unto me that it is a custom observed among them in the city, not to receive any stranger's child, but such as are born within the city. Notwithstanding he said he would show your Lordship's letter to the rest of the masters to consider thereof; for which your poor priest is thankful to God and your Lordship, though I never obtained (*sic*) my suit, for that *recipitur voluntas pro facto* with me."—London, 1597, March 1. *Holograph. Seal.*
pp. 2.

[March 1.] 70. Piers Hackett to Burghley Desires the favour of being brought before him, to prove to him and Sir Dennis how he went about to do Her Majesty service, and that he can yet do service, if it pleases Burghley to license him. Can deliver where twenty-five bishops, doctors, and priests do remain in certain lawyers' houses and aldermen's houses, and [in those of] men of great substance, who, he can prove, have cursed Her Majesty, bell, book, and candle. They are all within one diocese, except one man, who is killed. Can also deliver to Burghley how Her Majesty's service is neglected in

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Ireland, as also the cause. Prays Burghley to send for him.—The Marshalsea, [1597-8, March 1]. *Holograph.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

March 2.
Dublin.

71. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council to Burghley. For the speedy repayment of the 1,300*l.* borrowed of Mr. Thomas Vesie, of London, merchant, and of 760*l.* borrowed of divers others.—Dublin, 1597, March 2. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 2.
London.

72. Petition of George Beverley, Victualler for Ireland, to Burghley, showing reasons why his accounts should be declared in England and not in Ireland.—London, 1597, March 2. *Holograph.* One sheet.

[March 3.]

73. "A note of such things as Captain Lee will be charged withal." *Endorsed*:—"A copy of certain articles containing informations and accusations against Captain Thomas Lee, preferred by Captain Montague to the Lord Justice Norreys, 31 Octobris 1597: and after published at the Council table 14^{to} Novembris, whereof divers parts are written with the hand of the said Captain Montague, and the rest by his direction."

"First, Captain Lee, being commanded from the State to prosecute the traitors, went upon the 20th October 1597, with his company into the Ranelagh, and hearing the rebels were not far off, said he would not steal upon them, but willed his drum to beat. Brian Reogh, hearing the same, came out presently himself, and came to Captain Lee, and, after friendly salutations between them, Captain Lee called for Redmond M'Feagh, who upon his oath came unto him. Then the said Captain took a book, and solemnly protested that, since he got no good by Feagh's killing, he would not take the name of that upon him, and said he was neither privy, nor any way consenting, to Feagh's killing. Further then came their men on both sides, very familiarly mingling, and making merry together. Then the said Captain called for O'Neill's man that was with Brian Reogh, and asked him if he neither had message nor letter to him from the Earl of Tyrone; who answered yea, and then delivered him a paper. Then the said Captain, with Brian Reogh and Lysoe Oge, sat down together, all under the Captain's cloak. Brian Reogh desired the Captain that he and his men would lodge with him in his camp that night, which he refused. Then Brian gave him nine of the beeves he took from Killrodderie [Kilrothery] three days before, to his supper. So the Captain camped in the country that night, and with most of his men went the next day to Rebanne.

"The next day after the parley, the poor people of the Byrnes, hearing the rebels were so near, feared they would come to do them some mischief, and flying, their cattle were met with by some of Captain Lee's soldiers, whom they knew [to be] warders in the fort of Rathdrum, who told the people they needed not fly, for that their Captain had made peace with the rebels; upon which they gladly returned; and that same night, being the 21st of October, the rebels came into the country, and those soldiers of the Captain joined with them, and they burnt and 'preded' twenty-six towns.

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"Upon the 22nd of October, about twelve of the clock in the day, the rebels passing with the prey by the fort of Rathdrum, one Lieutenant Goldsmith, who had the charge of the fort, with one Cahir Roe, a warder there, both on horseback, without any word, came forth and met Brian Reogh and Redmond M'Feagh, who gave unto Goldsmith five beeves and a good number of muttons. Two of the beeves broke from him; the rest the Scots would have taken away, but Brian and Redmond, beating them, would not suffer them. Then Goldsmith wished them that they should not go far till he came again unto them, who, putting the beeves and muttons into the fort, brought out presently a bottle of sack, taking Cahir Roe only with him, and there drank it with Brian and the rest. Then said Cahir Roe to Goldsmith, it was time for him to return to the fort, but he would tarry, and go with his Lordship and Mr. Redmond M'Feagh. Redmond said, if he came with him, forasmuch as heretofore he had been a guide against them, that he would cut off his head. The other answered, do with him what he would, he would not leave him; so he tarried by the rebels, and Goldsmith returned to the fort.

"Item, in October 1597, Captain Lee being in Dublin, called Edmond M'Shane Oge, Walter M'Edmond, and others that are upon protection, and told them they were beggars not worthy of land; and, since their land was given from him, willed them to go their ways, shift for themselves, and fight for their own, and thereupon plotted with them that they should send to Garrett M'Shane Oge to assemble all the rest together at Glendalough ["Glendelaghe"] whither he would send a man of his, called Alexander M'Donnell, to write a letter in all their names to the State, that, if they might have their pardon and lands, as their ancestors heretofore had enjoyed it, and such a captain over them as they would choose, then they would be at peace; otherwise they would shift for themselves the best they could. This message being brought to Garrett, [he] returned answer that, forasmuch as his brother was in Dublin, attending to know the State's pleasure what should be done with them, he would not consent to any such letter, until he were resolved from them.

"Item, in his late prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh, he and his officers apprehended divers of the freeholders of the Byrnes for traiters, and seized upon all their goods, and then, either upon loss of part, or all, [they] were released.

"Item, where divers of the freeholders of Ranelagh, now protected, fled their cattle for fear of the rebels into these safer parts, [they] were warned by Captain Lee's men about the 25th of October 1597, to bring them up into Ranelagh, and they refusing, upon the 29th of October '97, the said Captain's men went to bring them away by strong hand, to carry them into Ranelagh, upon which those that were protected, seeing their goods in no better safety, are gone all to the rebels.

"Item, the [Provost-] Marshal Bowen coming into the Byrnes, as employed by Captain Lee, would apprehend the poor people, carry them to the gallows with withes about their necks, ready to

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be hanged, and then the poor people, giving him a sum of money, or bonds to pay him money by a day, should be forthwith released.

“Item, notwithstanding Captain Lee was reprov'd and bound by the State to answer the pulling out of Art O'Toole's eyes, being protected, he forthwith after sent one Hackett that follows him, with 60 soldiers to prosecute the other brother, Rowny O'Toole, who was upon the same protection. Rowny appealing to his protection, Hackett gave him contemptible speeches the eof, and so Rowny, hardly escaping him with his life, is driven into rebellion.

“Item, about a year or more since, Captain Lee being newly come to Dublin from the Earl of Tyrone, called one into his chamber, and after many speeches told him, he would tell him a secret; and then said [that] in his journey into the North, he had taken such order with the Earl of Tyrone, as he would make no peace, whilst the Lord General was here in Ireland, but his foot should be no sooner in England, but the Earl should have what peace he would of my Lord Deputy.

“Item, Captain Lee talking amongst his kern at Rebanne about the same time, said to them that, if the Irish did prevail, he would have his part with them; if the English did prevail, he was sure enough.

“Item, when Lysoe Oge, with seventeen traitors more of the Moores, were committed prisoners to the Castle of Dublin upon the 22nd of June last, 1597, Captain Lee, undertaking to the Lord Deputy that they should at all times be forthcoming, had them set at liberty, since which time, in revenge, they have ‘preaded’ and burned not less than 80 towns.

“Item, about two years since, when as Farroll M'Hugh O'Kelly, a notable traitor, was prosecuted in Connaught by Her Majesty's forces, and sore wounded, so as he could not remain in all those parts untaken, fled to Castle Rebanne, where he had conference with Captain Lee, and thereupon was secretly kept in the woods and town of Rebanne, until he was recovered, having, by special direction from the Captain, daily meat out of his house, and then returned into Connaught, where he hath ever since been a notable traitor.

“Item, Captain Lee sent one that follows him, called Piers Hackett, to Cahir M'Hugh to enter into rebellion, upon which he is joined with 36 men with the rebels.

“Item, Walter M'Edmond, being in rebellion, was sent by Captain Lee to take Wickam's prey of Talbotstown, who sent his son to do it, but was stayed by Cahir O'Toole.

“Item, Captain Lee sent Edmond M'Shane Oge, Walter M'Edmond, Cahir M'Hugh, Edmond Garr, with divers others, being all traitors, to assault the castle of Talbotstown, who took it, and had the spoil of all Wickam's cattle and goods.

“Upon the first of November 1597, the rebels being scattered in each town of the Byrnes, spoiling and preying the country, the same day came Captain Lee's lieutenant with 50 footmen and six horsemen to Morrogh M'Edmond's house. Morrogh came to the

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lieutenant, having assembled the country together, and both desired, and charged him upon his duty, to go with them, and they would undertake to do great service upon the rebels, being not many and scattered. The lieutenant utterly refused, and would not out of Morrogh's house. The soldiers pressing to go into the castle, Morrogh desired the lieutenant not to suffer them. The soldiers, giving him evil language, said ere it were long they doubted not to be as bold there as he.

"Item, this day, being the 14th of November, it was sent unto me from Phelim and Redmond M'Feagh's wives, that, since Phelim and Redmond came into Ranelagh out of the North, Captain Lee had sent two messengers, one a footman, the other a horseman called William Drage, to Phelim, to desire he would write his letter to the Earl of Tyrone, not to be offended with him for killing Feagh M'Hugh and he would go presently to him and serve him. Withal they sent me word, if they might have a protection, they would come and reveal this and more, brought this day to me by Connor O'Cullen.

"Item, in August last past, 1597, Captain Lee sent a fair long fowling piece from Dublin to one Melaghlin M'William Duff in Ranelagh, a notable traitor in all Feagh M'Hugh's wars, and now with Phelim in all these late spoils and burnings. [*In the margin* :—"The proof."] Margaret, Hugh Duff M'Donnell's wife, being in the said Melaghlin's house at Fananerine, saw when the wife of the said Melaghlin, coming from Dublin, delivered the piece to her husband as a token from Captain Lee, and Melaghlin himself will not deny it.

"Item, let Captain Hackett, that follows Captain Lee, be examined of most of the former articles."

Here follows, "a note of the proof of those articles which were delivered my Lord Justice against Captain Lee, the 31 of October 1597," giving names of witnesses, &c.

"3^o Martii 1597. Mr. Attorney, I pray you let Piers Hackett be examined upon the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 articles, and also the 10, 15, and 19 articles."

Memorandum, that certain of the witnesses have been examined, "but can say nothing of their own knowledge, but upon report of others, that cannot yet be come by."

Copy, signed by Edward Loftus, and the Attorney-General, Sir Charles Calthorpe, with the latter of whom it is noted the original remains. pp. 4.

March 4.
Dublin.

74. Sir George Bouchier to Burghley. Desires to know Her Majesty's resolution as to how the munition shall be answered by the army. The staying of the summer suit of apparel from the soldier does not countervail the charges of his furniture. Has sent Burghley a particular view of what sums of money are to be defalked upon the several captains and others for munition for the half year ended at Michaelmas last, and likewise so much of this half year to the end of March, as has been delivered out of the store at Dublin. Can only conjecture what the expense of munition in the remote

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provinces will rise to, but it can be little less than the former half year. Will further advertise the same. Urgent necessity for good supplies of arms and munition.

"One other want in arming of the soldier is also now found by alteration of the payment, that where before the captains were wont at their own charge, to provide amongst merchants such swords, girdles, and like necessities, as the soldiers wanted (the same being never hitherto provided by Her Majesty), now they be not able to perform the same; which want is from hence made known unto their Lordships; wherein, if any supply be made at Her Majesty's charge, I beseech your Lordship that either my man may be imprested the money to provide the swords, or else, if it seem good to your honour, that the same should be included in the proportion out of the Tower, yet that the provision may be made somewhat by his choice; for that if the like be sent hither, which are accustomed to be brought over of the country's provision, when they set forth soldiers, the same will never be issued, but remain in store, till rust and decay grow upon them, as it hath done upon curates [cuirasses] and many other arms which now lie as old remains, not worth anything, to Her Majesty's great hindrance; wherein I have been by letters often a suitor unto your Lordship that the same might be surveyed, and some profit made thereof for Her Majesty's advantage."

For other questions concerning his office, refers to the bearer, who is sufficiently instructed to satisfy Burghley.—Dublin, 1597, March 4. *Signed.* pp. 2.

March 4.
Dublin.

75. Robert Newcomen to Burghley. Sends a brief certificate of the defalcations to be made for victuals delivered between 1 October 1596 and 31 December 1597, together with his whole charge within that time, and the loss which will grow thereby to Her Majesty. The high prices at which the victuals were bought, and the mean rates at which they were issued to the soldiers. If any more of the like provisions are sent over to Ireland, (and there is great need,) beseeches Burghley to appoint at what rate they shall be issued. The soldiers garrisoned at Carrickfergus, Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford, and Blackwater, besides those serving in Connaught, being in all 5,000 men, cannot live in those places without some relief of victuals, especially of bread corn, to be sent them out of England, the same being not to be had in Ireland for money. Makes bold to signify that, if Burghley would procure him money to be distributed unto the companies, and they were to be given one week's provision in victuals, and one week's provision in money, the soldier would be as well contented as if he had received the fourteen days wholly in victuals. This course will prove to be a great saving to Her Majesty's charge, and sparing of her victuals, for thereby a proportion of victuals for three months will be drawn to serve six months.

The 1,000*l.* sent by his agent, Molyneux, was bestowed in herrings, butter, and cheese, all which were sent to the garrisons of Carrickfergus, Dundalk, and Newry. If there had been 1,000*l.* more, the same might have been bestowed, like the former, in

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Scottish herrings, at 22s. sterling the barrel, butter, at 4l. the barrel or 4d. the pound, and cheese, at 25s. the cwt. or 2½d. the pound. A great portion of herrings was brought to Dublin this year by Scottishmen, and a good part thereof the city took into its hands; but a greater part has gone away unsold, which the State would not have parted with, had there been money to answer for them. It is to be feared the same will be wanting before beef is in season.—Dublin, 1597, March 4. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½. Incloses,*

75. I. "*A brief view or estimate made of the charge which Her Majesty hath been at in victualling Her Highness's army and garrisons in Ireland, between the first of October 1596 and the last of December 1597, following; together with an estimate of the loss growing thereupon.*"

The charge amounts to 30,640l. 7s. 4d. sterling; the defalcations to be made therefrom to 16,373l. 2s. 1d. sterling; and thus the loss to 14,267l. 4s. 11d. sterling. Signed by Robert Newcomen. Endorsed:—March, 1597. One sheet.

March 6.
Tredagh.

76. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Burghley. Being come as far as Tredagh, to answer the appointed time of meeting with Tyrone, the 7th of this month, the Lord Lieutenant, upon a letter received yesterday from Tyrone, has given him a further time till the 14th instant. Meanwhile, his Lordship is to draw to the borders of Offally, to put on foot a prosecution against the O'Connors and bastard Geraldines, who, with some Ulster men, are suddenly slipped into those parts of Low Leinster, where they have begun to do hurt already.

Before coming from Dublin, order was taken for the defence of Offally and the borders adjacent, by special holdings raised in each country, and some of the army to assist them. Yet, if some man of countenance be not in place to call them out, there is small hope of good success in that service, such is the backwardness of the country, and the unsoundness of the forces in Her Majesty's pay appointed to join with them. This is the cause of the Lord Lieutenant now going to those borders, where he may spend five or six days in directing that prosecution, and yet hold his time at Dundalk on the 14th. Signifies this, that Burghley may know the cause of this respite given to Tyrone, and also what is intended against the Leinster rebels in the interim.

Finds that Tyrone "stomaketh greatly" the late submission of O'Rourke, as though it were a breach of the last treaty. Thinks he rather fears that, by the example of O'Rourke, others of his confederates may fall from him; and it is not unlikely, if their hope of the speedy coming of Spaniards do not let them.

A merchant of Scotland having put into the harbour yesterday, from Lisbon, he sent for him. The merchant assured him confidently that the King of Spain was dead six months past, though

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not published till now ; and that the young King and Council of Spain thought it not requisite to pursue any more the old King's quarrels against England and France. He told Fenton likewise that the Pope had sent lately fourteen great ships with 4,000 soldiers out of Italy for the invasion of Ireland, but they were for a time stayed at Ferrol, for what cause he knew not. This rumour and opinion of new forces to be sent to trouble this realm will increase greatly the pride of the rebels, and haply stay some of them from coming to the parley.—Tredagh, 1597, March 6. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 6.
[London.]

77. Robert Arden to Burghley. Concerning Christopher Percival's offer to supply certain provisions from Norfolk for Ireland, viz., wheat, 1,000 quarters, Norfolk measure, at 45s. the quarter, whereas Robert Grome has 55s ; 400 ways of Holland cheese, at 55s. the way, whereas Suffolk cheese cannot be had under 62s. the way, "besides the dearth and dislike of the people which would ensue ; as also in goodness three pounds of the Holland is better than 4 pounds of Suffolk ;" 500 quarters of oats, Norfolk measure, at 16s. the quarter, "which others would not sell under 18s. 6d. the quarter ;" and 200 quarters of oatmeal, Norfolk measure, at 42s. the quarter, "where others will not serve under 46s. the quarter." The saving on the prices of all these will come to 563*l.* Necessity of closing with Percival's offer at once, as he returns from London to Norwich on the morrow.—[London], 1597, March 6. *Signed.* pp. 2.

[March 6.]
London.

78. Memorandum by Robert Newcomen, addressed to Burghley, concerning offers to supply certain provisions, made by Christopher Percival and Richard Markall.—London, [1597-8, March 6]. *Signed.* pp. 2.

March 8.
Trim.

79. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Burghley. "Before the establishment for the escheated lands in Munster, I having taken great pains in those services, a *custodiam* was granted me of a parcel of land there, called Tarbart, whereof I was afterwards defeated by Sir Valentine Browne, who, in my absence, being employed in service abroad, assigned the same over to Sir John Hollis, to be parcel of his seignory ; and Mr. Hollis, finding it to be a matter of no value, considering the greatness of the rent, never took out any letters patent, but gave over his goodwill to one James Gould, for two or three hackneys of very small price ; who hitherto hath enjoyed that land without title, for he cannot have it by letters patent, by the articles of the establishment, being a mere Irishman ; neither would any other of the undertakers seek to have it, because of the great rent, and small profit to be gotten by it. So as all this time it hath lain out of grant, till of late, a little before my going to Dundalk, to the last parley with Tyrone, I moved the Commissioners to have it passed unto me, as an undertaker, of whom all gave their consents, except Sir Henry Wallop, who took a breath in the matter, seeming to have a secret meaning to bestow it upon some kinsman of his, as is now discovered, he having, during my absence at the borders, given his consent to his cousin Kingsmill,

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brother-in-law to Sir Thomas Norreys, and very lately made captain of 100 footmen. I find the rest of the Commissioners to persist still in their first consent to me, but, because Mr. Treasurer standeth so firm for his kinsman, they are loath to proceed to pass the letters patent to me without a letter from thence, which they say would suffice to avoid all cause of unkindness with Mr. Treasurer. I humbly beseech your Lordship to bestow your letter for me to the Commissioners for the passing of Tarbart, and the land belonging to it, late allotted to Mr. Hollis, to me, as an undertaker, and with the like limitations and conditions that are appointed to the rest of the undertakers; wherein I doubt not to do Her Majesty good service, rather than to benefit myself; for that, being an undertaker, I shall be a mean to draw others, by my example, to a better course for the repeopling of their seignories with English people than hitherto hath been done. And it is high time that their disorders were reformed, having been overlong suffered; and the chief cause that moveth me to seek it (besides my respect to do Her Majesty service) is, for that by reason of the troubles of Leinster, I have lost all that I had in the English Pale, both of corn and cattle; and my farm, which I bought for the maintenance of my house, laid waste, and no people dare inhabit it. For Mr. Treasurer, his hardness towards me groweth only out of a favour he beareth to his kinsman, without measuring that I was interested in Tarbart at the first by *custodiam*, and was promised to have a further estate in it, as an undertaker, but put from it by no good dealing of Sir Valentine Browne. And the toil I have taken in those services of Munster, from the first breaking out of the Earl of Desmond till he was cut off, deserveth that I should be respected before a stranger in the allotment of those lands." Begs Burghley to send in the next packet a letter for him to the Commissioners, who are, Sir Robert Gardener, Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Robert Napper, and Sir Anthony Sentleger. Prays that the packet may be directed to him.—Trim, 1597, March 8. *Signed. p. 1.*

March 10. 80. Rough memorandum by Burghley of provisions for Ireland. *Endorsed by him:—1597, March 10. p. 1.*

March 11. 81. Memorandum addressed to [Burghley] by Henry Palmer, W. Borough, and Marmaduke Darell, concerning provision of wheat and rye to be made for Ireland by the following merchants, Edward Quarles, Samuel Hare, and Mr. Newton. The company of bakers in London should be written to to make choice of a fit man amongst them, who, with Davie George, the Queen's baker, may view the corn and certify thereupon. The 300 quarters of wheat, bought of Alderman Holliday, should be speedily shipped.—1597, March 11. *Signed. pp. 2.*

March 12. 82. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the rest of the Council to Burghley. For the payment of 1,800*l.*, borrowed of Thomas Veasie, of London, merchant, and of 760*l.*, borrowed of several other persons. Beg that the payment may be made in London, and not from the 12,000*l.*, which they understand is coming to Ireland.—Dublin, 1597, March 12. *Signed. p. 1.*

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March 15. 83. Offer made by Robert Ardern to the Privy Council for a provision of victuals to be sent into Ireland. Total, 6,690*l*.—1597, March 15. *p*. 1.

March 15. 84. Certificate by Davie George and John Done, wardens of the Bakers' Company, that they have viewed the wheat and rye shipped for Ireland in the *Fortune*, the *Hercules*, the *Humfrey*, and two Flemish ships, and that they find the same in good condition.—1597, March 15. *Copy. pp*. 1*½*.

March 17. 85. John Newton to Burghley. That he may receive a higher
London. price for his wheat. Lord Buckhurst and the Chancellor never spoke to him of a lower price than 46*s*. the quarter. Has sold some yesterday at 48*s*. His wheat is "of far better value and goodness than that Norfolk wheat is." Desires it may be transported to Ireland in an English vessel.—London, 1597, March 17. *Holograph. p*. 1.

March 20. 86. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges
Drogheda. his kind letter. Has forborne to write to him of the particulars of his proceedings with Tyrone in this last treaty, because he has at large written to the Privy Council of the same. Prays very earnestly that the victuals and munition may be hastened. Most of the garrisons, through want thereof, like to have been clean forsaken, as the bearer, Captain Mansell, can certify. To prevent this extremity, has often written of the same, but cannot as yet hear of any coming, which grieves him not a little.—Drogheda, 1597, March 20. *Signed. p*. 1.

March 21. 87. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Burghley. Touching the late pro-
Dublin. ceedings in the last parley with Tyrone, and the matters there handled, refers to the Lord Lieutenant's letter, "penned by myself at his desire," and to the other writings and instruments accompanying the same. All these he wished his Lordship to transcribe to England, that the Privy Council might the better discover what may be further gathered upon these uncertainties and formalities in the principal rebel.

"For my part, I saw he was very stiff to retain his dependency of the Irish, wherein, as we laboured to break that knot, and to separate them from him, so we found him very tough to hold them still, as a matter to bear up his greatness, though by speech to us he pretended that it was only for his oath and promise, by which he was tied to deal for them as for himself, and not to conclude severally, unless they were likewise provided for. I have not seen such a confluence of discontented people drawn from all parts of the realm, to seek refuge of him in their grievances, some for title of land, some for goods, and other challenges, as though they were to be relieved upon a parley hill in Ulster by the censure of a traitor, not having first sought their redress by lawful means at the State. And all these he took as it were upon him and his patronage, though inwardly we found that he could have been content to have shifted them off, as appeared by the sequel, for that he gave no other countenance to their causes, than to speak to us that they

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might be righted. But this being added to his dependency with the Irish are two corruptions in this government not presently to be recured, until by time they may be made more apt to receive thorough cure, and therefore for the present rather to be winked at than striven against. Some of these in mine own knowledge are gentlemen of living, and some younger brothers, repining at their elder brothers for the smallness of their portion, and most of them of civil behaviour, till now that they are made mad with the looseness of the time, as though Ireland were to be divided again, and they to receive great shares by the power of Tyrone and his rebellion. We recovered some of them at the parley, and most of the rest, I think, will fall away out of hand, not finding in Tyrone the comfort they looked for; but I doubt they will not be thoroughly reclaimed but by a further length of time, and good ministry in the governors of the realm.

"The matter that went most against my stomach in this parley was the returning of the O'Mores and Connors into Leinster, which we could not remedy without hazarding a greater mischief, namely, to make Tyrone desperate, and to open a gap for all dangers; and yet, as the matter is handled, I see not but their protections may serve as so many snares to overthrow them, and besides we have foreseen that they shall not be chargeable to the English Pale; only the mischief in protecting them will fall upon Leix and Offally, where they have most friends, some apparent and some underhand, and yet how burthenous soever they be to those poor countries, the necessity in taking them in doth far surmount the inconveniences that may ensue.

"I dare not adventure to give your Lordship any opinion touching these rebellions in Ireland till, at the next assembly, I may see what the whole Irish confederacy will do; and, in the meanwhile, I have wished the Lord Lieutenant General to prepare for the worst; wherein I see he is at a great afterdeal for want of victuals to sustain the soldier; and, for the country-helps, they are more and more doubtful and almost desperate, if the war should be renewed; and therefore, under your Lordship's further advice, it would be a mean to draw the capital rebel to conformity, if, before the next meeting, the 10th of April, he might see some provision of victuals sent from thence for the army.

"I hope, in this interim, the Lord Lieutenant will do much to rid Leinster of the Geraldines and their partakers, and, by their suppression, to terrify the O'Mores and Connors to bethink themselves of a better trade of life than to live by the sword."

Touching Spain and Spanish occurrents, finds on his return to Dublin that most of the shipping of all the ports in Ireland, trading there for wines and other commodities, is returned. Only some few of them are detained to answer the King's service, and some others taken by the Leaguers and other pirates at sea. But the most of those that are returned agree that the King's fleet and army are kept together and not dissolved, sundry rumours being given out that they intend to attempt both for England and Ireland this summer. Some say it is for their own defence against the

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navy of England; and some that it is to transport forces into Brittany and to reinforce Calais ["Calice"]. "But most of them affirm that the old King is dead, and that the young King taketh upon him the government and signing of all despatches. Lastly, they say there is a division in the Council of Spain, whether it be more meet to pursue the old King's quarrels against England, or to let the revenge thereof die with himself."—Dublin, 1597, March 21. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

March 22.
Drogheda.

88. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. "Being at Dundalk about the parley with Tyrone, I received from the Lords Justices the copies of two of your Lordship's letters directed to them and me. By one of which, dated the first of this month, I understand of your Lordship's dangerous sickness, for which I am heartily sorry, both in regard of Her Majesty's service and the goodwill and love I do bear to yourself: praying God to send you good and speedy recovery, and that you may live long to do Her Highness service. How far I proceeded now with Tyrone, I need not trouble you in this, having written at large thereof in my general letters to all your Lordships, which I know will come to your hands."

The treaty with Tyrone was put off several days by him, as he pretended he could not, for the shortness of the time, draw thither O'Donnell, Maguire, James M'Sorley, and others of his principal adherents. In the meantime, hearing of the coming of the bastard Geraldines, the O'Connors, the Reillys, and divers others, out of the north to the borders of Leinster, he went presently to the edge of the King's County, where he caused a prosecution to be made after those traitors, and placed forces in Kildare, King's County, Queen's County, East and West Meath, upon the passages where they were to pass. Thus divers traitors of the best, of the O'Connors, the Reillys, the leaders of some of the northern traitors, with many of their followers, were put to the sword and executed by martial law. At this last treaty with Tyrone, he signed most of the articles required of him, and protested that, upon the 10th day of April, if O'Donnell came not and submitted himself apart, he would then, in most humble manner, receive his own pardon, and proceed further, according to an instrument signed by him, whereof Ormonde sent a copy in his letter to the Privy Council.

The urgent need of victuals. No means of relief in Ireland. Critical state of divers garrisons. Has dealt very earnestly with the Commissaries and the Mustermaster. Part of the treasure sent for the lendings has been disbursed by the appointment of the Lords Justices, without any warrant from him.

Touching Burghley's letter on behalf of Captain Constable, will do what he can on the coming of James M'Sorley, whom Tyrone promised to bring to the next parley.

"At my last meeting with Tyrone, I talked with him of his hard opinion conceived of your Lordship; who answered me that, though you were free thereof, the wrongs were too great that were offered unto him by Sir William Fitzwilliams, the Marshal, and such as countenanced them, and concealed his good services and the wrongs

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offered him from Her Majesty (as he said) seeking his life and overthrow: All which, I told him, ought not to have made him to carry arms or rebel against his most gracious Sovereign; which he confessed to be true, and seemeth to be most sorry for his offences.

"If there be truth in some of the principal traitors that joined with him, I have so dealt with them, as I hope they will forsake him."

Of the 900 Picardy soldiers appointed for Ireland, there arrived at Waterford, officers and all, but 612. They are assigned to be turned into companies under Sir Henry Power and three of the captains who have come out of Picardy. There are no means come with them, for settling them in apt places to answer the service. Is therefore forced for a time to leave them in the towns of Munster, where there is yet little use for them. Immediately after this next treaty, he means to discharge some of the companies, to fill up other decayed bands, and to ease Her Majesty's charges.

Hopes shortly to hear of Burghley's good recovery. "Good my Lord, haste victual to the garrisons above written."—Drogheda, 1597, March 22. *Signed. pp. 2.*

March 22.
Dublin.

89. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath to [Burghley]. "I hold it a thing agreeable with my bounden duty to acquaint your Lordship with our proceedings in this treaty with Tyrone, being greatly encouraged by your honourable acceptation of my last certificate. This parley began on the 15th of this instant, and continued for four days. At our coming to the place appointed, Tyrone seemed fearful to come unto us, and deferred his coming until the horsemen which attended the Lord Lieutenant were removed further from the place appointed for our meeting; and then, having first the Lord Lieutenant his word, he came unto us over a ford, bringing in his company some six horsemen.

"The Lord Lieutenant signified to Tyrone that, according his promise made to him, he had sent all his complaints and grievances to Her Majesty, and that Her Highness had both seen and considered of them, and had returned to him her pleasure, wherewith he was come to acquaint him; and that the substance thereof was, that upon his humble suit in Tyrone's behalf, Her Majesty had vouchsafed of her princely grace to condescend, not only to appoint this treaty, but also had authorised him to end all matters, if he, on his part, were ready to perform those things which did become him. Of which words he seemed to be very joyful. But presently he began to demand how, and in what sort, such as had taken part with him, specially the Moores and Connors, should be dealt with. The Lord Lieutenant told him that he greatly marvelled what he had to do with those rascals, by whom he had drawn upon himself more trouble than he could well answer. 'For' (said the Lord Lieutenant) 'I have great matters to charge you with in their behalf, for they have done great mischief in Leinster, for the which, upon your honour, you must answer. They have burned, spoiled, murdered, and made an havoc of all things, and besides they have abused men's wives and their daughters in such villainous manner, as is not to be spoken.' Tyrone said, 'many things are reported of

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them that are not true, and they deny all those things that you have written to me.' The Lord Lieutenant answered that those things should be proved unto him before their faces, and, in the mean season, he willed Tyrone to hear me, upon my honesty, to declare their doings. Which, at large and truly, I related, both in a generality, how they had wasted the country, and in particular, how they had made desolate a lordship belonging to my bishopric, which was wont to yield me a yearly rent of 100*l.*, besides customs and provisions; wherein now there was not a tenant left. Tyrone answered, 'I writ to your Lordship for a protection for them, which you denied me.' The Lord Lieutenant said, 'Was it reasonable, think you, that I should protect five or six hundred rascals, to go up and down the country, undoing the Pale and committing such disorders under colour of a protection?' By this his answer we perceived that he made no great account of the Connors and their partakers; and we told him we had heard that they had committed great disorders in Tyrone, whilst they were there; and we blamed him that he did not keep them there when he had them there [*note by the Bishop in the margin* :—'the inhabitants of Tyrone have vowed to cut their throats if they come there'], but returned them into the Pale, to do all the hurt that might be. But he protested with many oaths that their return was without his direction.

"Then Tyrone demanded what we said to Onie M'Rory. The Lord Lieutenant desired that he might be called over the river, which was done; and, at his coming, his Lordship, using long speeches in Irish to that lewd young man, because he spake not English, convinced him before Tyrone of many breaches of the peace, specially of the murdering of the soldiers in the Queen's County (whereof Sir Warham Senteleger there present brought proofs against Onie by the testimonies of his own near kinsmen), and of many other foul parts and villainous breaches done by him, which we perceived Tyrone to be both weary and partly ashamed to hear. Then Tyrone urged the Lord Lieutenant that some living in Leix might be allotted to Onie. To which he was answered that he could challenge no land in that country, because he was descended of a bastardly race, and that Callough O'Moore, there present with the Lord Lieutenant (if any land were to be challenged), is the lawful heir; who answered, that Her Majesty had dealt graciously with him, and he was satisfied; and also it was said by Sir Warham Senteleger, that there was an agreement made between the gentlemen of that county and the said Onie, that he should have had Gallyn [*note by the Bishop in the margin* :—'a parcel of land in the Queen's County'] in farm, and they were contented to pay the rent, viz., 30*l.* per annum, besides Her Majesty's rent, during his good behaviour; which offer Sir Warham Senteleger said he had accepted, and that he was sent, by Onie's own consent, and by the appointment of the gentlemen of Leix, to the State here to get that agreement confirmed. Which matter Onie denied to have consented unto, though I know Mr. (*sic*) Senteleger in this said the truth, and so the Lord Lieutenant also affirmed, and said he was a mean in the matter; but such was Onie

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his impudence, that he still denied that ever he consented thereunto. Then it was demanded of Onie what lands he could challenge in that county. He first said, all the spiritual lands in it. To which being answered that he had no right, &c. (*sic*), he proudly persisted, and said that he would have the whole country, or else he would know why. The Lord Lieutenant, perceiving the young man's pride and insolency, appointed me to take Tyrone aside, and privately to move the question to him, whether that was a reasonable demand which was made by that young traitor. Which I did, and gave mine advice to Tyrone that he should not give countenance to Onie in such lewd demands; and Tyrone returned to me in private this answer, viz., 'Content yourself; I will qualify these matters myself; that fellow shall make more reasonable demands, or else I will leave him to himself.'

"Then Tyrone made request to the Lord Lieutenant that he might first hear and understand Her Majesty's pleasure concerning himself, and upon what conditions we would stand with him for his peace; and then he would deal for his partakers, and concerning their breaches. And because there fell some rain, we agreed to defer that matter until the next morning.

"Our meeting on the second day had some delays, by reason the morning was misty, and by reason Mr. Marshal came from the Newry with some forces near to the place of meeting, which made Tyrone to defer his coming to us, until about 12 of the clock; but then he came, and at his coming we entered into the great matter. And after some private speeches between the Lord Lieutenant and Tyrone, I was appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to begin the matter. I first laid before Tyrone his heinous offences against Her Majesty, and aggravated the same as well as I could, and yet withal made known to him her gracious and princely nature, and disposition to remit his offences, and to receive him again into her grace, if he with repentance did seek her favour, and were ready to do the things which in duty were meet for him to do; which he protested he was ready to perform. Then I signified unto him, that Her Majesty, of her own inclination, being the most merciful Prince in the world, foreseeing what an effusion of Christian blood there would ensue, in case these broils should continue, having viewed his submission, in the last treaty presented to the Lord Lieutenant, and by his Lordship commended to Her Highness, had condescended to pardon his offences, upon certain just and lawful conditions, prescribed by herself, meet for Her Highness in honour to require of him, and in duty beseeching him to answer and perform; which conditions the Lord Lieutenant was directed to make known unto him. And then by the Lord Lieutenant his direction, I took into my hands Her Majesty's instructions, signed with Her Highness's hand, and first I showed to Tyrone Her Majesty's hand, advising him to consider from whom those instructions came, and accordingly to prepare himself both to hear them with reverence, and with humility to submit himself unto them. And I wished him to answer to each particular article prescribed by Her Highness, as the same should be read. Which thing

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he said he would be loath to do, until he had first conferred with his counsel. To this it was replied, that there was nothing contained in those instructions but matter merely concerning himself in person, to be performed by himself, and therefore he needed none other counsel. Yet he refused to answer in that manner, until he had first conferred with his counsel. So by the Lord Lieutenant his direction, the substance and equity of every particular instruction, was by me imparted to Tyrone, and the Lord Lieutenant also very gravely and wisely discoursed upon every particular instruction, declaring how meet it was for him in duty to submit himself to the performance of every instruction. Tyrone gave good allowance to every article prescribed, and seemed to consent thereunto, saying, 'If all other things may be agreed upon, there will be little sticking at these things'; and then he desired that Sir Walter and Sir James Butler might accompany him to his counsellors, for none of them was present at the reading and debating upon Her Majesty's instructions, but Henry Hovenden ['Harrie Ovington'] (whom Tyrone would needs have present). His request was granted, and when Tyrone came to his counsellors, he told them, in the hearing of those two knights, that it had pleased Her Majesty to grant to him and them her gracious pardon upon certain conditions, whereof he thought he should agree with the Lord Lieutenant, so as other things were ordered and ended. And then he entered into consideration with his counsellors, what demands he should make for his partakers, besides the grant of their pardon; amongst which counsellors of his, the said two knights informed us that they found the most of them very conformable to reason, and ready to give good advice to Tyrone to embrace peace, protesting that they were weary of the war, saving Cormack his brother and Henry Hovenden (who are bad members). And about one hour after, he returned those two knights and Henry Hovenden with these demands following to the Lord Lieutenant [*note by the Bishop in the margin* :—'Tyrone's demands for others.']

"1. First, for the Moores, he demanded that Onie M'Rory their head might have such a portion of living assigned unto him, as should be ordered and agreed upon by four arbitrators, whereof he himself and Henry Hovenden to be two, and those two knights other two.

"2. Secondly, for the Connors, and for Thomas Fitzgerald, that their challenges to land might be considered of, and if it were found that they had any right, accordingly to have it.

"3. Thirdly, for Redmond Burke, son to the late Baron of Leitrim, that he might presently be put in possession of his father's lands, because his father was murdered; or else it might be counted no breach of the peace if he sought to get his possession by force.

"4. Fourthly, that if M'William had not already made peace for himself with Sir Conyers Clifford, he should also be pardoned, and have his lands, &c. (*sic*).

"To these demands answer was made, that we wished Tyrone first to conclude for himself, and then he might the rather be heard

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for others; but upon Hovenden's allegation that he would not take any order for himself until those demands were answered, the four demands were thus answered [*note by the Bishop in the margin* :—'Answers to them.']

"1. To the 1[st.] it was answered, that we had no authority to appoint arbitrators in any such cause, and that that demand was very unseemly to be made, neither was Her Majesty purposed to buy rebels by giving of living to them, to reclaim them; but, if Onie M'Rory had right to anything, or any lawful challenge, he should be heard.

"2. And so also it was answered for the Connors.

"3. To the 3[rd.] it was said that we could not suddenly dispossess a nobleman [*note by the Bishop in the margin* :—'Earl of Clanrickard,'] and a good subject of his possession, to place therein a traitor, &c. (*sic*), but signified withal that the Lords Justices and Council, upon the petition of Redmond Burke preferred unto them, had sent for the Earl of Clanrickard, to be at Dublin in the beginning of this next term, to answer the matter, and we promised that then the cause should be heard with indifferency at the Council table, wishing that Redmond Burke had expected that course of proceeding, and had not sought to be righted by Tyrone.

"4. And to the 4th it was answered that M'William, upon his submission, should be pardoned, &c. (*sic*).

"These answers, being returned by the two knights and Hovenden, did not thoroughly content Tyrone, wherefore he came to us himself, and debated of every answer, and we satisfied him with the equity of each answer as well as we could.

"This done, we wished him again to answer Her Majesty's instructions particularly, that we might grow to a conclusion with him, which he said he would do, but first he desired a copy of them, that he might confer with his counsel. Again we told him the instructions only concerned himself, and that he needed no counsel; but, upon his importunity, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, who had drawn those instructions into prescriptions for him, delivered him a copy of them, which he took, and went a little aside, calling to him some four of his chief followers, with whom he tarried a good while considering of them; and then he returned to us, and desired first to speak privately with the Lord Lieutenant, which was granted; and soon after he returned to his said counsellors, and the Lord Lieutenant imparted to Sir Geoffrey Fenton and myself that Tyrone had pressed him, in that private conference, to know what pledges he would demand of him; and that, when his Lordship named Tyrone's eldest son, he could not abide to hear of that, protesting that he feared his brother Cormack would put him out of his place, if anything but good should happen to himself; and that when his Lordship named his second son, Tyrone said, he was but a sickly child, and, if he should be delivered as a pledge, he was sure it would cost him his life. So we entered into advice what pledges were meetest to be demanded; and, whilst we were in this consultation Tyrone came unto us, and desired to know

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what pledges should be asked. It was told him that the next morning he should know it. Then again he desired to speak privately with the Lord Lieutenant, and so they went aside; and, after they had tarried a time together, I presumed boldly to go unto them, and craving pardon to interrupt their conference, I said, 'I pray you, my Lord of Tyrone, if you mean good faith, now show it. You see Her Majesty's both plain meaning and most gracious dealing towards you, to remit your offences, to receive you into her grace, and to pardon you, if you will acknowledge her to be your prince, and will become her true and loyal subject, as you do protest. If in deed you be ready to perform this, and, in performance of this, will submit yourself to such conditions as Her Majesty hath prescribed unto you, defer no time to do it. We are here, Her Majesty's servants. It is meet that Her Highness should know in what terms you stand, and this she now expects daily to hear from you, my Lord Lieutenant, and so does all her Council. Therefore if you, my Lord of Tyrone, do mean unfeignedly to do all this that you protest, then prepare yourself to make your submission, and the same shall be made ready, and therein shall be inserted these articles which Her Majesty hath prescribed. And I do both wish and advise you, my Lord Lieutenant, presently to dispatch a horseman to Dublin, to the Lords Justices, for the Earl of Tyrone's pardon, and so to end this matter.' With these my speeches I perceived Tyrone to be much daunted, and he said, 'Nay, my Lord, these things cannot be done so soon. I cannot do these things without O'Donnell, for I am bound by oath to him to make no end without him.' 'Yea, my Lord,' quoth I, 'have you with your colour and show of conformity, drawn this nobleman (who here doth represent Her Majesty's own person) to impart unto you the very secrets of Her Majesty's grace towards you, testifying Her Highness's gracious disposition to receive you again, if you have grace to receive it, and will you now post over the time for O'Donnell's coming? Why is not O'Donnell here, seeing this day was appointed by yourself? And what if O'Donnell never come to conformity? Will not you become a subject? I see now there is some pad in the straw. It is like you look for Spaniards, and it is like enough they will deceive you, as they have done; and, if they keep touch with you, you and they shall find Her Majesty cares little for the matter.' He answered me thus: 'You do altogether mistake me, by the cross of this sword' (which now is his usual oath), 'I look neither for Spaniards nor Scots to help me, but I would not have it to be said that I should be counted a perjured wretch to those that I am sworn unto, and to leave them in the danger.' I still replied and said, 'Why, my Lord, what do you look for for O'Donnell? do you ask anything for him, but that he should make his submission, and seek his pardon, and have it as well as you?' He said, 'I ask no more.' 'Why then,' quoth I, 'hearken what my Lord Lieutenant will say to you for that.' Then the Lord Lieutenant, who during these speeches gave me the hearing, took the matter in hand, and very honourably and wisely used a long

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speech, allowing of my speeches, and most effectually both persuading and advising Tyrone to go through for himself, and withal promising him upon Her Majesty's word and honour, that O'Donnell in like manner, upon his submission, should be received to Her Majesty's grace and pardoned. With which promise of the Lord Lieutenant, albeit Tyrone confessed himself to be satisfied, and that he nothing doubted of the performance thereof, yet still he said he could not do it without O'Donnell, in regard of his oath to him. Then we used all the persuasions we could unto him, to make an end for himself, and finding himself even overcome with the reasons alleged by the Lord Lieutenant and us, he desired respite to consider of the matter until the next day.

"On the 3[rd] day's parley, a little before our meeting with Tyrone, he sent unto us in writing his answers to the conditions prescribed by Her Majesty, containing a kind of qualification of some of those articles, and his denial to yield to that one of them, which concerneth Shane O'Neill's sons. For doing whereof, at our meeting we did first very sharply reprove him, that he took upon him either to alter or qualify anything prescribed by Her Majesty whereunto he ought simply to have submitted himself. And then we began to debate with him of his said particular answers, and procured him to correct some of them, which seemed to us not reasonable.

"In which debating concerning his answers, I did observe three special very insolent points, whereupon he stood very undutifully.

1. The 1[st] was concerning the O'Reillys, touching whom he did protest, that unless O'Reilly might be suffered to enjoy the lordship of the country during his life, according the election made of him by the country, he would never receive his pardon, and, if he had 20 pardons, would break them, 'for,' said he, 'I was sworn to him to that effect.'
2. "The second was concerning Her Majesty's uriahts in Ulster, which are, Magennis, O'Hanlon, Maguire, M'Mahon, and the two chieftains of Clāndeboy; of whom he usurpeth a kind of dependency, and a kind of yearly duty; where in deed he ought not to meddle with them, but ought to leave them free, to depend only upon Her Majesty. For them he offereth that they shall answer and pay Her Majesty's yearly rent; but his meaning is, they should wholly depend upon himself; which being permitted, look assuredly for it, that within a short time he will seek to have their rent also.
3. "The 3[rd] was concerning the seneschalship of Clāndeboy, in his answer to the 12[th] article prescribed by Her Majesty. In the which, though he protesteth that he will not seek to hinder Her Majesty of her right, yet in particular he vowed that he would not consent that any officer should be placed there, or any, to have government of Her Majesty's uriahts, but himself.

"And after his said answers were on this wise perfected, he moved us again to take some order with his confederates; but the Lord Lieutenant made him this resolute answer, that he

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would first conclude with himself, and then would afterwards deal with his adherents. And so again we urged him to remember how far we had proceeded with him in the evening before, renewing the former speeches which then were used, and desiring then to know his resolutions. He said he had duly considered of the matter, and found that he could, neither in honesty, nor with a good conscience, make an end for himself, unless O'Donnell were present, in regard of his oath to him. We replied, 'What if O'Donnell do never come?' Tyrone answered, 'Let me have a sufficient time, and I will send for O'Donnell and Sir James M'Sorley and the rest.' We asked him, 'What if they come not at the day?' He said, 'Then I cannot mead it.' 'But,' said the Lord Lieutenant, 'if they do not come, will you then go through for yourself?' Which for a time he did stick at, but, being by us pressed therewith, he said, 'If O'Donnell shall refuse to come, I will at that day go through for myself.' The Lord Lieutenant required him to give him his hand upon it; and for performance thereof, he gave his hand both to the Lord Lieutenant, and to myself, viz., that come O'Donnell or come not, conform himself or not, he would that day end for himself, and receive his pardon. Then we demanded what day he would require for the bringing of O'Donnell and the rest. He demanded a month, which was by us misliked and thought too long a time. And here Sir Geoffrey Fenton again charged him that by all likelihood he expected Spaniards, because he required so long a time; which, with many solemn oaths, he denied; but, being more precisely urged to answer truly to this point, whether he had any intelligence with Spain since a little before the Lord Burgh his death, he confessed that he had sent into Spain, but protested before God that he looked for no Spaniards. Then, with much ado, we agreed with him that the day should be on the 10th of the next month; which day he hath promised duly to keep.

"This done, the Lord Lieutenant demanded his pledges, and he asked what should become of his former pledges. It was answered that upon delivery of other good pledges, they should be restored to him; and in that motion we found also great difficulty. First, we named five [*note by the Bishop in the margin*:—'His eldest son, his 2[nd] son, Cormaek his brother, Tirlogh M'Henry, and Henry Oge, his son-in-law'], of which number he refused to deliver any. Then were added in the schedule by the Lord Lieutenant four more [*note by the Bishop in the margin*:—'O'Hagan, O'Quin, Henry O'Hagan, Brian M'Art M'Baron, men of great account with him']; and, with much ado, he yielded, and promised to deliver two of those nine upon the day agreed upon, to be exchanged for other as good pledges at the end of three months; this to be done on the day agreed upon, viz., 10 Aprilis, and he then to make his submission, and to receive his pardon.

"At our meeting on the 4th day, we brought in writing the agreement which was made in the evening before, and willed Tyrone to set his hand unto it. Which being by him first perused, he did subscribe and deliver to the Lord Lieutenant; but, as he was

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beginning to set his hand to it, Henry Hovenden, that pestilent traitor, pulled him by the sleeve, and said, 'Beware what you do, and remember that I was not privy to this agreement.' Being demanded what he misliked in that writing, he cavilled concerning the clause of the pledges now promised by Tyrone to remain during Her Majesty's pleasure. 'What,' said Hovenden, 'if Her Majesty send direction that those pledges, which now shall be put in, shall still remain and not be delivered again at the three months' end?' To the which he was answered that it argued he himself had a traitorous heart, to conceive that Her Majesty by direction would alter that which the Lord Lieutenant should promise in her name, and upon Her Highness's word.

"After this, Tyrone began again to deal with us concerning his confederates; and now again he made motion for O'Reilly, who is a very old man of 90 years of age, and was chosen by the country to be their Lord, after the killing of Philip O'Reilly, and soon after was confirmed by Tyrone as Lord of that country called the Brenny. Touching whom Tyrone did make this protestation before us, viz., 'If the man die to-morrow, I for my part will meddle no more in the matter; but I will never receive my pardon, unless he may enjoy the lordship of that country during his life.' To this being answered, that he himself had deposed the name of O'Neill, therefore the other ought by the same reason to give over the name of O'Reilly; and that Her Majesty, by her letters patent under her great seal, had divided that country, by which division several persons held that country by state of inheritance, which act of Her Majesty we were bound to uphold; he said, 'I care not what you call him, but he must have and enjoy the lordship of that country during his life, for so I am sworn unto him.' And from this wilful and peremptory point we could not remove him by any persuasions.

"Then again Tyrone made motion for the Moores and Connors, and the Lord Lieutenant told him that he would not answer him to anything concerning them, until their ringleaders and chief men were called before him; which was done; and then, in Tyrone's presence, the Lord Lieutenant convinced them, and every of them, of intolerable oppressions, disorders, rapes, and murders, and charged Tyrone that he had his word for satisfaction of the harms done by them, which he could not deny. And finding they had committed so many horrible parts, and that now he was challenged for them, Tyrone grew into a rage, partly against those rascals themselves, and partly because he was so strictly charged for them; and so for a time he left us, and went to his counsellors, and sent several messengers with messages to the Lord Lieutenant, who was enforced (much against his will) to yield to some demands that are inconvenient, only to retain Tyrone, and lest he should grow desperate. And in the end an order was taken, between the Lord Lieutenant and him, concerning those men, that they should be protected to repair to the places where they were born, to live amongst their friends and kinsmen, to book their men, to put away all strangers, with some other conditions, by which they are left to the discretion of

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the Lord Lieutenant, if they shall offend and break the peace, being expressly forbidden to charge the Pale, or the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and confined only to the King's and Queen's Counties. After this, Tyrone brought before the Lord Lieutenant M'Mahon, Magennis, and O'Hanlon, who made their humble submissions to Her Majesty upon their knees, and craved Her Highness's pardon, which the Lord Lieutenant promised them.

"In which our treaty with Tyrone, now ended, albeit I have used my best endeavours (obeying your Lordship's grave advice, and duly remembering the necessity or rather extremity of the time) to draw these broils to a peaceable conclusion; yet, in discharge of my bounden duty to Her Majesty, I must make bold to signify mine opinion to your Lordship, that I greatly fear there is yet no certainty or assurance of Tyrone's conformity, which I am induced to think by the reasons following:—

"1. It was discovered to us at Dundalk by good intelligence that he still continueth the sending of messengers into Spain. Brymigham his man is undoubtedly now there (which Tyrone himself could not deny), and we also have been informed that another of this country, named Lallye, is an agent for him there.

"2. In this treaty I could not find that cheerfulness in him, which Her Majesty's most gracious dealing with him doth deserve. Everything came from him *àgry*, and with a wonderful difficulty.

"3. His standing upon peremptory points for his confederates, as namely, for old O'Reilly, that, unless in that particular he have his will, he will not receive his pardon, and, if he do receive it, will break it. I also heard that, on the next day after our parley, before we left Dundalk, he sent a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, protesting that, unless Redmond Burke, son to the Baron of Leitrim, might be dealt with according to his desire, he could not agree, &c. (*sic.*) The like motion, I also do foresee, he will make at the next meeting for Onie M'Rory O'More. By which unreasonable demands I know that at the next meeting both the Lord Lieutenant and his assistants shall be brought into a hard dilemma, which I yet conceive not how to remedy. And if O'Donnell do come to the next meeting, I foresee he will likewise stand upon the like peremptory point for his demand out of Sligo. All which are things unmeet and very inconvenient to be yielded unto; yet the case is such, and such is their wilfulness, as I fear, without some yielding in these points, the peace will not hold. And in these points, whether there shall be any yielding or no, and how far, it is a thing very requisite, if it may be done in this short time, to be directed by your Lordship.

"4. His encroaching upon Her Majesty's uriahts in Ulster, to draw them to his dependency, and to subject them to his rule, cannot but breed many inconveniences to Her Majesty's service; for I see Tyrone is resolved to suffer none but himself to deal with those uriahts.

"5. His standing upon this point, that he will have no seneschal in Clandeboy, and that, in regard of former abuses committed by

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under-governors, as he saith, he desireth no other officer may have dealing with the uriahts of Ulster but himself, showeth his intent to gripe in all Ulster.

"6. Knowing how bad instruments have daily recourse unto him, as traitorous priests from Rome and seditious priests from the Pale, whose practices do daily discover themselves, I see great cause to distrust him.

"7. My experience in Her Majesty's service of the pride of the Irishry, and remembrance of Tyrone's unhappy successes, and that he now knoweth his own strength, by reason of his combination in the several parts of this realm, maketh me in duty very doubtful that he will not stoop until he have a blow.

"And yet, forasmuch as I can learn or any way discover, he, for the present, is desirous to be at peace, and the most of the men of account in his country are grown very weary of these troubles, and use good offices to reduce him to his obedience, saving Cormack his brother, who is a rude man, and of a cankered heart and disposition against Her Majesty's government, and against the English nation. And next unto him is Henry Hovenden, one of Tyrone's secret counsel, by whom he is much guided. And if these two and O'Donnell, who is I fear wholly Spanish in heart, do not let it, I think Tyrone, on the ijth (*sic*) of April next, will confirm such covenants as now he hath promised under his hand to the Lord Lieutenant, the copies whereof I assure myself are now sent to your Lordship from the Lord Lieutenant. But how this peace will be kept and continued by such a rabble of traitors, it is a thing I rather do wish, and, as becometh me, will earnestly pray to Almighty God (Who maketh an end of wars in all the world, and breaketh the bow and knappeth (*sic*) the spear asunder), to perfect and establish, than any way yet I can either assure or hope for."—Dublin, 1597, March 22. *Holograph. pp. 16.*

March 23.
Dublin.

90. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Since he heard of Sir Robert's employment into France, has forborne to write to him of the affairs of Ireland, thinking any advertisements therefrom unmeet for the greater matters he was employed in beyond the seas. Yet after he heard of Sir Robert's departure, he did not fail to write to the Lord Treasurer, and advertise the state of Ireland. Begs to know when Sir Robert has returned to Court, "that I may still trouble you with the intelligences of Ireland, which as yet are far from any delight, either for your Honour to receive them, or for me to write them. But, if God bless your present negotiation there, it will be a good degree to the conformity of this country; for that I find, by the late two parleys we have had with Tyrone, that they depend much of the issue and success of that great assembly in France."—Dublin, 1597, March 23. *The endorsement is erroneously, "23 May 1598." Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

March 25.
Dublin.

91. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Grief at his Lordship's serious illness. The search appointed into Kyffin's papers, which are found to be intricate and confused. Sir Ralph's check-book for the half year ending 30 September last has been lying in his office since the

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10th of February, ready to have been sent by every packet since. Has had to stay the sending thereof for lack of some checks from Maurice Kyffin's man. These amount, he says, to some value not fit to be slightly passed over. No default can be imputed to Sir Ralph for the delay.

For the present half-year, ending 31st March, the whole charge is laid upon himself alone. There shall be found no wrong in him, now absolute in his office, for such a late certificate as that of the last half year. Burghley's direction for a certificate of Her Majesty's forces, "in particular distinguishments" of English Pale men and mere Irish in every several band, offers some difficulty in the first practice of it to the Commissaries, who, in truth, are as yet over few (one in each province), and "the bands placed in garrisons remote, and all parts very dangerous at this day to be travelled unto by the Commissaries for their monthly musters." Is forced, upon his own charge and bare entertainment of 11s. 6d. *per diem*, for himself ten horsemen and all (now that the perquisite of the dead pay in a band is taken away), not only to send abroad his own substitutes (as Commissaries *passants*), but also to entertain certain "lidgers," one at the Blackwater and another at Cavan, to neither of which garrisons is there any passage without a convoy of three or four companies at least.

Hopes to hear of Burghley's good recovery. Assures his Lordship that, by the end of the month, very perfect certificates shall be ready to be sent to him, both of the checks for the last half year and also of the present strength of all the bands of horse and foot, for the present half-year, but not of the checks of the same. "because the book thereof, ending ultimo Marcii, cannot be made up, neither ever in any time was or could be made up, when there were but ten companies in this whole kingdom, before the last of April next following." Burghley shall be certified of the whole before the last of May, at the furthest. How the checks are registered. The monthly certificates of checks prescribed by the Ordinances were never made, nor ever can be with any convenience.

The bands from Picardy, under the "regiment" of Sir Henry Poer, colonel of the same, were, upon their first landing at Waterford, mustered not only by the Commissary of Munster, but also by Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and by the Mayor of Waterford. The Lord Lieutenant-General has certified Burghley of their numbers. Will, by the next packet, send complete certificates himself.—Dublin, 1597[-8], March 25. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 2½.

1598. 92. Hugh Tudor, servant of Maurice Kyffin, to Burghley.
 March 26. "Having served Mr. Kyffin by the space of ten years or thereabouts; first attending on him into the Low Countries, where he was (as I remember) Surveyor of the Muster Rolls delivered in by the Commissaries, as appointed thereto by Sir Thomas Wilkes; and secondly into France in the time of his employment there as Vice-Treasurer of Her Majesty's forces in Normandy; and lastly

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into this country, being appointed Surveyor-General of the Musters here; within which time I was his only servant, in whom he reposed most trust and confidence, and at his 'death's bed' he charged me, saying these words:—'As I have ever found thee most true and faithful unto me, I require thee to perform one thing for me, albeit I doubt not of thy honest[y] and diligence to accomplish my desire after my death; yet, lest thou be called in question, and to avoid the inconvenience that may happen thereby, thou shalt swear unto me that thou shalt do thy endeavour to have my papers and writings conveyed into England, to the end they come not into the hands of mine adversaries here; and, for those that concerns (*sic*) Her Majesty's service, thou shalt deliver them safely to the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer of England, to be disposed of, as it shall please his Lordship, for the finishing of the last half year's checks, ending ultimo Septembris 1597;' saying further that he knew very well, if the books and writings were left here after his death, they should be committed to the handling of his adversaries, by whose corruption Her Highness should be exceedingly defrauded and deceived, and his faithful travail and pains taken in Her Majesty's service (wherein he spent his life) utterly frustrated. So, if it may please your Lordship, as I was bound in duty to perform all honest actions for my master, whom I knew to be so worthy a gentleman as deserved much my betters to do him service, so I vowed unto him to do anything I might therein, and to endure any punishment inflicted upon me (except torture) before they should come to light in this land, unless I (being stayed here) should be commanded by your Lordship's order and warrant to deliver them. God had not so soon called him away, but here were divers (now nameless) ready to swallow up, not only his books, but also his place and office; and, if they had been so weary of the place as he was, or intended to have saved Her Majesty by their diligent labour and travail therein so much as he did, they had never been so hasty, but the great gain that they hoped to reap thereby was the cause that moved them to busy themselves so much.

"Presently, after his death, I was commanded to come before the Council, and I, because I would not forthwith bring forth the writings, I (*sic*) was committed to close prison, where I remained three weeks before any more questions were asked me. At my second coming to mine answer, I denied them still; then there was (methought) a heavy judgment pronounced against me, when the constable of the Castle was commanded to yoke me to a post, with an iron yoke about my neck, and as many irons on my legs and more than I could well bear, that I might not possibly lie down; which he did accordingly; and, if I did not confess them, then to be racked. When I found myself in this heavy case, and the wind contrary out of England, being without hope of any releasement out of that extreme pains (*sic*), I resolved myself that I had already kept my promise with my master, and, seeing no other remedy, I sent word to my Lord Lieutenant General, to whom my master had committed them in keeping; but, verily, my good Lord, I did think that some order had been taken with them in the meantime, accord-

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ing to that direction which I had left with my friends before my commitment; otherwise, certainly, I had endured a little more. Presently the party [*note in the margin*:—‘whose charges I have borne’], who had them was sent for, and committed to prison for one night; who the next morning delivered them at the Council table. And being sent for thither, I most humbly beseeched their Lordships that I might sever and put asunder, from the muster rolls and other writings that concerned Her Majesty’s service, certain private letters and copies of letters; which was not granted unto me then. Thence I was commanded to prison, and so continued close prisoner in irons fifteen days after. In the meantime the writings were left in the Council Chamber and perused by the Council, where every petty clerk might have access unto them, and some things that concerns (*sic*) Her Highness’s service are yet missing, and I have made the Council privy thereof. But all your Lordship’s letters directed to my master at Chester and here, and divers copies of his letters to your Lordship and to others of the Lords of the Council, are embezzled and taken away, and so are sundry books and papers not touching the service, taken out of his trunks by Her Majesty’s Attorney, which (I doubt) shall never be gotten again, unless your Lordship, of your accustomed goodness, will vouchsafe to require them to re-deliver unto me, not only all such writings again, but also all the books and writings, to be carried over into England, according to the will of him that is dead, after the checks for the half year be imposed and certified.

“It pleased the Lords Justices, after the perusal of the books that concerned the checks, to direct their warrant unto me, requiring and authorising me, as best acquainted with my master’s proceedings (as they say), to receive those books again into my custody, for the collecting and perfecting of such checks as my master left undone and uncertified of divers captains in this land, for the half year ending the last of September 1597; which (God willing), if I be countenanced therein accordingly, I will endeavour to perform the same with all integrity and carefulness, omitting nothing that may advance Her Majesty’s service. Nevertheless, I am, and have been, by some already crossed, spurned at, and reviled exceedingly, for doing Her Majesty service honestly and truly. Divers of the Council have told me of a letter from your Lordship directed unto me. If it came hither, it is kept from me, and I most humbly beseech your Lordship I may know the effect thereof, beseeching your Lordship most humbly to furnish me with your authority, whiles I remain here in this business. I am promised by the Lordships here to be rewarded for my service, according to my deserts, but no certainty set down. It may please your Lordship to vouchsafe to have consideration hereof. In the meantime I know not how to live here without means. I am much in doubt lest my Lord Lieutenant General (being not acquainted as I think with your Lordship’s last letters sent out of England, wherein I was mentioned), do carry some hard opinion of me, by means of some about him, for that I refused to confess the writings unto him.”

[*Postscript.*] “A certificate of the whole checks imposed upon the

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captains and companies, for the half year ending ultimo Septembris, shall be sent to your Lordship with as much speed as may be."—[Dublin.] *No date, but endorsed* :—"Received 26 Martii, 1598." *Signed.* pp. 2½.

March 27.
Waterford.

93. Sir Henry Power to Burghley. "My Lord of Ormonde hath reduced our companies into 700, the charge whereof he hath committed as followeth :—To myself, 200 ; to Captain Ruishe, 100 ; to Captain Wilton, 150 ; to Captain Fortescue, 150 ; and to one Captain Esmond, who was lieutenant to Captain Bosseville, 100. The which companies I have seen to be made full ; the which I could very well bring to pass, by reason that we were stronger than my Lord expected. In these his Lordship's proceedings his Lordship hath discharged Captain Gibbs, who came out of France with his company, and hath been at great charge ; whom I have sent unto your Lordship, to make your Lordship acquainted with the state of the troops."

Recommends the officers whose companies have been discharged. The voyage has been a very chargeable one to them all.

No other news, save that the Earl of Tyrone sends daily to the Lord General, and entertains him with an opinion that he is desirous to come in. This is thought to be to no other purpose than to gain time, and to relieve his men. Howsoever, his men make very much spoil in the country, where they come with their protections.

Thanks Burghley for his warrant to supply them with victuals. Before it came he took such order that he has not charged it with anything.

The companies discharged are those of Captain Bosseville, Captain Gibbs, Captain Pooley, Captain Gorges, and Captain Annesley.—Waterford, 1598, March 27. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 2.

March 28.
Dublin.

94. Sir Charles Calthorpe, Attorney-General of Ireland, to Burghley. There was information given at the Council table, the 14th of November last, in Sir Thomas Norreys's government, by Captain Charles Montague against Captain Thomas Lee, whereby Captain Lee stands accused of high treason, for maintaining and adhering to the Byrnes and other rebels of Leinster, and in some sort coherent to the rebels of Ulster. The accusation contains twenty-nine several articles. In proof thereof, the informer has several witnesses dwelling diversly distant, and many of them in places not easily to be sent unto. This information, remaining at the Council table from the said 14th of November until January 2, was then referred by the Lords Justices to Her Majesty's Sergeant-at-Law and to himself, to take examination thereupon, "without ministering any new directory interrogatories." Divers times he required Captain Montague to produce the said witnesses, which he refused, and still refuses. Has complained thereof to the Lords Justices and the Council. Since then he got their Lordships' warrant to a pursuivant to bring those witnesses. This, however, is not yet effected, by reason of the places of their abode, with the exception of four witnesses. Those already examined touch Captain Lee very

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deeply and capitally (if their affirmation be true), and it is thought that the rest of the witnesses cannot say much more; but, because they may prove more, it is felt some more should be examined. Hopes there shall be found no want of endeavour in himself. Since Captain Lee's late commitment to the Castle of Dublin (though he is not yet close prisoner), Captain Montague has given more furtherance to the case. "It is my part and place, as your Lordship know[s], to accuse and not to excuse, and not to censure of either side; and yet, because I suppose your Honour expecteth I should write to you somewhat of the matter, thus much I presume to signify.

"That (as I conceive) the Lords Justices and Council here do conceive doubtfully of the matter; and, if myself were a juror therein, I could not yet resolve therein whether to acquit or condemn Captain Lee thereof. On the one side, Captain Lee his long familiarity and affection to the Earl of Tyrone (not yet by any private action broken), and Captain Lee[s] late discontentment, conceived in the government of the late Lord Burgh, because Sir William Russell (upon good desert of service in his government) did leave to Captain Lee the *custodiam* and government of some part of the Byrnes' lands and country, until Her Majesty's pleasure were further known; whereof the Lord Burgh did dispossess him, and either gave, or intended the gift thereof, to Captain Clare; the which, with some rash speech and other unadvisedness by Captain Lee (who hath both good merits and evil infirmities) these (*sic*) may grow deep in some men's concepts to touch Captain Lee, though some witness be wrecked ['wrake,' *written at first* 'wrek']. And, on the other side, so many good services, so well personally performed by him (as I know none the like of his place in this kingdom), and again so many good recompenses and favours, which he hath received at Her Majesty's hands, with his protestation and cause of loyalty, besides some suspicion which some do conceive of the partiality of some of the witnesses, thereunto incited by others, or maliciously inclined of themselves. And another matter of consequence in the proceedings in this cause; for that most of the offences laid to Lee's charge are supposed to be done, when he was in Commission of Parley, or other like services. The which like Commissioners when they are put in trust (as they should be most faithful, or else worthy of most punishment), so also, on the other part, every word or action by like Parling Commissioners hath not been hitherto here used to be considered or sifted in the worst part. But in the writing hereof, I beseech your Honour not to take me as any excuser of Captain Lee, but according to my former protestation to certify your Lordship the state of this cause (as I conceive the matter), leaving this my information to be used as privately or publicly as you shall please, having not yet written in this manner to any other, or acquainted any other herewith. And thus, craving pardon for my tediousness, which I could not devise to make short, I humbly take my leave of your honourable good Lordship.—Dublin, 26 Marcii, 1598.

"The witnesses herein already examined are, 1. Piers Hackett, by some called Captain Hackett, born in Ireland, and a former

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accuser of the Bishop of Cashel. 2. Edmund M'Shane Oge O'Byrne, the pretended tanist to Feagh M'Hugh. 3. Cahir O'Toole, which also hath been in the late rebellion of the Byrnes. 4. Also a letter written with Captain Lee his own hand to Hackett, which doth admit a doubtful exposition, and some doth (*sic*) infer doth make much against Lee. 5. There be three witnesses more examined, but not so forcible, and yet not much contradictory to the other three.

"I am further to signify to your Lordship, that I never knew such a course held in the examination of such a cause; for, sometimes there are informations and examinations taken thereof at the Council table, sometimes by the Earl of Ormonde and some of the Council, sometimes by some of the Council, when neither the Lords Justices nor the Earl of Ormonde are present; and to none of these any of Her Majesty's learned counsel privy, until it be sent unto us. All which I now have, but they are so long and confused, as I cannot well abstract them.

"I humbly beseech your Honour that, if you have purposed any favour towards Captain Lee, that (*sic*) this my private letter may be no hindrance to the same."—Dublin, 28 Marcii, 98. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 2.

[March 28.] 95. "Captain Charles Montague, by his letter 27th October [1597], certifieth Sir H. Harrington:—

"That Phelim Reogh's sons, Art O'Toole, Tibbott O'Toole, and Roan O'Toole, inhabited, under Sir H. Harrington's government, over the O'Brynes' and O'Tooles' countries, being within the compass of Her Majesty's protection unexpired four months, and at the commandment of the Lord Deputy, desirous to serve Her Majesty under the leading of Captain Montague, in their repair through the Pale to their garrison place at Kells, for shunning of dangers plotted against them by Captain Thomas Lee and his men (their known enemies), were driven to travel by night, and journeying from thence against Tyrone, were assaulted by Lee and his, and had they not been rescued by English soldiers (knowing them for protected subjects), had been then discomforted [*sic*, discomfited] or overthrown, in prevention of Her Majesty's intended service, and discouragement of others.

"In their return through the Pale, one of them, being licensed by his captain to furnish himself and his brethren at Dublin with weapons and necessities for Her Majesty's service, namely, Art O'Toole, was taken by Lee, notwithstanding his protection, and, within seven miles from Dublin, there bound him to a Maypole, and (the soldiers refusing to be the actors of so barbarous a cruelty dangerous to themselves), at his commandment, and for reward of Art's horse and weapons, a base man of Leix with his thumbs did thrust out both his eyes.

"For answering of which contempt and indignity to the State, the Council took bond of Lee, who, nevertheless, under colour of service, hopeth to shift it off, and to keep himself from reach of the law.

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“Hereby many of the Irishry, that before were inclinable to the service of Her Majesty, have taken cause of revolting, whiles others have denied, and are a stand, doubtful of their safeties, upbraiding [‘obraynge’] the State and English nation with infidelity, terming protections for (*sic*) traps to betray them. Hereby the Tyrone’s strength is made the greater, and Her Majesty’s service the more weakened, urging this inhuman fact for an argument to distrust and fly off from the English government and nation.

“Brian Reogh O’More (whom Captain Lee wrought out of prison in London), with 140 knaves returned from Tyrone, burnt and spoiled Wicklow, rased the castles thereof, and many towns in the Byrnes’ country, insomuch as Mr. Montague (for saving the castle of Newcastle, which is feared to be daily assaulted) better furnished it with munition, victuals, and men.

“Shortly after, Kilrothery [‘Kybrodrey’], with other towns about it were burnt and spoiled. Mr. Montague raised 40 horsemen of that country[’s] birth, who upon their promises valiantly to follow him, and to stand to him, upon a charge given upon the rebels at a ford, fled from him, leaving him with eight persons in the midst of the enemies, where his horse was slain under him, and, with loss of three gentlemen of that country, and two of his own servants, [he] hardly escaped, his own company then being at Kells.

“Lee, having good entertainment for keeping the fort of Rathdrum, lately erected by Sir William Russell in the Byrnes’ and O’Tooles’ countries, with English warders, and to follow the rebels, hath made slender show of deserving the same; for at what time the rebels assaulted it, there were in it but eight persons, whereof six Irish, minded to yield the same up to the enemy, had not Morghoe M’Teig Oge prevented their purpose, and strengthened them with munition, necessaries, and his force, there leaving eleven of his men for defence of the piece, whiles he did put the rebels to flight, killing and hurting twenty of them.

“Notwithstanding and since which service, Captain Lee hath prosecuted Morghoe M’Teig in great malice, for no other cause (as he saith) than for denying him a harp, which he desired, making no difference between him and the rebels.

“On the 21st of October, Captain Lee and his company parlied with the rebels in very secret, familiar, and suspicious sort, as Mr. Aylmer, Sheriff of the county of Dublin, affirmeth to have seen them; who at parting gave him for his supper nine beeves.

“On the next day, the rebels burnt and preyed 24 towns on the other side of the O’Byrnes’ and O’Tooles’ countries.

“Of these rebels, seventeen the last summer were delivered into the Castle of Dublin by Captain Montague as traitors, whom Lee wrought at liberty, undertaking for them, and so entered them into his book as his men.

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"The Tyrone, with all his forces, are feared speedily to overrun the Pale, &c." (*sic*).—[1598, March 28.] *Copy. pp. 2.*

March 29.
Cork.

96. Sir Thomas Norreys to Burghley. In accordance with the letter of the Privy Council, sent when he was Lord Justice, a survey has been made of the seignory granted by patent to the bearer, Mr. Nicholas Browne. Sends by him the return of the Commissioners appointed for the purpose, and recommends the furtherance of Browne's suit for the renewal of his patent.—Cork, 1598, March 29. *Signed. p. 1.*

[March 29.]
Barry Court.

97. David, Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, to Sir Robert Cecil. Having found a convenient bearer, his kinsman, Mr. Nicholas Browne, begs for a remittal of the fine imposed upon him. Sends Sir Robert a hobbie [horse], "of the best that these parts could afford."—Barry Court, [1598, March 29]. *Signed. p. 1.*

March.

98. "A list of divers officers and servitors not contained in the establishment"; giving "Officers General," the Presidents, &c. of Munster, Connaught, and Leinster, "Chief Officers lately erected," "Warders in divers Provinces," "Pensioners," and "Almsmen," with their rates of pay. Total, 14,886*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* *Endorsed*:—1598, March. *One sheet.*

March.

99. "A book of such entertainments as are due to the Lord Deputy, Lords Justices, Lord Lieutenant General, Chief Officers, and others of Her Majesty's Army and Garrison in pay within this Realm, for half a year, containing 182 days, beginning primo Octobris 1597, and ending ultimo Martii next following." The total number of men in Her Majesty's pay is given as 10,086, whereof 748 were discharged; and the total cost is put down at 90,250*l.* 5*s.* 11½*d.*, whereof is checked, 14,825*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.*

Among the payments under the head of "Sea Charges," is the following to George Thornton, Captain of Her Majesty's Ship, called the *Popinjay*:—"For the wages and victualling of thirty men, officers, and sailors, transporting of the corpse of the Lord Burgh, late Lord Deputy of this Realm, deceased, into England, for 55 days, beginning 29 Decembris 1597, and ending 21 Februarii next following (which day they were discharged), and the said three shipkeepers and one shipwright, entered the day after, 91*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" *Signed by Sir Ralph Lane. pp. 58.*

March.

100. Copy of the preceding, with a few small alterations. *Signed by Sir Ralph Lane. pp. 56.*

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1598.

April 5.
Dublin.

1. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Burghley. Bruit of five or six ships supposed to have arrived at Lough Foyle. Opinions have grown whether they were Spaniards, and for what purpose they were sent. Wrote to a spy abiding about the Earl of Tyrone, to give him true advertisement touching those ships, of what nation they were, how many in number, for what cause they were sent, and in what sort Tyrone and O'Donnell did converse with them. The spy has this day returned two letters, the doubles whercof he sends herewith, "knowing how ready many will be to write over of these matters, without any true ground." It is now six days since the first intelligence of these ships was brought to the State. Since he finds it seconded by no later advertisement, thinks that they are no strange ships, nor in so great number as is written, "but rather some poor Scottishman, fallen there with his lading of wines, of which he may make good sale amongst the Irishmen." If there be any strangers at all, thinks it is only some one small Spanish pinnace, turned over to entertain the Irish with new hopes, as has been the manner of Spain three or four times before, to cross the treaty, and to keep the Irish from submitting themselves to peace. This course they held just at the same time the last two years, when Sir John Norreys and Sir Geoffrey had appointed the Irish to assemble, to conclude with them. Touching the bruit, Burghley shall have a further certainty by his next, for the spy has gone to Dungannon, whence he will write to Sir Geoffrey at large. The seventh of this month, is to depart from Dublin towards Dundalk, to answer the meeting with Tyrone on the 10th. The Lord Lieutenant General has already gone to Drogheda, where Sir Geoffrey is to come to him.—Dublin, 1598, April 5. Signed. Seal. p. 1. Incloses,

1. I. ——— to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. *On Tuesday last there came intelligence to him from Dungannon, that there came to O'Donnell's country three ships, which ships took into them forcibly from the country 200 beeves. marvelled much what they should be; but the next day he understood that the Earl himself repaired into O'Donnell's country, which makes him mistrust that they are Spaniards. Will depart to-morrow to Dungannon, and, if there be any such matter, Sir Geoffrey shall know more at large.*—Dundalk, 1598, March 28. Copy. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

1. II. ——— to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. *Edmund Brymigham [in margin:—"Secretary to Tyrone, and by him sent into Spain by the way of Scotland in September last"] after his departure out of Scotland with a man called Fleming, was driven into Rochelle, and there was like to have been apprehended by some English merchants, with the help of the townsmen of Rochelle. But he escaped thence, and went to Bordeaux, whither the English merchants followed him. Brymigham escaped, and went to "St.*

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John's" [St. Jean de Luz], and so forward. *Fleming* [in margin :—"Fleming is a Scottishman and an agent for Tyrone, to buy powder and other things"] and his ship being at Bordeaux, *Brymigham* wrote all news by him; and now *Fleming*, being at Drogheda and Dublin, and not able to sell, is gone homewards. Has heard, that he with his ship, and a ship or two more in company with him, is come to Lough Foyle, and that the Earl is gone to speak with them. Prays God it be no worse. Will depart to-morrow, and, as soon as he may learn any more news, will advertise Sir Geffrey.—Dundalk, 1598, March 29
Copy. p. ½.

April 6.
Dublin.

2. Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges his letter. Would have written again, but doubted Sir Robert's longer abode in France. Is the more willing to defer his second advertisement, because he is going to Dundalk, on purpose to attend the treaty with Tyrone; after which he will haply be able to write with more judgment, and discern the drift of Tyrone's proceedings, whereof he dare promise no good event. Sees no cause to alter his former opinion, but many good reasons to confirm it. Is bound to deliver so much, lest the partial conceits of wiser men may hold Sir Robert in some hope of better meaning. His last letter was thought by Sir Robert to be worth Her Majesty's view, but supposes she could not be acquainted therewith, through his great business and sudden departure. Therefore, in his absence, presumed to offer the letter for Her Highness's consideration. Will ever be faithful to Sir Robert. The suit contained in his last letter. Without abatement of his rent, he despairs of any profit in these troublesome times.—Dublin, 1598, April 6. *Holograph*. p. 1.

April 6.
"County of
Kildare."

3. Brian Reogh O'More to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. The conclusion of peace with the Earl of Ormonde will be the overthrow of all of Ireland birth. Upon this last truce, Brian, with his Honour's men, went to the county of Wexford, meaning no harm, but only to get meat, as was agreed between his Honour and Ormonde. The whole county, to the number of 600, gathered upon him, and killed a few of his men; but he gave them the overthrow and killed a number of them. "When we think ourselves sure of peace, then they seek their vantage upon us." Complains further that Morrish Oge O'Connor is apprehended upon Tyrone's peace, which is a great loss to the Earl, and a grief to them. Begs the Earl to write to Ormonde for his enlargement, and to take better course for these matters, or to suffer them to have open wars, "for, by God's grace, there is no stand in the churls, if your Honour would set upon them now, for all Ireland had been at your command by this, if it had not your truces." Begs Tyrone to remember Donnell Spainagh, Thomas Butler FitzEdmond, and William M'Hobberd. Thomas Butler and Donogh Oge O'Connor desire to be humbly commended to him.—"From the county of Kildare," 1598, April 6. *Addressed*:—To the most honourable Lord, the Lord O'Neill, this give with reverence." *Copy*. p. 1.

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1598.
April 7. Dublin. 4. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the Baron of Dunkellin, who is repairing to England. His good services, and those of his father, the Earl of Clanrickard. —Dublin, 1598, April 7. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*
- April 7. Dublin. 5. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Burghley. Sir John Chichester, late Governor of Carrickfergus, did, for the relief of the garrison there, deliver to John Dalway, the Victualler's deputy, the sum of 60*l.* sterling. Lord Burgh promised repayment of the same, but this was not made. Have no money to satisfy that debt to Anthony Nordon, administrator of the goods and chattels of the said Sir John. Desire Burghley to give order for the payment of the sum to Nordon in England.—Dublin, 1598, April 7. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*
- April 7. Drogheda. 6. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. Hopes for his recovery. Since his last despatch, he received a letter from Sir Conyers Clifford of the wants and misery of Connaught. Sends copy. Rode presently to Dublin to see what means could be made for him by the Lords Justices and himself. Borrowed 850*l.*, whereof they sent 500*l.* to Sir Conyers, with clothes for his soldiers. The remainder was left in the Treasurer's hands. This must, of necessity, be defrayed to the horsemen and others who attend Ormonde this journey. Their charges are very great, "in regard of the general scarcity of horse meat and man's meat here, everywhere." Henceforth there is no shift to be made in Ireland for the relief of Sir Conyers, or of any of Her Majesty's garrisons.
- Incloses copy of a letter from Tyrone, whereby may be thought that he means to proceed according to his former agreements. Sends also a note of such Leinster traitors as have been, by his direction, slain and executed by martial law since the 20th of March last, to the great quiet of the country. Whether they have peace or wars, begs that money, victuals, and munition may be presently sent away to Ireland, otherwise he fears the garrisons will be utterly forsaken.
- "The Lords Justices and Council, as I do understand, have of late written thither, and now again do write, wherein they would have me to join with them, but I have forborne to do it, for that, as yet, I have no cause to write so extremely as they have done of the last treaty with Tyrone; the same differing in some parts from my former and last letters to your Lordships." Will not fail to advertise with best expedition what shall fall cut at this next meeting on the 10th instant.
- Sends copy of a letter just received from Brian O'Rourke, now called O'Rourke, whereby Burghley may perceive the putting in of his pledges to Sir Conyers Clifford, and the protestations he makes of his conformity.—Drogheda, 1598, April 7. *Signed. p. 1.*
- Incloses,
6. 1. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Earl of Ormonde. "I have received divers letters from O'Rourke since his last coming unto me to the Boyle, all protesting his humble and constant loyalty. He hath now written unto me, as your Lordship may see in what*

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danger he standeth for his submission. The wants I sustain are many, well known to your Lordship, yet doth this necessity urge me so much, as I must of force draw down for his relief; but such estate as I am now in, I think hardly any man was ever put to like extremity. For munition, the proportion sent me is but ten barrels; no clothes, which doth so much discourage the companies, that I am every day in danger of a mutiny, or a general breaking or dispersing ['disperching'] of them all. I have from time to time, in discharge of my duty, advertised thus much, but [am] at this day without any redress how much soever the service importeth Her Majesty. If, my good Lord, I have neglected any opportunity, I am well contented to be made an example; but, if anything have not been performed, or that any disaster shall fall, either by the revolting again of this province, who are this day wholly regained to Her Majesty, I do humbly desire that by it I may bear no blame. I do not, my good Lord, by this relation charge your Lordship, whose means I know hath been very little, either to maintain the companies with yourself, or to assist me. But it is apparent to all the world, that in 15 months there hath not been delivered into this province but 4 months' means, bare according to musters. For what proportion of corn hath been delivered, the same hath been defalked again in these four months' lendings. Only your Lordship assigned me 500*l.* to provide for the companies, which proportion would not provide for the companies to exceed the number of fourteen days; and already sithence that time, they have been provided for and maintained two months full.

"I must now leave the last letter of O'Rourke's to your Lordship's great wisdom and grave experience, because I know not how far your Lordship hath proceeded with Tyrone. But, this I assure myself, if your Lordship have not specially tied Tyrone not to enter into this province, he will wholly, with all northern forces, bend himself upon me. And, if your Lordship find this advertisement of O'Rourke's to sound truly, then I must crave from your honourable Lordship such forces added to these, as may stop his malice, and with such expedition as they may come in time. For by O'Rourke's letter, Tyrone daily prepareth himself, and O'Donnell, as O'Rourke sent me by message, is now putting in 2,000 bonnaghts; but for him and his bonnaghts (if Tyrone may be kept from me) I will never desire more forces than now I have."

Begs for immediate supplies of clothes and powder; also of money for the companies for two months, so that he may not be driven to take any beeres from O'Rourke without ready payment. Thinks some of the companies that came out of France might be sent to him. Meantime, must go to O'Rourke, both for Her Majesty's service and his safety; whereupon great good or much harm will come. O'Rourke being defended, Connaught is thoroughly gained, and [by] the example of well using him, divers others may be drawn to forsake the northern faction. On the contrary, he being neglected, and left to the spoil of those malicious rebels, no man of his quality will submit, whereby will follow the

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greatest prejudice that can come to Her Majesty's proceedings. Desires a speedy answer. Has sent Captain Smith, one of the Council of Connaught, and a man of good experience there, to deliver further "particularities" to his Lordship.—Athlone, 1597, March 23. Copy. pp. 2.

6. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Ormonde. Whereas Ormonde charges Brian Reogh with divers occasions of new stir, has written for the said Brian to come to this meeting to make his answer, his Lordship giving assurance for his safe coming and going. Hopes he will reasonably discharge himself of such matters.*

"As for the complaint of them of Knockfergus, your Lordship shall understand that the garrison there began the stir with Sorley's son, and, in revenge thereof, he took some cows of them. If that were not so, the garrison hath revenged it, before any notice given me of the harm done; for they have burnt the Raghlins, and spoiled it, together with the slaughter of men, women, and children. If this doth not suffice, your Lordship shall hear the certainty of the cause at our meeting."

As for Phelim Reogh O'Connor, who, Ormonde says, was apprehended before protection or any grant thereof given to the Connors, cannot certify otherwise than as he was informed. Prays that the said Phelim be brought to the meeting. Begs that his pledges may be brought to the parley.—Altdisert, 1598, April 9. Copy. p. 1.

6. III. *"A note of such of the traitors of Leinster as have been slain and executed by martial law, since the 20th of March until the 6th of April 1598.*

"Slain and executed by martial law, of leaders and principal gentlemen of the Connors, bastard Geraldines, and Nugents, 17.

"Of kern and other their followers, 124.

"Left out in the last certificate, 30.

"Total, 171.

"Besides divers hurt whose names are not known." p. 1.

6. IV. *Brian O'Rourke to the Earl of Ormonde. Being not a little penitent for his past disobedience, and urged thereunto only for the preservation of his life, country, and goods, and not by any desire to persist therein, has now at last firmly resolved, not only to make his humble submission to the State, which he has most willingly performed in the presence of the Governor of Connaught, but also to deliver into his hands such pledges as he was pleased to demand, on certain conditions to be performed by Her Majesty. Protests that he will demonstrate his loyalty, "as time and truth shall try." Beseeches Ormonde's favour.—Ballymote, 1598, April 2. Copy. p. 1.*

April 7.
Dublin.

7. *Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Difficulties of the Commissaries and other his substitutes for the musters, especially in Leinster and Connaught, through the outrages of the protected Connors and Moores, and through the bands being separated for service into sundry parts at once. Hence these could not be sent by this*

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passage, either the book of Her Majesty's half-year's charge ending 30th September, or the certificates of the strengths, as Burghley is now to receive them. Had the passage been delayed but four days, he would have received both book and certificates. All shall be sent by the next, without fail. Desires Burghley's countenance in the due prosecution of his office. The course he has set down, since Kyffin's death, is approved by the Lords Justices and Council. "Her Majesty shall be, and is at this instant, in the course to be so served by me, if in the meanwhile I take no impeachment by any discountenance from thence, that the like, neither here, nor in any Her Highness's armies elsewhere, for Her Highness's honour, service, and profit, for the benefit and ease of the country and good subject, and specially of the Pale, and for the contentment of the honest Captain, and general good of the soldier, was ever heretofore propounded by any other, save only myself in a former government, which did neglect it, but now by deliberate advice of the State embraced."—Dublin, 1598, April 7. *Signed.* p. 1.

April 18.
Dublin.

8. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "I would be as glad to hear of your good and happy return as any friend you have alive. I will forbear at this time to trouble you with any discourse of my proceedings here in this my last treaty with Tyrone, for that I have signed in my joint letters with the Lords Justices and Council (*wanting*) at large thereof, and of the miserable and lamentable wants we have here, of men, money, victuals, munition, and arms, with which I know you must be acquainted; assuring you, if the speedier supply of these wants do not come unto us, I fear the overthrow of the whole kingdom will ensue, which, in my own discharge, I cannot but still importune; most heartily praying you to urge the hastening hither of supplies for these our extreme and grievous wants, lest in the meantime all be lost; not knowing from henceforth where to make any further shift, for the relieving of the garrisons here, than already have (*sic*) been made, which with much difficulty was gotten, they being at this instant ready to starve. I know your causes be many and weighty, and therefore will leave to trouble you further, earnestly praying you to be a mean for the speedy supply of the forewritten wants, without which, out of your own judgment, you know nothing can be effected for Her Majesty's service against these traitors." [*Postscript.*]—"I may not forget to let you understand that Tyrone hath expected the aid of the Spaniards a long time, notwithstanding his oath heretofore to the contrary, and that he is mightily urged to proceed in his traitorous action by the King of Scots, who doth promise to furnish him with men and munition. Sir, I pray you consider of such letters as I intercepted, and send now to the Council (*wanting*), wherein you shall find his treasons and others fully bewrayed."—Dublin, 1598, April 18. *Signed.* p. 1.

April 18.
Dublin.

9. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to Burghley. "Your favourable acceptance of my former advertisements of our proceedings with Tyrone doth embolden me at this present (now that things are grown to a conclusion) to make known unto you the manner of

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this last treaty with that traitor. On the 7th of this instant, the Lord Lieutenant sent before him from Tredath, Sir Walter Butler, with a letter to Tyrone, purporting that, according his former agreement, he was ready to come to Dundalk to end all matters with him, and wishing Tyrone, if he on his part were determined to perform the things which he had promised, to send unto his Lordship the names of such persons as he desired to be set down in his pardon; which Tyrone did accordingly in a note under his hand. Upon receipt whereof, at Dundalk, on the 10th of this instant, his Lordship sent his letters to the Lords Justices at Dublin for Tyrone's pardon, &c. (*sic*); which being perfected under Her Majesty's Great Seal was brought to Dundalk on the 12th of this instant.

"On the 10th of this month [*in margin*:—'Monday,'] being the day of meeting agreed upon, there fell much rain, and, by reason of Tyrone's late repair that day to the borders near Dundalk, the meeting was deferred until the 11th [*in margin*:—'Tuesday']. On which day, after some wonted delays, Tyrone came unto us, bringing in his company but 6 horsemen. The Lord Lieutenant, at our meeting, signified unto him that, according his covenant and promise, he was come thither to perfect all things. Tyrone protested that for his part he was ready to perform all things according to his handwriting, and that there should be no let any way in him. Then, by direction of the Lord Lieutenant, I took into my hands Her Majesty's instructions, and told Tyrone that, since our last treaty with him, we had considered of his answers to those instructions, and found some defect in them, which we wished him now to reform. He asked, 'Wherein'? I told him, because he had not yielded absolutely to Her Highness's good pleasure, but in some points had qualified the instructions; wishing him to consider that he dealt with his Prince, and therefore ought absolutely to submit himself to her prescriptions, especially seeing the matters required were such as did best agree both with Her Majesty's honour and his own duty. He desired in particular to know our meaning. I told him we misliked his answer to the 5th article of Her Majesty's instructions concerning the uriahts, which were exempted from him by express words, and that he ought to leave them wholly to Her Majesty. Tyrone answered, 'If all other things be ready, we shall not stick much in that point.' Secondly, I also signified to Tyrone our dislike of his answer to the 6th article of Her Majesty's instructions, wherein he answereth that, so long as Her Majesty should keep a garrison at the Blackwater, he was contented they should have the land reserved to the fort; concerning which instruction I wished him to remember that the land allotted to the fort was quite exempted out of his patent, and therefore ought simply to remain at Her Majesty's disposition, and willed him also to amend his answer in that point. He protested that it was never his meaning to make any challenge to that land, howsoever the words were wrested by us. Thirdly, I desired Tyrone to let us understand whether he were now indeed prepared to perform as much as he had promised in his answer to the 1st article concerning his own submission, and concerning his confederates, &c. (*sic*). He

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said that he for his part was ready to perform what he had promised, and desired that the rest of his partakers, whom he had brought with him, might be heard and answered, which was agreed unto. And first, we willed him to send for O'Donnell. He answered that he himself must go to bring O'Donnell, or else O'Donnell would not come, and that when O'Donnell did come, he would not allow that he should be present at the debating of his causes. Answer was made that we would not deal with O'Donnell but in his presence, that he might be a witness of our proceedings with him, and might also be a mean to persuade O'Donnell to do that was reasonable, if he were untoward. So Tyrone departed from us, and then there was made a wonderful ceremony of O'Donnell's coming. Messengers came thrice from him, signifying, first, that O'Donnell would in no sort agree that Tyrone should be present at the treaty with him; 2ndly, he desired that his treaty with us might first be dealt in by messengers to and fro, and, if they agreed, then himself would come in presence to perfect his agreement. This device proceeded from Henry Hovenden ['Harry Ovington'], who was loath to have his fast sticking to O'Donnell to be discovered unto us; 3rdly, he alleged great fear and distrust, and in the end refused that day to come unto us, unless the Lord Lieutenant would go to meet him over a ford, with two more in his company, which the Lord Lieutenant would in no sort yield unto, in regard of his place. Two hours being spent with these triflings and delays used by O'Donnell, then came unto us their old O'Reilly, and some others of his name, and, because their complaints of spoils committed in time of peace were many, we moved them to go with us into the town of Dundalk, promising there to hear them, and also, if we could, to compound the matter between their O'Reilly and the Queen's pretender. Whereunto they yielded, so as Tyrone would license them, which he did, but gave them their lesson, as afterwards appeared. Next after them, there came unto us Tibbott Burke, their pretended M'William, and in his company a man of O'Donnell's, who is his ordinary messenger into Spain, noted to be a crafty traitor. Tibbott Burke behaved himself very proudly before us, and being both reproved by the Lord Lieutenant, and seriously admonished to repent him of his offences against Her Majesty, and upon his knees to sue for her gracious pardon, with other like good lessons, he proudly made answer, that he would have both the seignory and lands of M'William, or else it should cost him his life; adding also, that Tyrone, O'Donnell, and he were sworn together not to make peace one without another, and that there should never be a peace, unless he had his desire; for which undutiful speeches being sharply reproved, yet he persisted in this wilfulness, and departed from us greatly discontented. After him came Redmond Burke [*in margin*:—'son to the Baron of Leitrim'], and he demanded present possession of his father's land, because he was murdered, as he alleged; whom we advised first to submit himself to Her Majesty by acknowledgment of his offences, and did reprove him for entering into that course, in seeking to be righted by Tyrone, wishing him to seek for justice by law, &c. (*sic*). This done, there were sent to the Lord Lieutenant three several petitions,

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one from O'Donnell, another from Tibbott Burke, and the third from Redmond Burke, which his Lordship promised to answer in writing against the next morning. That night, after supper, we dealt with their O'Reilly, whom we found very wayward and wilful. Nothing could content him but the seignory of that country.

"The next morning [*in margin* :—' Wednesday '] early, Sir Geoffrey Fenton and I repaired to the Lord Lieutenant, to assist his Lordship with our advice, how to answer the said three petitions; which being done, we waited on his Lordship to the place appointed, where we found Tyrone expecting the Lord Lieutenant's coming. At his coming to us, we first acquainted him with the particular answers to the said three petitions, and told him of Tibbott Burke his insolent behaviour before us, wishing him both to reprove him for it, and to take order that none of his confederates should use the like; and also we willed him to deal with the rest, to qualify their demands with reason, which thing he promised us to do, and in outward appearance did afterwards perform, as we understood by the relation of such as heard him. Then Tyrone told the Lord Lieutenant that O'Donnell was then desirous to come to see his Lordship, and to confer with him of his causes, if his Lordship would first give him his word for his safety, which the Lord Lieutenant granted. O'Donnell came, and carried himself with good respect. He first made a long rehearsal of some wrongs done to his father in his own country by Captain[s] Bowen, Willis, and Mostyn, of like wrongs done to himself in the manner of his apprehension and detaining in prison, and lastly of some extremities offered to Tibbott Burke by Sir Richard Bingham and his brethren, all which being answered, and he advised to return to his obedience to Her Majesty, following his father's example (whom Her Majesty always found a loyal subject), he began to deal for his M'William, to whom the Lord Lieutenant, upon his humble submission first to be made to Her Majesty, and Her Highness's gracious pardon obtained, did promise his father's land, and withal it was told to O'Donnell that Tibbott Burke had no manner of right to be M'William, seeing he was neither named by the Queen, nor chosen by the country, but intruded by him; nevertheless good speeches were used to O'Donnell, to regain him (if it might be) to be a subject. Then O'Donnell dealt for himself, and to him in like manner answer was made, that, upon his submission, &c. (*sic*); and it was told him that the Lord Lieutenant had returned answer in writing to his demands, and had delivered them to Tyrone. Then the Lord Lieutenant reprov'd O'Donnell for making of unreasonable demands both for himself and his M'William, especially for that general petition of his concerning liberty of religion. O'Donnell prayed the Lord Lieutenant, if he thought his demands to be unreasonable, to remember they proceeded from people who had been unreasonably dealt with; and many words were used by O'Donnell in the behalf of his M'William, and tending to infringe Her Majesty's composition in Connaught, which we maintained as a thing established by general consent, for the special good of that province. Then O'Donnell desired respite of time to consider of the

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Lord Lieutenant his answers, and so departed from us for that time. So Tyrone and O'Donnell, calling to them their counsellors, went and sat together in counsel near to the place of the parley, and sent messengers to us with some other demands for Onie M'Rory O'Moore, which were answered by the Lord Lieutenant as it seemed to Tyrone's satisfaction; for Sir Walter Butler, who was still employed in message from the Lord Lieutenant to them, informed us that, in their consultation, Tyrone that day did not only in words make known to his confederates his own purpose to reconcile himself to Her Majesty, and to become a subject [*in margin* :—'All this was but a flourish'], but also he qualified all the demands, which were made by the rest of his partakers, and advised them to stand upon reasonable points, or else protested he would forsake them; and such of his confederates as had no colour of any title to lands and yet made demands, he willed them to give over these demands, or else he would leave them to shift for themselves. After this long conference and consultation, Tyrone and O'Donnell came both together unto us, and first Tyrone himself made open protestation that he was ready in all things, but told the Lord Lieutenant and us that O'Donnell did stick a little for their M'William, and he privately desired the Lord Lieutenant to take O'Donnell aside, and to persuade with him, &c. (*sic*), which the Lord Lieutenant did, and directed me to keep Tyrone company, to whom in private I used these words in effect [*in margin* :—'My private speeches with Tyrone']: 'My Lord of Tyrone, I am glad you are growing to this conformity of obedience, and more glad I am to understand what course you do hold to reclaim your confederates. When Her Majesty shall hear of this your dealing, you may stand assured Her Highness will well accept of it. Now I hope that to-morrow we shall make a good end of all things, &c.' (*sic*). Tyrone answered me as followeth, 'By God's hand, you are altogether deceived; and the fault is partly in yourselves. You deal not well with O'Reilly, and you offer nothing to M'William; and, if M'William be not satisfied, O'Donnell will never be at peace.' I told him there was a purpose in the Lord Lieutenant to compound the matter for their O'Reilly, and, in regard of his aged years, and good service in times past done to Her Majesty in the remembrance of the Lord Lieutenant, to give something that might content him, so he agreed to depose the name and title of O'Reilly. And for Tibbott Burke, that the Lord Lieutenant had offered them as much as in reason they could demand, or were meet for him to answer, for he left Tibbott in as good state as he found him; and as for the seignory of M'William, I said it was a thing by him usurped against all right and reason, only by the countenance and power of O'Donnell; and that their demand for him tended to overthrow that government, which Her Majesty had settled in that province; wherefore I wished Tyrone not to stand for him, neither to let his cause be any impediment to them to return to their natural Prince, especially to him which did know Her Majesty, who, as in all her dealings towards him had showed her gracious favour, so in this above all the rest Her Highness

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expressed the same, that of her princely nature she had yielded to receive him again to mercy, after he had so long run astray from her, and had hearkened to her enemy the King of Spain, 'whom,' said I, 'my Lord, now leave and forsake, and cleave steadfastly in loyalty and all dutiful love to your sovereign Prince, and you shall find Her Majesty both a kind and gracious mistress.' 'Now by my salvation,' said Tyrone, 'I will confess to you my heart is yet cold towards her. I have not been well used. My life hath been sought, and, if I were gone to-day, perhaps you would have a worse in my place to-morrow. Again,' said he, 'I have served Her Majesty these many years, and, by the cross of this sword, have spent at least 3,000*l.* yearly in her service, and was ready upon all occasions to spend my blood for her; and if I had gotten some of her gold, and yet I care not thus much (shaking the lap of his cloak) for her gold, or so much as thanks itself, it is not, I protest, all the gold the King of Spain hath could have won me from her.' I stayed him by the arm, and said, 'My Lord, remember it was Queen Elizabeth that first enabled you to serve her with those thousands, and Her Highness is not in fault that you have not received thanks for your service; for I know Her Majesty did send you thanks for your service at Belleek. And what if your thanks miscarried? Will you blame Her Majesty for it? Or what if any of Her Majesty's officers have or shall deal otherwise with you than becometh him? Will you impute that to Her Highness, whose government you know to be most honourable and just? I pray you give over this cavilling at things past, turn over the leaf, return to your obedience, and become a good subject.' But I found him to be little moved with my speeches.

"On the third day [*in margin*:—'Thursday'], Tyrone delayed his coming to us, and sent his messengers to signify his unwillingness to come unto us, until all things were first agreed upon between him and us, and specially concerning their M^cWilliam. And, in plain terms, this message was sent from O'Donnell to us, that for himself he would be contented with the Lord Lieutenant's answers of (*sic*) his petition; and, for his challenge out of Sligo, he would submit the same to the arbitrament of the Lord Lieutenant and Tyrone; but, unless Tibbott Burke might enjoy the seignory of M^cWilliam, he would not yield to submit himself or to go through for his pardon; and Tyrone in like manner pressed us beyond all measure with his messages for Tibbott Burke. And to contain and content them, if it might be, in this point, the Lord Lieutenant, by our advice, did send unto them a double offer. The first was, to send Tibbott Burke, with his Lordship's letters of recommendation of his cause, to Sir Conyers Clifford, directing him to compound the matter between Tibbott N^e Longe and him, wherein also the Lord Lieutenant promised, for their sakes, to send a gentleman from himself to Sir Conyers Clifford, sufficiently instructed in his cause to give him assistance. The second was, the Lord Lieutenant promised him absolutely his father's lands, and besides to get him some other portion of land in the county of Mayo to content him, the same to be given him presently, if his Lordship could so dispose

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of it; and, if he could not so do, then his Lordship promised to write to Her Majesty. Neither of which offers did content Tibbott Burke, or satisfied Tyrone or O'Donnell; but still by their messengers they urged to allow him to be M'William, and for his behoof to infringe the composition made in Connaught. And whilst these matters passed in this sort by messengers to and fro, Tyrone in his camp, being about an hundred yards from the place of our parley, caused hands to be laid first upon Tirlogh M'Henry, his brother, and caused him to be bound with a match. In the doing whereof, some swords were drawn, and some stir was raised in his camp, but Tirlogh was taken, and, as it is reported, he hath since seized all his goods, and given away the Fews, in which Tirlogh dwelt, to his base son Con, and others ill disposed. Soon after, he caused Maguire and their M'Mahon to be taken in hand, and in like manner to be bound; and presently sent away those three so bound, with some two hundred foot to guard them, to the woods; and that done, he sent two messengers of his to the Lord Lieutenant [*in margin*:—‘deep dissimulation’] with this message, viz., that he had taken in hand, and had in a readiness, his two pledges, to be delivered for his loyalty, which he intended that day to deliver, if things were agreed upon, and that those pledges were, Tirlogh M'Henry, and O'Hagan, chief of that name; desiring the Lord Lieutenant to take some order for his brother-in-law, Magennis, that he might now be restored to his castles. To which it was answered that Magennis, upon delivery of his pledge, should have all his castles restored, saving the castle of the Narrow Water [*in margin*:—‘A castle standing upon the mouth of the river to the Newry’], which was requisite to be kept for a time, until things were settled. But soon after, when we saw Tirlogh M'Henry and the rest carried towards the woods, we perceived Tyrone had no intent to deliver him as a pledge, but rather had taken both him and the rest, lest they should join with the Lord Lieutenant against him, their purpose being thus unhappily discovered. This day the Lord Lieutenant sent divers times for Tyrone and O'Donnell to come to parley with him, but still they refused to come to his presence, and continued the sending of messengers in the behalf of their M'William with protestation that, unless he were satisfied, they would not grow to any conclusion for themselves. And besides most reasonable answers, returned by their messengers, Sir Walter Butler was oftentimes sent to assure Tyrone and O'Donnell of the Lord Lieutenant his good meaning towards Tibbott Burke, &c. (*sic*). And in the evening, perceiving that all these messages could not prevail, and that the time was thus spent concerning their M'William, I advised the Lord Lieutenant to send for Henry Hovenden, to debate the matter with him, and, if it might be, to make him an instrument to satisfy Tyrone and O'Donnell in that point. He, like to himself, promised to do his best therein, but did nothing at all; but rather, both in this and all other good motions agreeable with their duties, he endeavoured still to draw them back from their obedience, as we both heard by many, and discerned as much ourselves. Seeing Tyrone thus plainly to discover himself, and to refuse to come unto

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us, the Lord Lieutenant sent Sir Walter Butler to him and O'Donnell willing them in writing to lay down their demand for their M^cWilliam, and he would send it to Her Majesty ; and in the mean season [*in margin*:—‘*rebus sic stantibus*’] directed Sir Walter to insinuate unto them the continuance and keeping of the peace, and they returned him with answer, desiring respite of time, because it was near night, to lay down their demands in writing, and to agree concerning the continuance of the peace until the next day, which was granted.

“On the 4th day [*in margin*:—‘*Friday*’] early, the Lord Lieutenant sent a letter to Tyrone, putting him in remembrance of his former agreement, and advising him seriously to consider of it, and to send him his answer in writing, which he refused to do ; and, so soon as the Lord Lieutenant came into the field, he also sent both for Tyrone and O'Donnell to meet him, which they denied to do, but continued sending of messengers with many unreasonable demands, whereof some were in writing, which are now sent to your Lordships (*wanting*). Those messages concerned his confederates in Leinster, especially one Donnell Spainagh, a Kavanagh, a tenant to the Lord Lieutenant, and one that hath a pension from Her Majesty, with whom and another named Brian Kavanagh, a professed follower of the Lord Lieutenant, it was discovered to us, and by interception of some letters and messengers appeared plainly, that Tyrone did make a late combination in the month of March last past, and also authorised others under his hand to draw more confederates in Leinster into his faction (albeit he took a solemn oath on Wednesday last before Sir Walter Butler and Harry Shea, the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, as they both reported before us, that he had not combined with any in Leinster since the Lord Lieutenant had this charge committed unto him). Like demands he sent for the Moores and Connors, and other confederates, that they might have liberty to range up and down the Pale by 40 [*forties*] and hundredths in a company, taking meat and drink, &c. Perceiving Tyrone to stand upon these insolent demands, the Lord Lieutenant sent C. G. Moore (*sic*) to deal with him for some security for keeping of the peace, the time whereof by former agreement doth expire on the 4th of May next. First, he utterly refused to keep the peace any longer, unless all his demands for his confederates were granted, which being denied him, then he stood peremptorily for Donnell Spainagh, that he might not be touched during the peace, protesting that, if anything were attempted against him, he would revenge it, and break the peace. At the length, the day being spent by Mr. Moore's careful dealing in the matter, a peace was agreed upon for six weeks, beginning the 16th of this month, for due observation whereof he took his oath before Mr. Moore, and also subscribed the agreement with his hand ; but I see little likelihood that the peace will be kept. And thus ended this treaty with Tyrone and O'Donnell.

“But when Tyrone set his hand to the agreement for the peace, he desired C. Moore to pray the Lord Lieutenant early on the next morning to send me to speak with him at a ford within a mile of

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Dundalk, with an equal number, concerning the Brenny causes; and the Lord Lieutenant agreed that I should meet him. And his Lordship gave me some private instructions how to deal with Tyrone upon certain points. So on the 15th of this instant, early, I met Tyrone at the place appointed. He brought O'Donnell in his company, and I took with me in company Sir Henry Brounker ['Bruncare'], Captain Curry, Captain Moore, Captain Greame, and others, and, after I had satisfied Tyrone concerning the orders which I had taken in the Brenny causes, by commission from the Lord Lieutenant, for hurts committed within the time of the peace, according my private direction from the Lord Lieutenant, I first made challenge to Tyrone, in his Lordship's name, for the breach of his word, promise, hand, and oath with the Lord Lieutenant, which in the best manner I could I did aggravate, putting Tyrone in remembrance of the Lord Lieutenant's good favours and many parts of friendship performed towards him in his need, which he did acknowledge, but said he could do none other, in regard of his oath to O'Donnell and their M'William. In debating of which cause concerning their M'William, I did by reasoning overcome them both, that the Lord Lieutenant could do no more for him than he had offered. But O'Donnell said that nothing could satisfy him but the seignory of M'William. I replied and said that O'Donnell was contented, on Wednesday before, that Tibbott Burke should ask no more but the third part of that seignory, which thing O'Donnell did deny, but yet it is most true; for he demanded no more for his M'William, before the Lord Lieutenant, but the third part of that seignory. Then I used a serious exhortation to them both to return to their obedience to Her Majesty, being the Lord's anointed, and their natural Prince; and I told them plainly that God's judgments must needs fall upon them, if they persisted still in their rebellion. But they little regarded my speeches.

"This done, I thought it not amiss to sound them further, and I said, 'Why, how now? my Lord and O'Donnell, will you needs forsake your Prince for Tibbott Burke, and is Tibbott Burke so precious a jewel in your eyes, that for him you will hazard your own estates? Offend your God, provoke your Prince, and undo yourselves. I pray you, my Lord of Tyrone, deal plainly with me, What if some mean be devised to satisfy Tibbott Burke? Will this make an end of all things? Is there not somewhat else in the matter?' 'Stay, my Lord,' said Tyrone, 'I conceive your meaning well enough. Come, O'Donnell, and by God's hand let us deal plainly with the Bishop.' And so they two, and Sir Henry Brounker and I, went a little aside, and Tyrone used these words, 'I will not deny but we have written into Spain for Spaniards, and I must confess there is a day agreed upon between us, but I will not tell you whether that day be past or to come. It may be they will deceive us, and it may be they have already broken with us.' 'Nay' (quoth I), interrupting his speeches, 'I know they have deceived you; and are good warrants still to deceive them that trust them.' Here O'Donnell pulled him by the sleeve, and would not let him go any further, but he added and said, 'If all matters were here

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made ready and cleared, perhaps we would forsake them.' 'Why,' said I, 'are all matters cleared, if something be devised to satisfy Tibbott Burke?' 'No,' said Tyrone, 'there be others in the same case that must be satisfied, as O'Reilly and others, to whom we have given our oaths.' 'Why,' said I, 'so you will make your demands infinite?' Tyrone answered, 'We must needs keep our oaths.' Then O'Donnell began to speak and said, 'I confess, if any other Prince had this kingdom, I would look for no more but Tyreconnell and Iter-Connaught, but I will have that free to myself, and I will allow no Englishman either to dwell in my country, or to have any government in any of the lands that I challenge.' And I said, 'Tyrone will never allow any governor but my Prince and the Lord Deputy.' 'But,' said O'Donnell again, 'unless Tibbott Burke, as you call him, may be M'William, and have that seignory, and unless all the gentlemen, which have taken part with me be satisfied with such lands and livings as I have promised them, I will never be at peace.' I demanded of O'Donnell for whom he did stand, besides Tibbott Burke. He said, 'for many other gentlemen;' and I said, 'Tyrone do (*sic*) stand for O'Reilly, for Onie M'Rory O'More, and others. Why,' quoth I, 'do you stand for Onie? Do you now ask any more for him, than he himself was contented to accept?' 'Tush,' said Tyrone, 'he never agreed unto it; he must have more lands in that country.' I told him that could not be granted but by banishment of the English inhabitants, which held the country by patent. He said it must needs be done both for him and others.

"There passed between Tyrone and me a longer discourse touching other of Tyrone's confederates, which is not worthy the writing. This done, according my private direction from the Lord Lieutenant, I made a second challenge to Tyrone, for laying hold of two of Her Majesty's uriaghts, Maguire and M'Mahon, in the time of this treaty; whereunto he made answer that he took them in hand for two causes: 1, if he agreed with us, to take pledges of them for keeping of the peace, and 2, if he did not agree, then to take security of them, lest they should be against him. I replied that they were Her Majesty's uriaghts, reserved to herself, and exempted from him, and that it must needs be offensive to Her Majesty that he should deal in this disordered and unlawful manner with them. He said no more, but that he could do none other for his own safety.

"Thus, according to my remembrance, I have truly reported to your Lordship the proceedings used in this parley with Tyrone and O'Donnell, whom I endeavoured, by all the means I could devise, to reclaim from their rebellious course; but true is the saying, and now verified in them, that a traitor will be a traitor, do what a man can. Tyrone's unhappy success in some bickerings against us, the knowledge of his own strength, expectation of foreign help, and the confidence he hath in the multitude of his partakers in the several parts of this realm, hath (*sic*) puffed him up with such pride and haughtiness of mind as cannot be reformed but by chastisement and correction. Heretofore I have observed

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him to carry a good regard of his credit, word, and promise; but now it appeareth that neither word, nor promise, nor handwriting, nor oath are of account with him. His present breach of the agreement made between us and him in the last treaty, and his daily practices to draw others to be partakers of his combination within this time of peace, do apparently now bewray that he never had good meaning, which your Lordship knoweth I still misdoubted, and in discharge of my bounden duty have plainly signified so much unto you in my former advertisements. I shall not now need to write anything of the necessity of the present prosecution of this faithless traitor (having, in the joint letter (*wanting*) now sent to your Lordships, concurred with the Lords Justices and Council), but, as becometh me, will daily pray unto Almighty God to hasten his judgments upon that rebellious 'rowke,' to their confusion and overthrow. And so humbly take my leave of your good Lordship, from Dublin, this 18th of April, 1598.

[*Postscript*].—"In the time of this treaty two several intelligences were delivered to me; the 1, was, that Tyrone hath lately received letters of good encouragement from the King of Scots, promising him underhand a supply both of men and munition at his need, to continue this rebellion, and to keep any English forces from landing in Lough Foyle to annoy him that way. This report was delivered by one named Garland, who hath a brother which serveth Tyrone, [and who] usually hath been sent by him into Scotland, and is now lately returned from thence, who in secrecy imparted thus much to his said brother.

"It was also told me in secrecy that Henry Hovenden, on the 12th of this instant, being with others in secret council with Tyrone, did use these speeches to him, viz., 'Wilt thou never be wise? and can no counsel take place with thee? Hast thou no body to treat with of the conditions of peace but the Earl of Ormonde? who, having like commission in the Earl of Desmond's time, to treat with him concerning the peace, did underhand clip his wings, and did draw away his followers from him; and, when he had so done, did quite overthrow Desmond, his house, and posterity.'" *Holograph. Seal. pp. 14.*

April 18. 10. "A list of such captains and companies of horsemen and footmen as are in Her Majesty's pay within this realm, as they stand in roll in the Mustermaster's office, retinues, kern and warders only excepted."—1598, April 18. *pp. 3½.*

April 18. 11. Another copy of the preceding.—1598, April 18. *pp. 4½.*

April 19. 12. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. "Having discovered the traitorous practices of Tyrone and others, as I rode northwards to the treaty, which by the copies now sent from me in a letter signed by the Lords Justices and myself (*wanting*) to your Lordships doth fully appear; after my former treaty with the traitor Tyrone, I appointed some companies to prosecute his confederates, the base Geraldines, the O'Mores, and Connors, that were in Leinster, of whose principal leaders I executed and put to the sword 61 with

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305 of their followers, and now of late have apprehended several messengers passing to and fro between Tyrone and others of Leinster, Munster, and Thomond, having letters and writings that discovereth (*sic*) all his malicious and wicked treasons. Now I am enforced, by reason of my extreme wants, to temporise with him till the 11th of May, which was the time of the former peace, and to take a further time to make it seven weeks and three days from Easter Day forth, if, in the good observance of the said peace of his part, I shall think it so fit. In the meantime I heartily pray your Lordship, of all favours, to take order that money, munition, and supply of men with victuals (which, to my exceeding grief, are our extreme wants here), may be presently sent, as formerly I wrote for, otherwise there will be no mean to withstand his incursions, if he attempt the same; for that there is not in Her Majesty's store but three barrels of powder, neither is there any victuals to furnish the army in their garrisons, nor to draw any into the field, which the traitors do well know, and [it] emboldeneth them to persist in their insolency and pride. The state of the army will appear to your Lordship by the book delivered me by the Mustermaster-General, which I do send hereinenclosed, wherein there is many of the mere Irish, which would be supplied with English; for otherwise it would be most dangerous to trust to some of them that have been in rebellion, and which have been followers to the traitors in Connaught, Leinster, and Ulster. The Earl of Kildare hath very honourably alighted on his base brother, Thomas FitzGerald, the principal rebel of these bastard Geraldines, whom he brought hither unto me. The Lord of Delvin, found, and sent also unto me, Phelim Reogh O'Connor, a notorious and like principal traitor, being before hurt in a skirmish by Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, whom I employed for the prosecution of the Leinster traitors. I purpose this day to have these two principal traitors executed, with others of their consort, that have come to my hands. I pray your Lordship for better encouragement of these noblemen, the Earl of Kildare and Lord of Delvin, and also of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, who hath very well acquitted himself, to let them understand from thence of thankful acceptance of their said service. I do forbear to write at any further length, referring your Lordship, for avoiding your trouble, to the fore-written joint letter. Only I importune your Lordship for speedy relief in the wants before mentioned, without which the state of the whole kingdom, as before I have written, is like to be in hazard. And, being supplied, I will, with adventure of my life, perform such service as shall please Her Majesty to command me, to the uttermost of my power.

"Touching the fort of Blackwater, I do herein send your Lordship the plot thereof (*wanting*), according as I received it, which in my opinion were better never to have been builded or taken in hand, for the ground is not good, but the rampier daily falling down, which putteth the soldiers to great labour; and, besides, there was choice of fitter places, if it were but Armagh, where the soldier might lie dry overhead, and Her Majesty's victuals better bestowed.

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And from henceforth I know not how the Blackwater will be victualled, but with force.

"The bastardly boy, Thomas Butler, mentioned in Brian Reogh his letter [see above, April 6, No. 3], which is translated and sent in the letters to your Lordships, is one whose father is not known, though named son [of] my brother Sir Edmund, whose sons I lately cut off. I thought fit to send your Lordship a copy of a letter sent by the Earl of Tyrone to Captain Lee, who is prisoner in the castle, and highly accused, which letter the Lords Justices are made acquainted with."—Dublin, 1598, April 19.

[*Postscript in Ormonde's handwriting.*]—"I mean to have some speech with such of Leinster as I find Tyrone hath practised with, upon my going now thither." *Signed.* pp. 2. *Incloses,*

12. I. "A book of such entertainments as are due to the Lord Deputy, Lords Justices, Lord Lieutenant General, Chief Officers, and others of Her Majesty's Army and Garrison in pay within this realm, for half a year, containing 182 days, beginning primo Octobris, 1597, and ending ultimo Martii, next following." [Copy with a few omissions, of No. 99; March 1598.] pp. 52.

12. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Captain Thomas Lee.* "I have forborne to say anything touching you here at this meeting, lest the same might be more to your prejudice than good. Neither have you sent unto me what I should do for you, but if you will acquaint [me] with what you would have me do on your behalf, I will not fail (God willing,) so far forth as I may, to effectuate your desire."—1598, April 16. *Copy.* p. ½.

[April 19.] 13. "A note of such principal traitors as in this short prosecution, since the third of March, have been either slain, or executed, of leaders, and gentlemen of account among them."—[1598, April 19.] p. ½.

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14. *Hugh Tudor to Burghley.* Since his imprisonment, and by means of Burghley's favour towards him, has been authorised to make collection of such checks as were left undone by his master [Kyffin]. Proceeded accordingly, and the whole sum of the checks gathered thereby amounts to 9,540*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*, for the half year ending 30 September, 1597. His book being delivered at the Council table, and having answered such things pertaining thereto as were demanded of him, he made humble suit that it might be sent over to Burghley. Sir Ralph Lane impugned this by all means that could be devised, for the book came to his hands, and he presently set men a work to copy it out, to the end those checks should be certified by him in his book to Burghley. Albeit the Lords Justices and Lord Lieutenant General commanded him expressly to bring the book unto them, that they might inclose the same within the packet, yet notwithstanding he kept it with him until the packet was made up; and at length, "the favorer of all honest men in this land," viz., Lord Justice Gardener, got it from him, and sent it to Mr. Secretary to be inclosed in the packet.

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Hopes Burghley will receive it. Sends herewith a rough draft of the same. Does not find any particular captain in Ireland (though there be many unsatisfiable) so much displeased and aggrieved for any checks cessed on his entertainment, as Sir Ralph Lane seems to be that such checks are certified at this time. He told the Lord Lieutenant General that there were great exceptions to be taken to these checks. Tudor answered that if he did not yield such reasons as were very sufficient for all checks thus certified by him, then he desired to be severely punished. Poor man as he is, he is herein driven to plead for the Queen against Sir Ralph Lane in his own faculty. Thinks the cause of his displeasure to be, either that such checks were never certified by him before, or that the like cannot proceed from him hereafter. If the like courses be still held in the musters, as have been since Kyffin's time, Her Majesty will save nothing. Knows that whatever checks shall be imposed upon the captains and companies, for the half year ending 31st March 1598, will be chiefly raised upon the companies mustered by Kyffin or his substitutes between 1st October, 1597, and 2nd January 1597-8, when the companies were all found weak; for the rest of the time they were found complete. May not trouble Burghley with so many particular causes concerning these matters as might be here expressed, for they are infinite. "If Sir Ralph Lane do certify under his hand to your Lordship these checks as done by him, I doubt not but you, your Lordship (*sic*), will consider from whom they are, and whose fruits they be; and that they that have endured in this miserable country many a hungry day, and, lying on the cold ground, many a bitter night, for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service, and to attain to the true knowledge and perfection of these things, shall enjoy the credit thereof, and the fruits of their labour weighed according to their deserts, albeit others that have here remained, daintily fared, and easily bedded, do presume to deface it, and assume it wholly to themselves."

Begs that Kyffin's books may, according to his last will, be carried over into England, for now all that business is ended. Burghley's letter to him concerning these matters never came to his hands, and yet he heard that it came with one of the two packets that were sent over then.—Dublin, 1598, April 19. *Signed.* pp. 2. *Inclodes,*

14. I. "*Checks certified for the half year ending the last of September, 1597.*" *Signed by Hugh Tudor on each page.* pp. 8.

April 20.
Dublin.

15. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Burghley. Recommending the bearer, Captain Francis Stafford. He has had long experience in the service of Ulster, and is well able to satisfy any question concerning the matters of the north.—Dublin, 1598, April 20. *Signed.* p. ½.

April 20.
Dublin.

16. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil, "and in his absence" to Burghley. Refers to the general letter now sent (*wanting*) touching their proceedings with Tyrone at the last parley held on April 10, "which, though it hath not brought forth peace, yet it was not without fruit and good success, for that now the traitor being discovered to the bottom, and his conspiracies practised in effect

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with all the Irish in the realm made apparent, Her Majesty seeth now what to trust unto, not to depend more upon treaties and parleys, but to turn her mercy into revenge, and proceed really to his prosecution, for which course this State is ill fitted, as may appear to your Honour by the discourse of the general letter. Only to your Honour I say that, if our wants of victuals, money, and munition, be not speedily supplied from thence, I see not how most of the companies can be kept from disbanding, if they run not directly into mutiny. The reasons appear in the general despatch, and the sequel (if the army should shake or break) would be the hazard of the State. The Victualler hath nothing in the store to feed the soldiers; the Treasurer hath no money to imprest them; and the country is bare, and yieldeth small helps; by which necessities, how hard it will be to keep together so many companies, intermixed with Irish, mere Irish, and late protected rebels, I humbly leave to your judgment. But how far this may advantage the rebel Tyrone, who knoweth our weakness and wants as well as ourselves, and can tell how to use the opportunity to his benefit, ordinary foresight doth see into it, and we that live here may fall into the danger, if we be not the sooner relieved. Tyrone's treasons are now discovered to be general through all the parts of the realm, his compacts with Spain and Scotland more and more manifest, and his interest and dependency with the Irish so strong and settled, as there is no means to break it, but by force; for to temporise further by treaties and meetings were but to give way to his pride, and by degrees to hazard the State; for, by these preparations he hath made, it cannot be but his project is to subtract the kingdom from Her Majesty upon a sudden. And he cannot take a fitter time for it than now that he seeth how we are disabled of means to resist him. And therefore it may please your Honour to haste away the victuals, munitions, and other helps now written for, which being come will help to hold the soldiers in heart, and may haply give a stop to Tyrone, when he seeth the wants of the State relieved.

"There are many other things meet to be considered, touching the government and ordering of the State here, which, without the presence of some well experienced man of this Council to be drawn over thither, cannot be so thoroughly made known to Her Majesty and your Lordships as were meet; and it is strange that, in this dangerous time, the affairs of this realm are but debated by letters and writings from hence, which (under your Honour's reformation) cannot give so thorough impressions, neither of the perils, nor of the remedies, as might be done by the personal solicitation of some well chosen man, to be called over from this table, the consideration whereof I humbly submit to your Honour, assuring you that, if ever there were cause that Her Majesty and your Lordships should be thoroughly informed in the state of Ireland, or if at any other time there was necessity to draw over any Councillor from hence for that purpose, the same is now more requisite than ever."—Dublin, 1598, April 20.

[*Postscript.*].—After signing this letter, he received an advertisement in writing from the borders, the double whereof he sends. If

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it be true that Desmond's son is escaped out of the Tower, and arrived in Spain, the Spaniards have, by him, a better ground to execute their malice against Ireland than ever they had. If it be not so, yet were it good upon this occasion to charge the Lieutenant to keep him strait, for preventing his escape hereafter. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½. Incloses,*

16. I.—to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. “*This night, about four of the clock, one of the O'Connors, of whose loyalty I do assure myself, and dare be bound for it to others, came to me, and told me this following, viz. :—*

“That, at this last parley, some of these Connors being in speech with Tyrone, he uttered these words: ‘I marvel that, in so short a time, so sharp a prosecution could be performed against you, in sort as you complain of to me; and the rather I do wonder at it, for that you had by my mediation a protection for yourselves and your followers.’ Their answer was, that, though they had protection by his means, yet by some secret direction from the Lord General, they were prosecuted and executed, in sort as they had complained, to the utter dissipation of their forces, and loss of many their best gentlemen and followers. Upon this their answer, he set down this resolution to them in way of comfort; ‘I am sorry you were so careless of yourselves. Before it be long, we will be able to cry quittance with him that hath so deceived you and me with his protections. Before a month do pass, I assure you we will set such a piece of work in hand in his own country and Munster, as shall force him to suffer you in Leinster and me in Ulster to be at our own dispositions, and shall find work enough to attend the fire that will be kindled there. For I do assure you all, upon my credit, and as I would have you hereafter to believe me and be directed by me, that the Earl of Desmond's son is escaped out of the Tower of London, by means of the Lieutenant of the Tower's daughter, who is gone with him; and [they] are arrived in Spain, where they had such acceptation and entertainment as seldom hath been heard of to be in that kingdom afforded to a man of his years. And further, I do assure you that, before a month do pass, if wind and weather do serve, he will be in Munster with great forces, both of men, munition, and treasure; the like whereof I do expect with assurance to myself; and therefore comfort yourselves, &c. (sic).’ This, it may please your worship, I heard, and the advertiser had it from one that had it from the Bishop of Derry; and saith further that no shipping arrives at any port in this kingdom (not excepting Dublin or Tredagh), but some seminary priest or other comes with it with intelligence to Tyrone.”—1598, April 18. Copy. pp. 1½.

April 21.
Dublin.

17. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Sir Henry Wallop to the Privy Council. Acknowledge receipt of their letter just received, and also of one from Burghley of the 6th of March, to which, as requested, they now return answer, understanding that Her Majesty is incensed against them.

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"First, concerning the first clause in his Lordship's said letter, signifying Her Majesty's mislike of the course of our Government, which hath been reported to Her Highness to have been without care for reformatations of disorders, we are right sorry that our travail in Her Majesty's service hath been thus misreported; and for answer we say, that for all civil causes which were committed unto us, we have administered them (we doubt not) to the full contentment of Her Majesty's good subjects; and for martial affairs, which were wholly committed to the Lord Lieutenant, we have not spared to assist his Lordship with our best advices from time to time, as occasion did require; and, in particular, for the expenses of Her Majesty's treasure, which are thought superfluous, we answer, that in these five months now past, since we received this authority, we have not any way, for our own parts, either rewards or extraordinaries, charged Her Majesty above the sum of 23*l*. For such treasure as hath been sent out of England, we have not dealt therewith, but have wholly left the same to the disposition of the Lord Lieutenant, according to your Lordships' precise directions, by your letters of the 30th of October in that behalf, commanding the same to be disbursed only by his Lordship's privy and special warrants.

"And where I the Treasurer, do understand, by your Lordship, the Lord Treasurer, that Her Majesty is displeased that, notwithstanding the sums of treasure sent hither, her army is left unpaid, and I send over billets with captains and soldiers, prescribing payment to be made unto them out of the sums of treasure sent hither, it may please your Lordships that I have at no time prescribed or directed any such payment to any captain or other, but here they are paid, so far as the sum of treasure sent will stretch, and, upon their coming to reckon with me I do deduct out of their warrants so much as is chargeable upon them as well by my imprests, as also for victual, munition, checks, and beeves. And of that which doth remain unpaid, I do distinguish what is due to the country for beeves and diet of soldiers, so far as I have knowledge of it, and then I do set down what doth remain due to captains, officers, and soldiers; to which reckoning I do subscribe, without either directing or requesting the payment of it in any sort; and less than this I cannot do, when the captains or soldiers do come to their reckonings.

"Next to this clause in your, the Lord Treasurer's, letter, that of many thousands, wherewith Her Majesty is charged in pay, there are not one thousand English bodies to serve in the army, but that the whole rest are compounded or suborned with Irish, without keeping of due musters or observing of checks, to Her Majesty's detriment, which by good care might be reformed, etc. (*sic*); we answer that, although we take it a matter pertaining to the Lord Lieutenant's office to look to things of this nature, as others in his place have heretofore done, as by their several commissions appeareth, yet, for our parts, we say that we entered into this Government almost two months after the certificate should have been of the musters of the last half year, and perceiving there was bad dealing

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in the Commissaries, which were employed in the remote parts of this realm, we sent for them, and after many delays we got them, and called them to an account, and finding they had dealt negligently and corruptly in their offices, according the quality of their several offences, we removed some, and punished others by imprisonment, and namely one Paule, mentioned in your Lordships' general letter, whom we both imprisoned and removed from his office; yet since, he hath been restored to the exercise thereof by the Lord Lieutenant, without our consent or privity. Then, foreseeing the former inconveniences, we placed others in their rooms, and earnestly called upon Sir Ralph Lane, Kyffin, and them, to make due certificates of the musters and checks, which through Mr. Kyffin's death was delayed. And since his death, we have often times called upon them for the said certificates, but by no means could get them perfected until the 18 of this instant; and if now we had not of ourselves both entertained one Tudor, servant to Mr. Kyffin, and set him a work to draw this certificate out of his said master's books, and rewarded him for his pains and travail, we could not possibly have brought things to this perfection."

Send a book (*wanting*) both of the musters and of the checks imposed, amounting to above 10,000*l.*, for the half year ending 30th September last. Hope there will be the like good account for the last half year. The treasure which arrived in January last, viz., 13,575*l.*, was wholly disposed by the Lord Lieutenant, according to their Lordships' direction. So also shall be the treasure which arrived yesterday, according to Her Majesty's ordinance. Certificate sent on 15th March last of moneys imprested to the paymasters of Dublin and Carrickfergus. Similar certificate promised as to the sums imprested to the paymasters of Connaught and of Newry, as soon as these have perfected their accounts. Hope their Lordships will be satisfied with these answers, and be a mean to satisfy Her Majesty therein.—Dublin, 1598, April 21. *Signed.* pp. 2½.

April 21. 18. The Lord Justice Loftus to Burghley. His great grief at St. Sepulchre's, Her Majesty's displeasure towards him. Is languishing in sorrow Dublin. for want of her princely grace. Burghley's sickness most grievous to him. Daily prays for his recovery and long life.—St. Sepulchre's, Dublin, 1598, April 21. *Signed.* p. 1.

April 21. 19. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Burghley. Their Dublin. grief at Her Majesty's mislike of their dealings. Pray Burghley to move Her Highness for the continuance of her former grace. Touching the apparel and the corn, will answer upon the return of the Lord Lieutenant, who is now at Kilkenny. Pray for Burghley's speedy recovery and health.—Dublin, 1598, April 21. *Signed.* p. 1. *Inclose,*

19. 1. [*The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener*] to the Queen. Their grief at her mislike of their government. Submit themselves, and crave pardon for any offence conceived against them. Are comforted with the clearness of their own consciences. Hope it will appear ere long how they have been wronged by untrue informations. Have lived together as brethren, and have cherished all good

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concurrency with the Lord Lieutenant. Their case of Her Majesty's treasure. Have written at large to the Privy Council, from whom they hope Her Majesty will receive particular satisfaction concerning them.—Dublin, 1598, April 21. Copy. p. 1.

19. II. *The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Sir Henry Wallop to the Privy Council. [Copy of No. 17 above.]—Dublin, 1598, April 21. pp. 2½.*

April 22.
Dublin.

20. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. The chief success of the late parley was a large discovery of Tyrone and his treasons. Thinks it is one main step to his overthrowing, if there be a thorough prosecution against him, which assuredly cannot be, unless present and large supplies are sent out of England. Tyrone "hath great hope of the coming of Spaniards this summer, for whom his secretary Brimegham is to solicit in Spain, and hath of late sent to him comfortable letters therein," of which, and of his intelligence with Scotland, Fenton has written in his late letters. The King of Scotland has promised Tyrone to raise a navy of ships, to impeach any forces Her Majesty might send against him into the north of Ireland, and specially to land and garrison in Lough Foyle. Is still of opinion that there is no readier way to take down Tyrone and curb O'Donnell, than to lay a garrison of 1,000 foot and 100 horse upon the mouth of Lough Foyle, with victuals for eight months to be brought out of England, and tools for fortifications to cover themselves. "For, by the aptness of the place, lying indifferent to vex both countries of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, that garrison, being governed by a forward and discreet leader, may pierce into both countries at pleasure, and, after they have got footing there, there are divers septs in both countries that will turn to them, being already overpressed with the tyranny of O'Donnell and Tyrone." Submits the consideration thereof to Burghley, forbearing to trouble him further with particularities, for that this project has been debated often before by sundry well-experienced servitors in the wars, whose opinions have been sent to his Lordship.

There is great want of two small pinnaces to occupy the seas between Scotland and Ulster, to impeach the coming of Scots to Tyrone, and to intercept his provisions of powder and other helps out of Scotland, from whence he has most of his provisions for the wars.—Dublin, 1598, April 22. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

April 24.
Athlone.

21. Sir Conyers Clifford to the Privy Council. Has formerly written with what companies he was sent to Connaught, and also, from time to time, with how little means he has been assisted. Yet, with God's assistance, there has been a continual regaining, from the first day of his entrance, of some of Her Majesty's disloyal subjects. Will now most humbly deliver the full regaining of the whole inhabitants of Connaught, and what he conceives is fit to be taken, both for the continuing of the people in their obedience, and to constrain the proudest of the northern rebels in short time to submit also.

The hopes he had expressed concerning O'Rourke. Received authority from Her Majesty to conclude with him, and has now

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fully done so, as his submission and the articles subscribed by him will show. He has delivered to Sir Conyers three principal gentlemen for pledges of his loyalty, and also two letters from the King of Spain, and one from a Bishop beyond the seas; by both to show that he did not only forsake the faction of the said King, but also the league of "those proud, insolent, unnatural northern traitors," who by all manner of practice sought to prevent Sir Conyers.

Has drawn M'Dermott and O'Connor Don from O'Donnell, whose prisoners they were, and who, upon the banishing of M'William, thought to set up a new faction against Sir Conyers by their enlargement. But their being set at liberty has proved, as he said, for Her Majesty's service. For, as Sir Conyers gave them both means and counsel how they should persuade O'Donnell for their liberty, so has he, by good usage of them, brought them so assured to Her Majesty, that O'Donnell has hanged some of their pledges, whereby not only they, but the principal gentlemen of the whole Province, are desirous to serve upon him.

M'William is banished. Has recovered out of his hands the possession of all the castles in the county of Mayo. Has redeemed from him all the pledges he had of such as he doubted within that county. Has cut off at several times 300 at least of such as were his partakers, and amongst them all his principal leaders and trustiest men. And that which is a great benefit to Her Majesty therein, Tibbott Ne Longe, and such as first submitted to Her Majesty's mercy, have drawn much of this blood with their own hands, which is more than if the army had killed twice as many. "M'William is now as poor a man as any this day in Ireland, and by your Lordships' favour, there is great respect to be had that he be not received again upon any conditions into this Province. For, as Tibbott Ne Longe is every way a better man than M'William, so hath he deserved sithence his first submission all lawful favour, and to be rewarded as a man both able and willing to do Her Majesty service. Therefore if the said M'William be received again, it will be a blot to myself and a discouragement to such as have served, and, upon my duty of allegiance, a disadvantage to Her Majesty's service, by bringing in of a new faction for the northern men into the Province, whereof we are now free."

To meet further O'Donnell's treacheries, has requited him by the submission of Shane M'Manus Oge O'Donnell, which he sends herewith, but forbore to make known before he had seen the events. But the poor gentleman has paid for his well-meaning, for Sir Conyers enjoined him to go presently and secretly, after his said submission, into O'Donnell's country, and that there he and all the gentlemen, in whose names he submitted, should put themselves in arms together against O'Donnell; and that Sir Conyers, seeing them deal faithfully for Her Majesty's service, would succour them with all the force he could; which, by a restraint from the Lord Lieutenant, he could not do. For his Lordship, during the time of the last parley, required him to attempt nothing upon O'Donnell.

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By this means the poor gentleman was taken. M'Swyne a Doe, who joined with him presently upon his coming into the country, has been put to great extremity, having lost sixteen of his men, and lives now a banished man, until Sir Conyers can relieve him.

This faction he wrought by O'Rourke, whose sister married Shane M'Manus Oge O'Donnell. The coming in of O'Rourke amazed Tyrone. For he saw Sir Conyers had fully regained the Province, and that "the faction in Tyrconnell was presently upon the concluding of it." Knowing that O'Rourke had married the sister of Maguire, and that no man could lead Maguire so much as O'Rourke; and thereby doubting that, as Sir Conyers had the faction begun formerly in Tyrconnell: so he could draw his principal man Maguire from him, therefore both Tyrone and O'Donnell have apprehended him and divers chief gentlemen, and at this day there is no people under heaven more amazed than themselves: for they have taken 20 or 30 of their principal leaders, "whereof, if they be set to in time, they shall find what mischief they are drawn unto."

Will not adventure to write generally what is best to be done against Tyrone; but, for O'Donnell, Sir Conyers would, if he had not been restrained by want of means, and by being commanded to overslip opportunities, very shortly make as poor a man of him as the army and he have made of M'William. The taking of Ballyshannon, or the constraining of O'Donnell to break it, will absolutely banish him. For as he is a proud malicious traitor to Her Majesty, so is he a tyrannical Governor over all under him, and the most hated man living, and followed in this wicked action by none but for fear.

Will require but 1,200 soldiers and 100 horse of the number Her Majesty has now in Ireland, to take Ballyshannon; nor will he require them but for three months, so he may have liberty to take his opportunities. If he recover Ballyshannon, then Her Majesty shall be eased of six of those companies of foot. For less than three companies with 40 horse cannot countenance the faction which is to be made upon O'Donnell in his own country, upon the taking of that place. These must lie at Ballyshannon; two other companies and twenty horse at Belleek; and the other 100 foot and the residue of the horse to be ready to go with Sir Conyers within the Province.

"And, if your Honours receive no confirmation of a peace from Tyrone and O'Donnell, then I leave to your Honours' considerations, whether this be not a great ease unto Her Majesty, the taking away of so many companies, the recovery wholly of this Province, and the putting of those people to cut the one the other's throat.

"And this, my good Lords, I find farther by experience, except, so general a war as this be broken by faction, the travail is so great for men to endure in prosecuting of them, and the impossibility to provide means to carry an army after them such, that they will be causers to break a great army under a good leader, and never be touched themselves."

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Sends copy of his late letter written to the Lords Justices, Lord Lieutenant, and Council, concerning the small means sent to him, whereby he has been enforced to consume his own poor estate, and to enter into further credit to his uttermost, for the relief of the companies serving under him. Has long solicited the Lords Justices and Council that he might be satisfied, in respect that the same is also charged upon the several captains serving under him in Connaught (except some portion dispended upon growing charges for the advancement of Her Majesty's service). Their Lordships and the Council, by their joint letter now sent together with the concordatum, are humble suitors to the Privy Council for his better satisfaction.

Asks for an order that, upon his next account, and out of the treasure to be next sent, he may receive payment for moneys disbursed by him since Michaelmas last for Her Majesty's service. The whole army has "altogether, for the most part," been relieved by the poor people who have submitted themselves, and who are not able to bear any further burden. Begs order for payment to the country upon the arrival of the next treasure.

A present dispatch is most necessary of those things which will be delivered to their Lordships by Sir Calisthenes Brooke, who has most worthily behaved himself in this service, and has in all things seen as much as Sir Conyers himself. "I humbly desire your Honours that my commendation of his services may be taken notice of to his encouragement. For, albeit we have not lived in a war of great name, yet I dare assure as painful and dangerous as any war, and as necessary for Her Majesty to end; for it is a true sink of Her treasure, and a waste of good subjects."

Has also sent Captain Dillon, "whom O'Rourke hath desired to see an end of Her Majesty's grants to him." Dillon is a man of good experience in this service, and has behaved himself from time to time, since the coming of Sir Conyers into Connaught, with great diligence and care, whereby he has found good assistance. Dillon has sustained much loss of his goods, burnings and razings of his castle by the traitors, to his very great hindrance. Desires that he may be favoured in his reasonable causes.

Prays that O'Rourke may be given good encouragement. There is no man in Ireland better able to do Her Majesty service at this time. Thinks he will be very loyal, for he is "civilly given," discreet, and very valiant. Commends his own services to their Lordships' favours.—Athlone, 1598, April 24. *Signed. pp. 3. Incloses,*

21. 1. "*Articles and conditions agreed upon, and to be observed, by Brian Oge O'Rourke, alias O'Rourke, chief of his name, towards the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, her officers, and subjects; at the Abbey of the Boyle, the 19th of February, 1597[-8].*"

These relate to the receiving of a sheriff in the county of Leitrim, the paying of rent and other services, the expulsion from the county of Leitrim of all except natives thereof, the treatment of known rebels or malefactors coming to his country, the delivery of

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three pledges for the septs of the O'Rourke, the M'Laughlins, and the M'Morris, and the rendering of all dutiful obedience. Signed by O'Rourke.—Abbey of the Boyle, 1597[-8], February 19. pp. 2½.

21. II. Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormcnde, and the Council. Sends copies of a letter from O'Rourke of the 10th of February, of his answer thereto, and also of the demands of O'Rourke. By occasion of M'William being in the county of Mayo, Sir Conyers drew down, on February 13, to the Abbey of the Boyle. Thither came O'Rourke, on Saturday the 18th, on foot, from the Shannon side, being five miles distant, accompanied with thirty gentlemen and others. He made his most humble submission upon his knees, and instantly delivered the same in writing, desiring to be received to Her Majesty's mercy, as by the copy of the submission sent herewith may appear. Found him very conformable to the demands made upon him in Her Majesty's behalf.

O'Rourke departed with Sir Conyers from the Abbey of the Boyle on the Monday following, and returned to his country, to take order lest Tyrone and O'Donnell and their adherents might surprise him at some advantage, and to see that the three promised pledges might be delivered up through Captain Dillon. This being done, Sir Conyers accounts the same a principal service, whereby part of the forces in Connaught may be employed elsewhere. This service has been procured with much difficulty and sundry endeavours, considering the pride and strength of the man, and how far he had engaged himself as a principal actor in "the northern combination and general revolt of rebellion." Therefore Sir Conyers may not offer him a new or sudden occasion of discontentment, by taking from his country any beeves to relieve the great misery of the soldiers. O'Rourke's country the only place now to procure relief from. That O'Rourke be not enforced to a new combination, Sir Conyers requires twelve companies of foot and 120 horse, to be continued in full number; these companies to be duly paid, and furnished with the apparel assigned by Her Majesty. "For the nakedness and the misery of the poor soldier doth most necessarily, as a matter of great importance, require the same." Six of the twenty-three companies assigned to Connaught have been drawn away by their Lordships. Asks that five more may be withdrawn, and makes no doubt to perform any expedient service with the remaining twelve, so that they be furnished with apparel and lendings, as he has made known before. So Her Majesty is eased of eleven companies. Desires further that the treasure now sent to Ireland may be issued for the months of March and April ensuing, and that the four months from November to February last past may rest upon account (the service now in hand, for which he desires the disbursement of these moneys, importing more than the people can have by so small a sum), until Her Majesty be pleased to give the poor people satisfaction of all. The companies are in danger of breaking, and there is no benefit from the treasure, either to the country, town, or poor soldier, as the Treasurer's

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deputy at Athlone has received instructions not to issue any part thereof before the Commissary's view of the companies. Cannot give any manner of redress to those whose great and grievous exclamations he has endured. Has been enforced to dispend the 500*l.*, delivered to him for beeves, to maintain the companies, since his return from Dublin. His private disbursements. Has not been allowed for the victualling of the companies since his receiving the government of Connaught, nearly fourteen months ago, more than two months' lendings. This is the cause why he has impoverished and much grieved all such as he has received to Her Majesty's mercy. Has used his uttermost credit, and now there are no means of relief left by any possibility, save to procure some from O'Rourke with ready money, without his discontent. The fear of this imposition upon his country has enforced him to stay from his former submission longer than his determination [thereunto]. May not endanger the good cause he has with so great labour brought to a perfect resolution. Urges present payment to the poor people both for what has been, and for that which shall now be, taken. If this be done, and the numbers left him be appavelled and victualled as he desires, he makes a good account for Her Majesty's service, either to defend or offend. "Less than twelve companies of foot and 120 horse I cannot have."

O'Rourke's country, being the frontier against the north, is now most necessary to be defended. This O'Rourke is no way able to do, in respect of the great forces of Tyrone and O'Donnell, which are wholly adjoined to his country, and are ready to take any advantage by his submission. Although Sir Richard Bingham had the said country by way of conquest, yet it was desolate and waste, and then it was not material who came into it. "At which time Sligo was a frontier for the defence of this Province (the county of Leitrim, commonly called O'Rourke's country, being only without the bounds of that place), but now it is as requisite to be defended as any other part of the Province, being best and most replenished with cattle of any other part of the Province, and the chiefest mark for Tyrone and O'Donnell to shoot at."

Will humbly advise how any such purpose may be prevented, through the experience he has of the general state of Connaught.

"First, as I said before, the people of this country have abidden so great a burden, as more may not be laid upon them." There is one place remaining for the companies in Connaught to do Her Majesty service in, viz., Belleek, upon the Erne, over against Ballyshannon, which is three miles distant. There lie all the passages between the north and Connaught. In this distance of three miles are only four places of passage, and with these Sir Conyers makes no doubt, with the numbers he demands, to stop Tyrone and O'Donnell and all their confederates from whatsoever mischief they intend. Some proportion of money will be required for the necessary works upon these passages, but he cannot yet give an estimate. A fit place, too, is to be chosen for ten of these companies at least to lie in upon the north frontier of Connaught; "and no place else, where the companies shall be laid, can defend the Province, the people generally within that part of the Province having all

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delivered their pledges, and no danger of any man but M^cWilliam, of whom I make no account." The rest are most willing to live again under the obedience of Her Majesty's laws, "but the terror of the burden which they have endured by bearing of the soldiers doth yet keep them from this necessary work. O'Rourke hath made this a special demand, and will be contented, so the companies may lie upon the Erne, and that his poor people may be presently paid for their beeves, to relieve them with such beeves as they may possibly spare, and to join with them for Her Majesty's service with all his forces; which are two of the best assurances [that] can be expected from him for his resolution to continue in his conformity."

Concludes there is no place but the Erne to defend Connaught, nor any country to relieve the soldiers but O'Rourke's country, nor any course to take the instant opportunity, which is most necessary, than by their Lordships appointing the treasure now in Ireland to serve for the months to come. Also, that munition and apparel be with all expedition sent down, so that in twelve days at the farthest he may be able to set forward upon the journey. If their Lordships conceive his opinion of the work, then he desires that two of Her Majesty's Privy Council, or one at the least, may be presently sent down to see the people who have submitted, to hear their grievances, and to see the state of the Province so fully, that they may, if he has not made a full performance of the service, give such advice as necessity may require. The full gaining and re-settling of Connaught will not only be a great discouragement to the rebels of Leinster, but give Her Majesty good assistance upon the greatest rebels in the north, as he will more at large deliver. His present business is to content the people, to watch those great rebels who daily seek factions upon him, and to provide for the soldiers. Endorsed:—1597[–8], February 24. Copy. pp. 3.

21. III. "*A note of O'Rourke's demands, 8 February 1597[–8].*" [These demands are the same as those in No. 48, of February 8 above, but there are several additions, relating mainly to appointments of subordinate officers in O'Rourke's country.] *Endorsed:— "O'Rourke's demands postilled." pp. 2½.*

April 24.
Athlone.

22. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. The recovery of Connaught to Her Majesty's obedience. If there be any default in the conditions he has concluded, states that he had to deal with "a most obstinate people, proud and subtle, and so combined with the north that what I did upon the one, either by force or policy, I found the encounter of both." His small means and great miseries. Has exacted the best pledges from all who submitted.

The articles postilled to O'Rourke. It will appear that, absolutely, by Her Majesty's authority, he has only passed unto O'Rourke his country, yielding the rent before imposed in the time of Sir Richard Bingham, and also yielding a rising out of footmen and horsemen to serve Her Majesty, when they shall be called upon. Refers the rest of O'Rourke's demands to the consideration of the Privy Council, but, in respect that O'Rourke is "as proud, as

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subtle, and as dangerous, as any man this day in action (except Tyrone)," thinks it fit that he be "politiquely dealt withal." One thing in his demands is "to be stuck upon," viz., the 25 horsemen in pay during his life. Has referred him to Her Majesty, and wishes this answer returned to him, that his pardon and the grant of his country was a princely recompense for his submission and promise of obedience; but if he performed as promised, that he would find Her Majesty his most gracious sovereign; Sir Conyers to advertise accordingly from time to time of O'Rourke's proceedings. It will be most expedient also that the Privy Council specify that there is order sent to the Lords Justices and Council for the passing of his patent, which is the principal thing he desireth. Has instructed Sir Calisthenes Brooke fully to deliver his opinion as to the other demands.

The reason Sir Conyers gives his particular opinion is, that he knows few men in Ireland thought it possible to draw O'Rourke from this northern faction, and nothing whatsoever amazeth them so much. Great good will be done for Her Majesty if O'Rourke continue loyal and willing to serve upon them; he is so much beloved, and so linked to many of them, that Sir Conyers, with the 1,200 men he demands, will do more service with them in three months than he would with 2,300 in a year. Has but twelve companies at present, and desires no more. Trusts ere it be long to do good service.

Requests that the general submission of the people of the whole Province may be taken notice of, and especially that Tibbott Ne Longe be "nominated," for he is a chief man, and able to do much good for Her Majesty. Great benefit may be had for a few good words.

Desires early payment of such moneys as he has disbursed from his private purse for the necessary relief of the army, which otherwise could not have stood. Besides, to work factions amongst the rebels, he has been put to do it upon his own purse, never receiving one penny of Her Majesty's treasure towards the same. "And when the like is undertaken again by a man of no more estate than myself, he will find what the burden hath been."

Begs to have the prosecution of O'Donnell entrusted wholly to him, for the factions that are made against O'Donnell have been wrought by him, and he trusts no man shall make a better end for Her Majesty's honour and the quieting of all these places. No part of Ireland lies so fit to offend O'Donnell as Connaught, where all the people hate him most of any man living. "And by the ways I have taken and will take, it shall not be long after I receive Her Majesty's pleasure, before I put them in blood one upon the other, which is not only, my Lord, a present benefit, considering this time, but it will for many years keep them in hatred, and hereof great benefit will be unto Her Majesty." Commends all his endeavours to Burghley's favourable construction.—Athlone, 1598, April 24. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2½.*

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 April 25. 23. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers to his
 Athlone. general despatch with enclosures (*several of which are wanting*). Desires Sir Robert to make a favourable exposition of his endeavours to the Queen. If he has not fully discharged his duty, will amend the same, upon knowledge of Her Majesty's pleasure. "For I assure myself the people, with whom I have dealt, will in all things satisfy Her Majesty's commandments; yet are they as proud a people as any this day in this kingdom, and, in my knowledge, as strong of mischief men (*sic*) as any other Province in Ireland." Begs to have the concluding with O'Donnell, who has by all traitorly means sought to prevent him in these services, and is the proudest rebel this day amongst them all. Before the coming of Sir Conyers, he had made himself lord of the whole of Connaught. Trusts his declarations will show that he has met with O'Donnell, as far as his means, authority, or time would permit. Has overslipped no opportunity, either to spare his estate or his travail, whereby he has spent much of his poor means, and gone far in debt. Craves repayment. Sir Calisthenes [Brooke], whom Sir Robert wished to spend some time in these wars, and with Sir Conyers, has so well behaved himself, that he is fit for any preferment in Ireland or elsewhere. Has seen Sir Robert's affection for Sir Calisthenes, and therefore will not presume to write more of him; he knows as much of these services as Sir Conyers himself.—Athlone, 1598, April 25. *Holograph. pp. 2.*
- April. 24. "Platt" of the fort of Dungannon. *Endorsed:—1598, April. One large sheet.*
- [April.] 25. Rough memoranda in Sir Robert Cecil's hand, with reference to the demands of Sir Conyers Clifford. The army in Ireland to be 6,000. Supplies to be sent.—[1598, April.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert:—"Tuesday at Greenwich. The Lords' Resolution." p. 1.*
- May 4. 26. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of
 Dublin. Ormonde, and the Council, to the Privy Council. Could not answer their Lordships' letters of the 20th of March till now, owing to the absence of Ormonde in Munster and Leinster. He returned yesterday, and they, having considered the letters in the packet, and principally Her Majesty's of the 17th of March, are thoroughly grieved with the heavy impressions possessed by Her Majesty against them, and their endeavours in "this most unhappy Government" [*the "un" is interlineated*]; but have comfort in the honourable mediation of their Lordships, and in the rare and excellent manner used by Her Majesty, not to measure the services of her Ministers by the event of things, but according to the faithfulness and innocency of their hearts. The heavy opinion of Her Majesty is grounded upon sinister and secret informations, tending to tax them with some disorders in the Government, against which, though they have striven to their uttermost strength, yet, through the rage and iniquity of the time, contrary events have sometimes ensued, which it was not in their power to prevent. Nevertheless, will not fail hereafter to use all care and diligence to answer Her

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Majesty's service, so far as the distemperatures of this time, amongst so treasonable [a] people, will suffer them. Touching a note which Her Majesty makes in the forefront of her letter, as though there were division amongst them, it is no small grief to them that, through some deep malice, they should be so dangerously prejudiced in her opinion, there having been never so much as a show of disagreement amongst them. And though, through the division of the time, most parts of the realm stand divided and distracted, yet they have been careful amongst themselves to hold firm unity and agreement, the better to take away all occasions of inconveniences that might rise out of their disagreements.

Many of the parts of their Lordships letter of the 20th of March are answered by their last general despatch of the 19th of April, but they will run over the most material points again. The issue of the 14,000*l.* sent about Christmas last, was fully declared in their letter of the 20th of January, which they doubt not has long since come to their Lordships' hands. In every despatch since the arrival of the treasure, they have stated how it was used. Besides, the Treasurer has sent Burghley particular certificates of the issuing and remain of every treasure sent from England. In their despatch of the 19th of April was also sent an estate of the whole army, with the checks imposed for the last half year ended 30th September last.

The information to the Privy Council by Molyneux, the Victualler's agent, that the prices of victuals in England, joined with the charges of transportation, greatly exceeded the prices in Ireland. Provisions to be sent from Chester for divers places in Ireland. None arrived as yet, whereat they marvel, considering how long the wind has hung favourably. It will be hard to set down the precise numbers of the garrisons at Newry, Carriekfergus, Dundalk, and Cavan, seeing they are often increased and diminished, as the occasions of service and want of victuals require; yet there are great numbers of soldiers in all those places, because of their importance. It were convenient that each of them were furnished with six months' victuals. Have received a schedule of the grain sent by their Lordships for several places in Ireland. When it arrives, Ormonde will take the best order he can for disposing of it, according to their Lordships' directions. Its arrival to be hastened.

Former certificates of the numbers of men in pay, and how they were bestowed. No pay is made, except on the Commissary's certificate of his personal view of the men; so, if the officer do his duty, Her Majesty cannot be charged with the pay of men who are not extant, or not sufficient. Sir Ralph Lane promises to be more careful and diligent in the execution of his charge hereafter. Will not fail to call upon him from time to time, till they see some better reformation, whereof they hope well in him. William Paule was restored to his former place as Commissary because, although justly detected and punished, yet, on his submission and confession, and promise of better service, the Lord Lieutenant, having received letters on his behalf from England, was willing to make trial of him

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again. Ere it be long, their Lordships shall receive a certificate of the checks grown during the last half year, together with a particular state of the army, subscribed by Sir Ralph Lane.

“Where your Lordships do press still some account to be made what hath become of the bodies, armour, and weapon[s] of 7,466 persons, sent hither of late out of England, besides other companies raised here, which was before we, the Lords Justices and the Lord Lieutenant, entered into charge, wherein your Lordships think us to have greatly overshot ourselves, being Councillors, to suffer such disorders to have passed without seeking reformation, and that we ought to have pressed Sir Ralph Lane to have made account for the time of his service; by a late letter writt'n from us, of the 27th of February, we have at large made answer to these points, humbly beseeching your Lordships to accept thereof, as being grounded upon truth, without any colourable disguising. And albeit we did often urge reformation of this disorder at the hands of the then Lord Deputy and General Norreys, yet it was without fruit, considering that they, being superior Commanders, assumed to themselves all dealings with the army and martial causes, without communicating their doings to any of us, though we oftentimes commanded the same; and most of us were then excluded out of the Council of Wars, and yet we did not stick to admonish them both, that a strait account of these matters would be required at their hands, the rather for that they were not ignorant that many of the captains did not only change their men from English to Irish, but suffered many of the English to return home, retaining with themselves their arms, which was an abuse over-frequent in those times; but we could not do withal.”

Ask for good quantities of armour and weapons, especially of morions and swords. By the death and running away of soldiers, and by their selling and embezzling their arms, as well to the rebels as to the country people, and through weapons being broken, lost, and consumed, there cannot but be a great want of the same. Supplies are urgently required.

The companies from Picardy, including the sick, numbered on muster only 612 persons. Some were sent to lie on the borders of Leinster, and the rest dispersed to requisite places.

The Privy Council find by their former certificate that three parts of the whole army in Ireland are Irish, and would know their opinion how the same might be discharged in some measure, without diversion to the rebel. “We are sorry to see such an alteration of the army into Irish (though happened before our time), a matter very dangerous for the service and us that live here in the hazard; and particularly to me the Lord Lieutenant General, that am to be with them in the action of service. But how they may be changed, without a further danger to run to the rebel, we know no better way than, after the bands shall be made up with English to be sent out of England, most of the Irish, to be drawn under the leading of some commander, whom they will trust, may by him be led into the Low Countries or France, whereby this realm may be rid of them, which will be the convenientest way to shift them out of this

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kingdom, if Her Majesty shall have cause to use the service of so many in foreign places; and yet we think it will be very difficult to have this performed, specially for any great numbers of them."

Certificate of the distribution of the apparel to the companies sent over by Hassall, one of the merchants, whom they have just dispatched to England. The whole has been distributed. Method thereof. Will be careful that the due defalcations are made. Enclose certificate of captains absent in England. Think it meet they were returned to their charge. If any exceed the time for which they were licensed, they shall be checked as they deserve. Promise with all convenient speed a certificate of the distribution of the 12,000*l.* sent a fortnight ago. This will be devoted to the lendings for March and April. Further supply of money wanted out of hand, to pay the lendings, and to answer all other occasions of service. Pray their Lordships to remember some proportion of money to defray the diet of soldiers in the towns and country, as often desired in former despatches, "by want whereof, the English Pale, alleging their poverty, do utterly deny to furnish the soldiers with any more victuals; which is a cause to drive the garrisons," placed by the Lord Lieutenant upon the borders, to oppress the country.

The munition written for has not yet arrived. Pray that it may be hastened away with all possible speed, "for that, in our opinions, there was never kingdom, having so many great occasions to use powder and other munitions, that had so extreme wants thereof, as this kingdom hath," nothing remaining in the store, and all the port towns in the realm unable to furnish them with any proportion. These wants, being known as well to the rebels as to themselves, are a great cause to give them heart in their rebellion. Would be glad to know what course they are to hold touching the defalcations for munition, as it will be hard to strain the soldier to answer his wonted price for his powder, since so much of his pay runneth up in his lendings and apparel. Besides, by a letter written over in the time of Lord Burgh's government, the summer suit of apparel was ordered to be stayed for the arms and munition received by the soldier, whereof the culiver alone cometh to 23*s.*

Send copies of letters between Ormonde and Tyrone, whereby their Lordships may see how Tyrone runs on in his wonted course of shifts and delays. Are driven by their wants to use a manner of temporising with him, according to the time concluded in the last treaty, contrary to their will. Understands he labours still to combine himself strongly with the Irish. Such as he holds doubtful in Ulster, viz., Maguire, Sir Arthur O'Neill, Tirlogh M'Henry, Ever Roe M'Cooley, Sir John O'Dogherty, and some of Con O'Donnell's sons, "all being very chief and principal persons," he takes in hand, till he can exact good conditions of assurance from them. Others, in Leinster specially, and in other parts of Ireland, he labours by his instruments to win, under large offers and promises that he will see them restored to their ancient Irish and abolished titles. Thus he has seduced many of the Kavanaghs, and others in Low Leinster, against whom Ormonde has employed

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part of Her Majesty's forces, and still continues to do so. Besides Tyrone's expectation of Spaniards very shortly, he dependeth confidently upon a succour of 3,000 or 4,000 Scots. Are also credibly advertised that he has received of late, by certain Scottish boats, great quantities of powder and munition, sent from Glasgow; whether underhand, or by the King's authority, is not stated. To cut off these helps of Scotland from him, it were good that two pinnaces were employed all this summer upon those seas between Scotland and Ulster. Otherwise, there is no means to impeach their course of access, or to keep their galleys in awe. Have often written to their Lordships touching Tyrone's intelligence with Scotland. The probability thereof is daily more and more apparent. Suggest that Her Majesty's Ambassador in Edinburgh be instructed to inquire into the truth of the same.

Have given order for the general hosting to begin on June 6. Albeit they look for no great strength of men, or other helps, the realm being so poor and backward, yet they thought not amiss, for order's sake, to continue it, according to ancient usage. "In the execution whereof, we will be as careful as we can to keep the country from unnecessary burthens, and preserve the subjects from extortion of the soldiers, who, through the impunity of former times, have grown very licentious." Have been careful to correct those faults; the Lords Justices, by imprisonment and restitution; Ormonde, by death and otherwise; as their Lordships may see by a note enclosed herewith. These exemplary punishments have done much ever since to stay the violence of the soldiers, and to satisfy the good subjects.

If Her Majesty will go through with a prosecution against the northern rebels, it is most requisite that a special force of 1,000 foot and 100 horse be sent out of England by sea, directly to Lough Foyle, to lie there in garrison, with victuals and all other necessities for six or eight months. Such a garrison, well led by captains worthy for skill and valour, and with a superior Commander over them, who knew how to direct the service, and who would keep the companies in discipline, could not but greatly advantage the prosecution against both Tyrone and O'Donnell, if Her Majesty will pull them down by force. "We do all concur in this plot, and particularly I, the Lord Lieutenant-General, do think it most requisite, and do humbly wish that it may be performed."

Send certificate of the issue of munition during the half year ending September 30, 1597.—Dublin, 1598, May 4. *Signed.* pp. 7. *Inclose,*

26. I. "*The names of such Captains as be absent from their charge in England.*"—[1598, May.] p. 1.

26. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Ormonde. The Governor of the Blackwater has knowledge of no longer truce than until the 4th of May. It rests with Ormonde to prolong the same for six weeks and ten days, from Easter Day last. Prays to know*

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his Lordship's resolution seven days before the 4th of May. Also, that he would send his direction to the Governor of Carrickfergus, and to all other garrisons, that no hurt may be done by them during the truce.—Dungannon, 1598, April 19. Copy. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

26. III. The Earl of Ormonde to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. His letter of the 19th April received on the 27th. The truce taken on the 18th of March last was to continue until the 4th of May, and seven days after. Before the expiration of that time, Tyrone shall hear further. Has written to the garrisons bordering upon the north. Purposes to repair presently to these borders.—Kilkenny, 1598, April 29. Copy. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

26. IV. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Ormonde. Whereas his Lordship charges him with a breach of truce committed upon Sir Edmund Butler and others by some of Donnell Spainagh's retinue, will fulfil his promise towards those men, by leaving them to themselves, if they have without just occasion broken the truce. Craves his Lordship to bear with him, until he hears from them. As for the apprehension of Ormonde's nephew, and the prey taken by Brian Reogh, has urgently written to Brian for the nephew's enlargement. Not knowing what provoked Brian to take the prey, cannot, until he hears from him, fitly resolve his Lordship until their meeting, when the matter shall be reasonably decided. His letter of 19th April as to the extension of the truce. The hard dealing of the Blackwater garrison in taking from him some few cows, in place of the beeves that were "unpaid" of the number he promised long since.—Strabane, 1598, April 28. Copy. p. 1.

26. V. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the Council, to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Agree to the extension of the truce for six weeks and ten days, beginning from Easter Day last. Are sending to the garrisons to forbear arms accordingly. "Where you desire to have a meeting with me, the Lord Lieutenant, we all are of opinion that it is not fit there should be any more meeting, unless you do think better of your duty and obedience, in yielding to the articles so mercifully prescribed to you by Her Majesty, wherewith you were made acquainted; to which for the most part you have subscribed, and afterwards most undutifully and unadvisedly fell from the same. Wherein we require you to certify us your final resolution with all convenient speed."—Dublin, 1598, May 4. Copy. p. 1.

26. VI. "A note of the names of such persons as were condemned by Adam Loftus, Judge of the Martial Court, since the government of the Right Honourable the Earl of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant General of Her Majesty's army." The names are seventeen in number, beginning with that of "David Rawly." Endorsed:—"The names of certain soldiers, executed by order from the Lord Lieutenant, for robberies, and extorting the subjects without warrant." [1598, May.] p. 1.

26. VII. Certificate of munition issued between 1st April and 30th September, 1597. Signed by Sir George Bouchier.—1598, May 4. One sheet.

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1598.
May 7.
Whitehall.

27. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the rest of the Council. Concerning the claim to the seignory of Tarbert made by Justice Goold of Munster, to whom all interest therein was assigned by Sir John Hollis, son and heir of Denzil Hollis, who deceased before his patent passed. Recommendation of Justice Goold. The seignory not to be passed to any one until Her Majesty's further pleasure be known.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, May 7. *Endorsed*:—"For Sir Geoffrey Fenton." [See No. 79, March 8, above.] *Copy. p. 1.*

May 7.
Dublin.

28. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Received, two days past, from an Irishman dwelling in Ayr, that the King of Scots had made a proclamation of late, restraining from Tyrone all aids of men, munition, and victuals. Although the penalties were severe, yet this day he hears from Tyrconnell that certain Scottish boats have, since the last parley with Tyrone, brought into Lough Foyle great quantities of powder and other provisions for him and O'Donnell. Knows not whether they were sent by the Earl Huntly, or by some others of that faction, or were permitted underhand by the King's authority. But, considering the King's former favourable dealings with Tyrone, cannot but think that the King is a secret supporter of these Irish rebels, notwithstanding his proclamation, and many other fair shows made to the contrary. Urges the use of the Queen's Ambassador in Edinburgh, to discern the certainty of the King's dealings. Is still of mind, that the only way to cross all secret succours from Scotland, is to have two of Her Majesty's pinnaces of war lying in the northern seas. Assures himself the rebels will receive many helps of men and munition, if they be not stopped by that course. Finds that Tyrone, being promised money from Spain, makes his project with that money to wage men out of Scotland, and to be furnished with powder and other necessities for his rebellion.

If it will please Her Majesty to enter into a resolute prosecution against this cankered rebel Tyrone, now is the opportunity to undertake it. By reason of his late tyrannous dealings with the uriaights and other chieftains, whom he has taken in hand and holds in straight prison, many of the Irish are fallen from him in heart, and would no doubt turn against him, if they might once see Her Majesty strong in the field, and determined to proceed thoroughly against him. Otherwise, howsoever they may have good wills, yet they dare not show themselves apparently till they see how they may be defended by Her Majesty. "Without a strong faction to be raised amongst themselves, it will be a chargeable work to suppress them." Makes bold to say "that it will trouble the greatest captain in Europe to prevail against these rebels, so borne up by foreign princes, without working some of them to Her Majesty's part, and to serve against them." But, however Her Majesty resolves to have them taken down by force, wishes "there were a present course taken to set this government in the hands of a sufficient Deputy, thoroughly enabled to manage the prosecution, and, by reducing the whole charge into one, man's

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hands, to cease thereby this divided authority in the government, which is carried now in a twofold manner, namely, some authorised for the civil affairs, and another to command over the martial services; which division of the authority in this broken time cannot be so safe for Her Majesty, by reason it doth in some sort divide and distract men's affections, as it would be, if the whole were settled under one man's rule. I am bold to give your Honour this note, out of my experience and observation of things here, and were it not to your Honour, and that I see how many inconveniences may dangerously increase by these several authorities in government, if they should continue, I should not dare to deal so liberally in this point, knowing how much it would draw me into envy here, if I should be discovered in this advice, humbly beseeching you, therefore, that I may be secreted therein."—Dublin, 1598, May 7. *Signed. pp 2.*

May 7.

29. Sir Edward Fitton to Sir Robert Cecil. Burghley's kindness in nominating him to the Treasurership of Ireland, now that Sir Henry Wallop is coming thence. Desires he may have it with as good conditions as any. Holds himself as able to serve as any that have been before him. Respects his credit before any worldly thing. Sir John Stanhope, his singular friend, will acquaint Sir Robert with the state of this cause. Must await a time to acquaint Sir Robert with the condition of his niece, the Countess. Has told Burghley. If Sir Robert assists her not, it will be the worse.—1598, May 7. *Holograph. p. 1.*

May 8.
Dublin.

30. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Refer to their despatch of April 21. Forbore to make any "divident" of the 12,000*l.* lately arrived from England, until the return of Ormonde to Dublin on May 3. Have assigned two months' lendings to the whole army, and are now dispatching away the several paymasters for Ulster, Connaught, and Carrickfergus. The Treasurer will then send a particular and perfect certificate with all convenient speed. When they came to the signing of the warrants for the paymasters, Ormonde refused to add his signature, alleging that in the late directions he was not appointed thereunto. So, considering the present necessity of the army, they have subscribed by themselves. Having already dispatched the paymasters "for the foreign parts," they are now in hand with the paymaster of Dublin for Leinster. Enclose a brief of the reduction of certain weak bands. None of the munition has yet arrived from Chester.—Dublin, 1598, May 8. *Signed. pp. 2. Inclose,*

30. 1. "*Companies reduced to fewer numbers, as hereafter particularly ensueth.*" *Twenty companies are mentioned.*—1598, May 8. *One sheet.*

May [8.]

31. "A note of Captains of horse and foot discharged by the Lord Lieutenant." *Endorsed:—*1598, May [8]. *p. 1.*

May 9.

32. Captain John Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. Has been for three years a suitor to Her Majesty for the arrearages of pay due

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to his brother Captain George Bingham, who was murdered in Sligo Castle. In summer he has applied himself to the wars; in winter he has bestowed his time, travail, and expense on this matter. Became of late one of the Irish petitioners to Her Majesty, and, understanding that she has given order for their dispatch, thought it his duty to acquaint Sir Robert with his suit. His right as good as any man's, as well in regard of his dead brother, whose life was spent in Her Majesty's service, as in regard of himself, who has followed the wars in the Low Countries, Ireland, "Cales" [Cadiz], and France, and who is now without any manner of entertainment. Would be glad to attend on Sir Robert. Has studied in the University and Inns of Court. *Endorsed*:—1598, May 9. *Holograph*. p. 1.

May 11.
Dublin.

33. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Required by the Lords Justices to deliver in a certificate to them of the whole charge of the army for the two half years, 1st April to 30th September 1597, and 1st October 1597, to 31st March 1598. The charge of the musters and check was, during the first of these, committed principally to Maurice Kyffin, and, during the second, absolutely to himself. The charge during the first was 68,304*l.* sterling, and the checks, as collected by Hugh Tudor, Kyffin's servant, amounted to 10,000*l.* sterling, "and odd money." Out of this latter sum, 1,500*l.* should have gone to Sir Ralph's credit. During the second half year, the charge was 68,379*l.* sterling, and the checks amounted to above 10,500*l.* sterling. The benefit to Her Majesty of commissaries and monthly musters, for which he had often earnestly petitioned, is thus very apparent.

Might have sent by this packet the book of Her Majesty's charge for the last half year, had the Lords Justices and the Lord Lieutenant General agreed touching the reducement of certain companies of foot from hundreds to fifties. Nevertheless the book cannot be deferred beyond six days. Defends himself against the charge of slackness in his office. His thankfulness for Burghley's mediation. Beseeches his Lordship to finish this good work towards him, who is not only oppressed, but also almost suppressed, by wrongful informations to Her Majesty against him. Desires restoration to his place on the Council, assigned to him in the beginning of Sir William Russell's government. "And, albeit neither in this time, nor in my Lord Burgh's government, I either stand, or ever stood, discharged in any sort from it, nevertheless I have, since Her Majesty's disgrace, in the beginning of his time made known here, voluntarily withdrawn myself from the Board, having also, in the same time of my great abasement by some at that Board, been piqued with a poor yet spiteful exception to the bareness of the letters for my Councillorship, for that in the same were set down no words for the swearing of me, therefore my Councillorship to have been but temporary, and to have expired with the departure of Sir William Russell, to whom the said letters were directed. Whereunto, in this long time of Her Majesty's disgrace, though the same by unjust informations was most undeservedly inflicted upon me,

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I would never oppose myself by any contradiction. But now, my most especial good Lord, the justice of my cause appearing to the world, and no ambition, but an honest detestation of the shame, to be by emulation shouldered out of a place that by so honourable favour was given me, from the which I never deserved, otherwise than by wrongful informations, to be disgraded, enforceth me to be a most humble suitor unto your Lordship for my re-settling again in the same." His loyal zeal for Her Majesty's service.

Urges the ordering of the horse and foot bands "in a course fit for this time, to fight with a rebel now by time armed with order, and, by many late blows given unto us, grown both armed with arms, with pride and valour; whereof Her Majesty's greatest forces may find the proof, whensoever the same shall be enforced in his own strength and fastness to seek him." Desires leave for his nephew, Robert Lane the elder, to attend upon Burghley in his behalf, as occasion may serve.—Dublin, 1598, May 11. *Signed.* pp. 3.

May 13.
Inny Bridge.

34. Sir Edward York to Sir Robert Cecil. For the payment of the arrears due to him for his service in Ireland. Necessity constrains him. His service unto Her Majesty has been honest, without bribing, or deceiving of her, and painful. Has served these thirty years as a soldier and commander, and these nine years as her sworn servant. None has gained less by the wars than he has done, for, where he spent in every journey seven or eight score pounds, being Lieutenant-General of the horse, contenting himself with 20s. *per diem*, and receiving ever a month's imprest beforehand for the better furnishing of him, when Lord Burgh came, he was allowed but 10s. *per diem*, and so forced to give over the place. Could never get his warrant to the Treasurer paid. Is worse, by his service in Ireland, by four hundred pounds, than when he went over with Sir William Russell. If Sir Robert finds that he dissembles, let him never be trusted again.—Innie Brydge, May 13. *Endorsed*:—1598, *Holograph.* p. 1.

May 13.

35. "Wood's note for the victualling of 4,000 soldiers in Ireland." *Endorsed*:—1598, May 13. p. 1.

May 15.
Dublin.

36. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. For the passing to him of the seignory of Tarbert, part of the escheated lands in Munster. It is ungranted to any other; the matter is just, and the suit ordinary and prejudicing no person. The seignory was meant for him at the first setting down of the establishment for Munster, but he was injuriously prevented by Sir Valentine Browne, who was then of the quorum in that Commission, and who allotted it to Mr. Hollis. The latter never sued out his letters patent, but passed over his interest, for two or three horses of small value, to one James Goold, a mere Irishman, and thereby incapable thereof, by the words of the establishment, which exclude all men except mere Englishmen. Sir Henry Wallop is the only Commissioner opposed to him, and cares not who has the seignory, so that Sir Geoffrey does not. If made an undertaker, will be able, with the rest, to reform many disorders among them, which in truth have been overlong suffered.

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Finds that Tyrone depends much on the conclusion of the last great negotiation in France, and till he hear somewhat thereof, he "is in a staggering" what to resolve for his own affairs. Gives the names of the Commissioners for the disposing of the escheated lands in Munster.—Dublin, 1598, May 15. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 15.

37. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends three original Commissions (*wanting*); two of them directed to the late Lord Burgh and others of the Council for demising Her Majesty's lands, disposing of wards, and getting in Her debts; the third addressed to Sir Robert Gardener and others of the Council for passing grants of lands to the undertakers in Munster.

The first two can be returned when the Government is settled in the hands of a Deputy, "which assuredly is high time to be looked unto and performed." Prays that the third may be renewed, and his own name put in, it being some discredit to him that other Councillors of far less service and experience in the affairs of Munster should have special prenomination in that Commission, and he be utterly left out. Asks that the bearer be returned with all speed. *Unsigned and unaddressed, but endorsed:—*1598, May 15. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to my master." p. 1.

May 18.

38. "The humble requests of the Captains of Ireland" [to the Privy Council]. That Her Majesty's instructions for the weekly lendings and for the provant clothes may be observed, and that the soldier may be relieved in both in due time, "which hitherto having not been observed hath bred many inconveniences."

That their garrisons being far distant from Dublin, "and dangerous [in danger] therefore," the paymasters may bring the lendings to them "as by convoys they may," and that the Captains may not be forced to fetch the money with the number of eight soldiers, which is dangerous and exceeding chargeable.

That, upon the mustering of their companies, the Captains may not be forced to their oaths, but that their alterations may be referred to the clerk's oath, according to use; and that the Captains may not be subject to every Commissary, who understands not the course of war.

That the Commissaries of Musters may not be permitted in their own discretion to discharge any soldier without the privity of the Chief Commander or Captain of the company; for by that course the Captain is lightly regarded and the enemy strengthened.

That, in regard to the great dearth and misery of the country, "and that, of all other wars, the wars of Ireland are known to be the most toilsome," so many dead pays to a hundred may be allowed, as are allowed in all other Her Majesty's wars; whereby the Captain may be enabled to give entertainment to gentlemen, who are a great aid upon any occasion of service.

In these their humble requests they have no purpose to deceive Her Highness, but desire that the honest commander may be known from the bad and lewd, and that the misdemeanor of the latter may not breed impeachment or disgrace to the rest, but that the offender may be tried and publicly punished. Pray that such

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courses may be had with the army in Ireland, both in lendings and allowances for ordinary charge of arms and munition, as are had with her Captains and soldiers in all other wars or places of employment. "And the rather we beseech all these, because the war of Ireland is well known to be the most miserable war for travail, toil, and famine in the world."

Annexed to the foregoing is the following paper:—

"The enormities which are within these few years grown generally through the kingdom of Ireland, by not placing Her Majesty's forces in garrisons convenient for service, and where they might be easily relieved by sea; and [? by] the want of victuals, money, and munition, causes of the ruin of the army."

The army consists, by the view of list, of 76 companies of foot and 642 horse. The number is great, "and, in the judgment of good men of war, able to perform much in suppressing of the rebel Tyrone and his associates, considering how lightly both he and the Irish enemies is (*sic*) weighed by them unto whom they are unknown. We will now forbear to deliver our opinion of the sufficiency of the people in the use of their arms and otherwise; because, having been ourselves commanders against them, we may be thought to speak partially."

Great numbers of soldiers have been sent into Ireland, and landed for the most part at Dublin. It had been fitter for them to have been landed in places, whence they might have annoyed the rebels in the heart of their countries, as at Lough Foyle, the non-arrival of soldiers at which has much encouraged the rebels. The landing at Dublin is as chargeable as to any other port; besides, the inconveniences are much greater. The men are transported and landed without respect of their future victualling. The ensuing prejudice has mightily weakened the army and strengthened the enemy. [*Marginal note:—*"The supply in June 1597, and the success of my Lord Burgh's journey to the Blackwater, where there died of famine almost a 1,000 men."]

"Upon their landing at Dublin, if they be appointed into remote garrisons, their unaccustomed travel wearieth them, their change of diet and lodging weakeneth them; in their march they spoil and extort upon the country, and so being driven out of heart by their travel, they disperse and run away, they lose and make away their arms, and, within three months, you shall have most of the new companies ready to be spoiled with (*sic*) men and arms." If they were landed in places fit for service, and there fortified themselves, it would mightily discourage the enemy, and they never would or could so conveniently disperse and run away; and during the time of their strength and lustiness they would, with experienced commanders, annoy the enemy much, where now he rests and sleeps without fear.

Small care of victualling the inland garrisons. The Blackwater lost Enniskillen; Monaghan, Cavan; the forts in the King's and Queen's Counties like to be lost; Newry, "a principal mote in the rebel's eyes," not duly cared for, "considering that it is the only footing northward, and always the place of relief for the army."

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The want of money. The soldier wanting, spoils the country, and takes from one what should equally be divided amongst many. "By this course, and between the enemy and the soldier, the people of the country are spoiled, his [its] Lord is discontented, the churl and his family starveth, and his Lord revolteth unto the enemy; and nevertheless the soldier still wanteth."

Great abuse and extortion in the collecting of beeves in the country. "For the collector, under the colour of taking up the proportion of beeves for the soldiers' relief, taketh up much more than he is appointed, to his own use. The soldier is not in time relieved, the country and the poor people much oppressed." [*Marginal note*:—"The Collector of Meath extorted on the country, in anno 1596, 260*l*."]]

The soldier being commonly relieved by being cessed upon the towns, the burden is so great, and the poor inhabitants' means so small, that they abandon the towns, and draw to the enemy. [*Marginal note*:—"Namely, the Newry, Dundalk, Louth, Ardee, Kells, Athboy, and many others."] "So the towns, which have been long a populating, are now waxen waste, for the soldier payeth but 5*d*. *per diem* for his victuals, and the townsmen will willingly give him 8*d*. *per diem* to find himself; a great impoverishing unto the towns in this dear and miserable time."

The want of relief makes the soldier sell his arms and munition to feed himself, [*Marginal note*:—"A thing severely punished, yet daily used"], a wonderful strengthening to the enemy and a weakening to the army. It makes the soldier sickly, weak, and unfit for service, so he grows to be very chargeable and unprofitable.

"The charge which the soldier abideth, in paying for his arms and munition, is very burdensome unto him, because he knoweth it will be deducted out of his weekly lendings or out of his provant clothes. The inconvenience. It maketh him unwilling to burn powder, either (*sic*) delight to have good arms, because he by that means thinketh he should starve his belly or his back, both which are unpleasant; besides it maketh soldiers cowards." [*Marginal note*:—"A precedent. Sir John Chichester with his garrisons beaten; Captain Parsons beaten; Captain Hovenden, Captain James Butler, with others."]]

Non-observance of the instructions for weekly lendings, after they had continued for nearly eight weeks from 1st September 1597. The first payment of the soldiers, and the report of the continuance of it, encouraged the townspeople so much, that there was no town but made provision both by sea and land for the maintenance of the poor soldiers, hoping that the course of due payments would have been continued. But they, seeing the want afterwards, and the little care taken for the soldiers, desisted from their former intention and purpose. So the country being waste, and the towns not provided, the soldier buys his victuals at great and unreasonable rates, and is thus more impoverished and starved. The non-provision by the towns due to their fear of the soldiers being cessed upon them after the accustomed manner, "and it is long before they be paid any such debts."

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“Another great inconvenience there is, when any proportion of treasure is landed at Du^llin, the State will take deliberation and sit in Council, and thereby mightily impoverish, weaken, and discontent the army, before they be relieved. It also causeth the Captains and officers to be lodgers, beggars, and petitioners in Dublin for means for themselves and soldiers, where it were more requisite we should attend our commands, both for the advancing of the service, and the keeping of the soldiers in obedience.

“The order taken for the furnishing of the army with provant clothes was done with great judgment, and it is very honourable, if with pardon I may yield mine opinion, in lieu of the kersey stockings and the English shoes, they might be furnished with Irish frieze stockings and brogues, and each soldier a mantle. [*Marginal note* :—“An equal charge and far better for the soldier.”] The mantle is the soldier’s best bed, and his only relief on his watch and ward in cold and wet weather, in sickness and in health; and, howsoever, it is the best garment an Irish soldier can have. Daily experience hath taught us the use and good of it.”

The course taken by the Commissioners with them for the view and mustering of their companies is very severe. [*Marginal note* :—“Used by Mr. Kyffin, and other courses held, not agreeable to reason, since his death.”] Hope it is not Her Highness’s pleasure that any indirect or extraordinary course should be used, as to check by discretion, without taking the muster of any company. The mustering of a company upon a march, or upon the dissolving of the camp, or removing of garrisons, not regarding the accidental causes of the weakness of a company by sickness or by fight, but taking the Captains upon advantage, without any liberty for the reinforcing of their companies, or respect to the extraordinary charge which Captains are at by sick, hurt, and loss of men and arms, is “a thing not usual in any war but here.”

Pray that, in addition to the lendings and provant clothes, they may receive allowances for the maintenance of their arms, as is ordained in other Her Majesty’s occasions of war.

Their complaints are not tendered without just cause. “It is well known, and of truth to be avouched, that there have been divers garrisons in many places of Ireland, which have lived without the taste of bread or drink, but with relief only of beef-water, some the space of six months, some eight, some more. Further, we are forced to pay unto Her Majesty after the rate of 20s. a beef, where the soldier heretofore never paid above 15s. And, where Her Majesty alloweth each soldier 24 ounces of bread *per diem* for penny halfpenny, the rates of corn are such in Ireland, Her Majesty’s store being expended and issued, and the soldier by his lendings of 3s. a week put to find himself, that not many days before I departed Ireland, there was sold unto the soldier, in the garrison of Dundalk, bread after the rate of 6 ounces for a penny; and whether this dearth and misery, with many other extraordinary accidental causes by sickness, fight, [and] runaways, be not a means to weaken the strength of the English, which have not been usually

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accustomed to feel the burthen of so intolerable want, I leave to the opinion of your grave judgments.

“All these things being by your singular uprightness considered, and the soldier of Ireland having often felt and abidden this penury and misery both in his travel, want of victuals, and other necessities, and yet without intention of mutiny either (*sic*) show of undutiful meaning, but with his continual obedience and discharge of his duty, I hope my delivery in their behalf, of their grievances past and the inconveniences which are like to ensue, shall without offence be protected, under the favour of your grave and honourable censures.” *Endorsed* :—1598, May 18. *Unsigned*. pp. 44. [From the handwriting of the word “grave,” interlineated at the close of the last paragraph but one, it seems probable that the officer in question was Sir Calisthenes Brooke.]

May 20.
Cornehorne.

39. Brian Reogh O'More to Teig M'Mortogh and Lysagh Oge and their followers. Has killed the Treasurer's band that lay at Enniscorthy, and two of the Brittany bands, and 120 of the county of Wexford. Richard Masterson is hurt, and two of the Murphys [“Morffyes”]. Has taken two drums and an ensign; the rest were carried away by the horsemen. For the prey taken from Thomas Grace, they are presently to restore it, for the cows are the Earl of Ormonde's, “and let us not make him set upon us again.” Ormonde has promised to do them great good, “therefore let us not have his Honour's displeasure, but let us spare him and all his followers; and if any man refuse to deliver the prey, take him in hand till I deliver him to my Lord of Ormonde. If I hear no other news that I sent about, I will be with you within these two days.”—Cornehorne, 1598, May 20. *Certified copy*. p. 1.

May 20.
Dublin.

40. Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil. “I purposed to advertise you of all the proceedings in this last treaty with Tyrone, but hearing that your Honour was not returned out of France, and knowing that the Bishop of Meath hath truly observed and faithfully reported the same to your honourable father, I shall not need to trouble you with it. Upon the examination of the circumstances, your Honour may find my old opinion fully confirmed touching the Earl's credit with the rebels of Leinster, his extreme pride, the discipline, courage, and arms of the Irishry, and the necessity of a present sharp war, without which it will be impossible to reclaim him. We have found by many lamentable experiences that this war must not be made by general hostings and manifold protections, which have impoverished, and almost devoured, a great part of the kingdom; but the prosecution must be by strong garrisons eating upon the enemy, and keeping him occupied in his own country, whilst the poor subject may gather heart, and grow in wealth, to maintain the soldier in time of need. If Her Majesty may be pleased to send a convenient number to Lough Foyle, they may be so placed as, with the help of Sir Conyers Clifford and the well ordering of the garrisons upon the frontiers, the rebellion in Ulster would undoubtedly have a speedy end; which by this temporising course

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doth increase daily, and, reaching into the Provinces yet in quiet, will at last draw the whole Irishry into open action of rebellion. It is very apparent that the combination is almost general, and therefore the root must be cut up in time, that the branches spread no farther. And at this time I am persuaded it is more easy than before, through the late tyranny of Tyrone, who, contrary to his oath and all ancient custom, hath taken as many in hand as might hinder his greatness. But his unnatural policy, by God's just judgment, turneth to his own hurt, making many jealous of their lives and liberties, who, joining with Her Majesty's forces, would prove fit instruments of his utter ruin. Herein if your Honour shall be pleased to speak with Captain Stafford, you shall find him a gentleman of good understanding, and best acquainted with the factions and service of Ulster.

"The course of late holden with the rebels of Leinster, and specially with Phelim McFeagh (besides the dishonour to Her Majesty) will prove a very dangerous precedent for the time to come, and very available for the rest of the rebels, who, committing the like offences, will stand upon the same terms, and not be satisfied with meaner conditions; so as by this example Her Majesty must be forced, not only to pardon, but to reward rebellion. I conceive that Feagh McHugh's country is given to his son Phelim, that Rose O'Tcole's bonds are promised to be cancelled, that the fort of Rathdrum shall be delivered, and that he hath a pardon for himself and almost five hundred besides, whereas his father, in his greatest pride, did never demand pardon nor protection for more than six score; and this is granted without any other assurance of his loyalty than a bare promise of a pledge not worth the accepting; which how it may stand with the honour of Her Majesty or any sound policy, I cannot see. Sure I am it giveth him a perpetual dependency of as many as are within his pardon, and thereby a name and credit of greatness which before he had not. It giveth him a liberty to grow in wealth and people, and ministereth means of harbour and relief to the Kavanaghs and the rest of the adjoining rebels, all which, with the Moores, Connors, &c. will be ready to set an unquenchable fire in Leinster, whensoever it may most hurt, or best serve Tyrone's turn. In the meantime he enjoyeth the name and privilege of a subject, and by the countenance thereof will work more mischief than by open action he can be able; the event whereof I leave to your honourable judgment.

"Here is now an expectation of a Deputy, which for many respects (and chiefly for the better grace and countenance to the State, now almost in contempt) were very necessary; and yet I am persuaded that, for ending of this war, no man will be found more fit than the Earl of Ormonde, as well for his long experience of this country[s] service, and handling of the factions and partialities amongst the Irish, as for his inward and settled hatred against Tyrone for his treacherous and insolent behaviour at this last treaty, which (besides his duty to Her Majesty) he is bound by many respects of honour to revenge; and being in years, and greedy of glory, will use all possible means of expedition therein;

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whereas a new Deputy, of what sufficiency soever, coming to a State and time so troublesome, cannot so suddenly apprehend the right course of prosecution, but he must fall into many errors, which in a long time can hardly be reformed. This, under your honourable favour, is my poor opinion, which I speak not of affection to the Earl (being not so inward with his Lordship as in times past), nor in any sort beholden to him, I protest to God, but in duty to Her Majesty, and zeal of her service, which nevertheless I humbly submit to your great wisdom.

"I am sorry to hear that Her Majesty continueth her hard conceit of Sir Ralph Lane's negligence and insufficiency. At my first coming hither, the office was so intricate and confused through the contrary courses holden by Mr. Kyffin and him, as I could not well discern the faults, neither can I in all things justify either of them; but since Mr. Kyffin's death, I have better observed the proceedings therein, and do assure your Honour that Sir Ralph Lane hath been most diligent and careful in the execution of his office, and hath established so certain a course therein as no man shall be able to devise a better; which I suppose is confirmed by the testimony of the Lords Justices from hence. It will be hard for any man, without long practice and experience of the abuses, to redress them. Now he understandeth his office thoroughly, it will be against Her Majesty's profit to remove him, seeing he endeavoureth nothing else but to recover Her Highness's favour by an absolute discharge of his duty, without respect of any man's person, which I dare promise in his behalf even upon the uttermost peril of my credit, which I most esteem."—Dublin, 1598, May 20. *Endorsed*:—"Sir Ha. Bronckerd to my Master." *Unaddressed. Holograph. pp. 3.*

May 20.

41. "Memorial delivered by Sir Calisthenes Brooke," to the Privy Council. That their Lordships would come to a speedy resolution respecting Tibbott Ne Longe and O'Rourke, whose submissions and demands had been forwarded to them. Desire of Sir Conyers Clifford "that in policy there may be a letter written to him either from Her Sacred Majesty or the Honourable Lords of the Council, of Her Majesty's good acceptance of all the gentlemen of the Province, and to assure them of Her Majesty's mercy, that, so soon as peace shall be established, there shall be order taken to give them their lands which of right they possessed, without charge of law: O'Rourke specially mentioned, who is able to do Her Majesty great service." Sir Conyers also desires that there may be a stay made of the entertainments of those captains who have served in the Province, till it be known what they owe the poor people upon their tickets for feeding their companies, and that, when the same has been defalked, payment may be made.

"That it will please their Honourable Lordships to remember the submission Sir Conyers sent in his last despatch of the people of Tyrconnel, who are desirous to come under his government, as also to be informed that all the cattle and wealth of Connaught is in Tyrconnell, saving what the soldier hath eaten, which hath made the gentlemen in his Province by petition (which I have to show) desire

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him to make means for liberty to make war on O'Donnell and Maguire, that they may recover their own to feed themselves, and to inhabit and till their lands; which war, if it be committed to any other, on my knowledge Her Majesty for many years will lose the composition, and the country and people will be utterly starved and undone, having already eaten their garrans which should plough; and, at my coming away they lived on the ground, and ate dogs' flesh. Besides the Erne is so necessary to Connaught, as the joining of it to the Province excludes them from aid and hope of the northern rebels. It is the convenientest place of garrison to hold the people on both sides in obedience; a strait between those countries; and at all times, if all the kingdom were in rebellion, it may be victualled. This, and the people's wants and importunities, with the consideration of the petition they of Tyrconnell sent to him, and the punishment that O'Donnell hath inflicted upon some of them for his sake, enforceth him humbly to desire the prosecution. Withal he finds he may speedier, and with smaller charge to Her Majesty, undertake this action than any other. The reason he demandeth but 1,200 foot [and] 100 horse is, that the rising out of Connaught, and those gentlemen and their people that have lost and been deceived by O'Donnell, will double the number he desires of Her Majesty; and for the greediness of gains, as they for their ability are the ablest (*sic*) for that service, so will they speediest spoil the enemy. By granting him the managing of this action, Her Majesty shall be at charge, but with six companies foot, and 50 horse; for, under six companies and his 50 horse, he is not able to govern the Province and defend the frontier, till O'Donnell and Maguire be banished or have submitted.

"For Fermanagh, O'Rourke hath married Maguire's sister, who hath so great interest in him as divers times he sent to the Governor to receive him to Her Majesty's mercy; and now, notwithstanding that Tyrone hath imprisoned Maguire, his brother that holds Enniskillen is wholly at O'Rourke's will and counsel.

"The worthy Lord Deputy Burgh gave him commission for the prosecution of Tyrconnell, which is not yet re-called, and which he hopes Her Sacred Majesty will confirm; which he humbly desireth, that he may do her some acceptable service (which is his chiefest drift) and be revenged of some small loss which he sustained by O'Donnell in his journey to Ballyshannon by famine and want of munition, and to disprove those false suggestions that maliciously were bruited.

"Out of this a great good ariseth, for by bringing the Connaught people into Tyrconnell to spoil, it causeth the ancient emulations, besides one rebel shall kill another, without loss of subjects.

"And, in my poor opinion, it is a great thrift to Her Majesty, and ease to her grand army, that with six companies of foot and 50 horse, added to a like number, which the safety of the Province necessarily requires, the countries of O'Donnell and Maguire shall be invaded, and their people kept from joining with Tyrone against the Lord General, which in number, modestly spoken, are foot 1,200 and horse 200." *Endorsed*:—1598, May 20. p. 1.

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May 24.
Dundalk.

42. William Paule to Captain Henry Skipwith. Is sorry for his indisposition, but glad of his recovery. Change of station for his company. It has been reduced to fifty. Other officers and bands in the same predicament. Wishes Skipwith could increase his fifty to a hundred against the coming of the next supplies. More of Tirlogh's men are come in, with their creaghts. "Thomas Cheyney, the petty merchant, was yesternight almost killed by Phelomy Oge and his crew, hard by Ballymascanlan, the nursery of rebels and thieves. Garrett Moore played a villainous cowardly part with me on the way between Ballruddry and Swords, having nine or ten in his company, and I being alone, [on] the 9th of May. I got away with a broken pate, but it is whole again, though not disgested. The quarrel was for that I would not deny a letter written to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland concerning him and his brother Warren; which I preferred to justify as became a gentleman; but he durst not abide equal trial, but took the advantage. Within two days after, a kinsman of his was stabbed in Mellifont and murdered by a horse boy, and, the report goeth, by this Moore's procurement, for fear of revealing tales out of school."

On the 7th or 8th of May, the Earl of Tyrone being at the Bann, Cormack M'Baron received two letters at Dunluce, the one to himself, and the other to his brother Tyrone. Being asked, what news, and whence they came, he said from Captain Warren, and that they imported naught but wars. Heard from an honest man, who saw the letters, that they advertised the Earl to be upon his keeping, and to expect naught else but wars from England. "Hereupon ensued the proclamation by Tyrone that all men should stand upon their keeping; the creaghts were withdrawn from this side the Blackwater, but Thomas Williams met with some sixty by the way. Art M'Baron was sent for in post from the burial of his son, and left the corpse to be interred by callioes. The Earl promiseth hereupon 1,500 men in pay to James M'Sorley, and, as it is said, hath gotten Robin [Robert] Constable and young Banks into his custody. And all the inhabitants in the north cry out with open mouths, that neither Hovenden, Bedlowe, nor Weston, but Warren and Moore, betrayed Tirlogh M'Henry, Maguire, Sir John O'Dogherty, &c. Now the Earl, upon this caveat and advertisement from Warren, is gone further into the north, to confer with O'Donnell in Tyrconnell for resistance against Lough Foyle."

Skipwith's man, Morgan, has done what he could, but there is no money to be had at all. Expects to see Skipwith shortly.—Dundalk, 1598, May 24. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3.*

May 25.
Gray's Inn.

43. Sir Roger Wilbraham, Solicitor-General of Ireland, to Sir Robert Cecil. Has considered the papers in the suit of Donnell M'Carthy. Finds that all the parcels mentioned in the survey were assigned to the petitioner and his heirs by the Earl [of Clancarty] his father. The contents of the said parcels are seven quarters, "some quarters containing four ploughlands, some three ploughlands, and some five ploughlands, as the country manner is variable."

Recommends that M'Carthy be given an estate, to him and his heirs male, in the said seven quarters of land, lying in the remote parts

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of Kerry and Desmond; and, where the jury in the survey value each quarter to be 4s. Irish per annum, wishes the rent to be increased to 20s. Irish each quarter per annum, and also that composition be paid, and the charges of the Prince and country. Divers cautions to be inserted in the letters patent. Returns the papers (*wanting*) concerning the cause.—Gray's Inn, 1598, May 25. *Signed. p. 1.*

May 25. 44. Mr. Henry Malbie to Sir Robert Cecil. His miserable state. Is thoroughly humbled. Has great cause to say he has little favour; for he has served so long, and starved so often, and has engaged his friends, means, body, and blood to advance Her Highness's service and to maintain the favour of his country, and now, when he is not able to clothe or feed himself and his, is cast into disgrace without a hearing. Prays for relief. If he be unworthy of the liberty of his own country, begs that order may be taken for his poor wife and children out of the small means left to him; and that he may have leave to seek some more constancy and freedom in a meaner fortune in another land. *Endorsed:—1598, May 25. Holograph. p. 1.*

May 25. 45. "A note of O'Rourke's demands, 8th February, 1597[–8]." Apostilled by Sir Robert Cecil. [*Duplicate, with slight alterations, of No. 48 of February 8 above. See also Nos. 21. II., and 21. III. of April 24.] Endorsed:—1598, May 25. One sheet.*

May 27. 46. Richard Hadsor, "the Solicitor for Irish causes," to Sir London. Robert Cecil. Concerning the sureties of Philip O'Reilly. That a portion of the penalty be remitted, and that the residue be accepted in imprest bills and sufficient warrants, seeing that Her Majesty is entitled to the said Philip O'Reilly's lands, which are a great quantity, and that the said sureties delivered his eldest son into the Castle of Dublin. "And for your Honour's furtherance of this their suit, upon the affecting thereof, I will be ready to gratify you with forty pounds."—London, 1598, May 27. *Signed. p. 1.*

May 28. 47. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. Acknowledge their letters of the 4th of May, which have fully answered the Privy Council's letters of March 20. "We hope we have satisfied Her Majesty with your excuses for your defence against certain mislikings of Her Majesty, imparted unto you in general, for the evil success of things in that Government, contrary to her desire, and, as now it seemeth, without any evil desert of yours."

The issue of the 13,560*l.* sent to Ireland in November last. Small abatements made for victuals and checks. The deficiencies are, according to the late muster book, nearly 2,000, so the checks are far less than they ought to have been. No sum abated for the apparel. Insufficiency of the account in the muster book sent by Sir Ralph Lane and Kyffin's man, for the half year ended 30th September 1597. Desired to be certified if the victuals lately sent over have arrived. The further muster book promised by Sir Ralph Lane. Are sorry to perceive that for answer to the doubt

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conceived as to what had become of the armour of more than 7,400 persons sent out of England, they now write that the disorder and waste of the said armour and weapons happened in the time of former Governors, when they had no authority to reform the same. This may serve for some colour of defence, yet, they being Councillors of State, their excuse is not sufficient. Hope they will hereafter have better regard that the like error be not committed. Will, as requested, send over a supply of armour and weapons, especially of swords and morions; and wish straight order to be taken that the same be not aliened to the Irish, or otherwise negligently wasted. Confess that, at the making of the Ordinances, there was no way appointed for defalcation of the money due for munition issued. Have thought good, following somewhat the example of the late Lord Burgh, to spare so much of the value of the apparel as the munitions received by the particular soldiers amount to. Have done this for the summer apparel, so that where, by former order, every band should have had apparel to the value of 85*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*, the merchants are now to deliver them to the value of 58*l.* 4*s.*

“You make it doubtful how the multitude of the Irish entertained in bands may be changed, without danger to run to the rebel, adding your conceit that, after the bands might be made up with English, most of the Irish might be drawn under some commander to serve in the Low Countries or France. But we see not any opportunity how to effect the same; and therefore we know no better way presently than to have care taken there by the Commissaries and the Mustermaster that, as any of the Irish shall decay, or otherwise to (*sic*) relinquish service, their captains may be charged, upon great penalty, to receive no more of the Irish to supply those rooms, but, either to supply the same with such English as may be found there, or, rather than to supply them with Irish, to give knowledge hither unto us for the furnishing with some convenient numbers of those defects, which we will, upon knowledge and request from you, cause to be furnished.”

Like very well the distribution of the apparel, especially that none receive any, who have not continued three months in service. They mention no defalcation for the apparel. Like very well also that they mean to check all such as are absent from service in Ireland without license. Wish them to use therein all convenient severity. Marvel at their delay in issuing the last treasure sent to Ireland. Extraordinary sums expended, besides the due wages of the soldiers. Arrears of the latter. They make mention of money due for the diet of soldiers in towns, but do not express the particularities thereof; yet there have been paid in England divers great sums to sundry townsmen. Doubt not the munition lately sent has long ago arrived. Desire to be advertised of the same.

“We are very sorry to see that, where Her Majesty hath been at charge to have sent out of Picardy thither above eleven hundred soldiers in bands, upon the mustering of them there in Ireland, they were found to be but 612 persons. For which purpose we

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require you, the Lord Lieutenant, to charge Sir Henry Power, who was the conductor of them, to make answer, both for himself and the eight captains of his company, how their said bands were decayed, and by what error or falsehood the same hath been committed, considering Her Majesty did allow both victuals and wages for above one thousand. Whereof we require you, the Lord Lieutenant, to certify us, so as such an offence may be duly punished.

"The later part of your letters contain a declaration of you, the Lord Lieutenant, concerning the Archtraitor Tyrone, for declaration whereof we have received divers letters written between you and him by which we perceive his cunning disposition to serve his own turn by winning of time, and by breaking of his faith and word with you, for which we doubt not but you, the Lord Lieutenant, have sufficient cause both to hate him and to pursue him with all extremity, as we hope you will upon the arrival of these 2,000 for your supply. You will therewith seek to abate the traitor's pride, and omit no good means to gain some parties against him, whom he doth tyrannously misuse. You shall understand that Her Majesty hath taken great care for your relief with such things as of late you did require, which hath been victual, men, money, and munition, for all which this order hath, and is to be taken." Quantities of wheat and rye sent to Ireland; also of butter and cheese.

Have entered into consideration of the state of the army in Ireland, according to the muster book lately sent, which has been circumspectly and diligently made up. Number of deficient in horse and foot. The new companies raised for wards and kern ought to be abated. Absent captains. Send a schedule showing how the new levies are to be disposed. Desire their opinion upon the same. Hope to send money to serve for these two months past, "and no more." Have given order to make provision of victual for 4,000 men for four months. They are to have better regard hereafter of the expense of the victual. None but those in the bands to receive of it. All who have sterling pay made unto them, by way of augmentation, should not be victualled at Her Majesty's charges, as they find by the Treasurer's certificates has been the case; "a matter very offensive unto Her Majesty, and worthy of reformation."

Have received letters from Sir Conyers Clifford, sent by Sir Calisthenes Brooke, who also had a memorial delivered to him by the said Sir Conyers. Connaught reported "to be rid of all open rebellion, and namely of the heinous traitor M^cWilliam." O'Rourke's submission. Tibbott Ne Longe's good service and demands. Earnest disposition of Sir Conyers to do some service against O'Donnell, "in having an intent to remove Ballyshannon." Besides he pretends to have the aid of divers of the chieftains of Tyrconnell, and such others of Connaught as he hopes to carry with him into Tyrconnell, by the favour of O'Rourke and Tibbott Ne Longe and their parties. Forces required by him. Recount his plans. Know not how they may be effected, "but, considering his confident offer

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of this service, and the sight of O'Rourke's submission, and his pledges given, we cannot but wish that he be not therein deceived by any treachery or falsehood, or by mistaking of O'Donnell's hatred borne unto him by his own country folks and kindred. And therefore do let your Lordships understand that Her Majesty, being acquainted with this offer, hath thought it not good to refuse it." Unless they see any cause to the contrary, the Queen is content to yield to his request. Leave it to their Lordships how to direct the said numbers to serve this purpose. Wish them to be paid their lendings and other allowances daily during their service. As this faction has been stirred up in Tyrconnell against O'Donnell, wish that some like faction might be stirred up in Tyrone by such as the Earl has grievously pursued, as Sir Arthur O'Neill, Tirlogh M'Henry, Ever Roe M'Coolye, Sir John O'Dogherty, and Con O'Donnell's sons; to which may be added his attempts against Maguire, M'Mahon, and such others as submitted to Her Majesty.

The schedule mentioned in the former part of this letter is not ready to be sent. The men shall be dispatched as speedily as possible. Desire the Lord Lieutenant to state where it were meetest for them to arrive, and in what proportions; also as to the victual. But will not necessarily wait for his answer.—1598, May 28. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 65^b–69^b. *Copy*. pp. 8½.

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48. The Privy Council to Sir Conyers Clifford. Have received his letter of April 24, and the memorial, sent by Sir Calisthenes Brooke. His regaining of Connaught to obedience. His plans against the northern rebels. His conclusion with O'Rourke. The pledges and letters delivered up by the latter. The drawing by Sir Conyers of M'Dermott and O'Connor Don from O'Donnell. The faction in Tyrconnell against O'Donnell. The services of Tibbott Ne Longe. The submission of Shane M'Manus Oge O'Donnell, and his subsequent fate. Her Majesty's acceptance of Sir Conyers' services. His proposed prosecution of O'Donnell. Consider that, if it might take such success as he pretends, it were very good and honourable to be embraced. Cannot say whether in this conceit he is abused by the Irish. Her Majesty has instructed the Lord Lieutenant that, unless he shall find cause to the contrary, the numbers required by Sir Conyers shall be allowed for the times expressed.

Enclose letters to be delivered to O'Rourke, to continue him in his obedience. Also, general letters for the chieftains and principal men of Connaught, who have submitted; "not doubting but, upon full pacification of that Province, you will have care, not only for the peaceable government thereof, but for the recovery of the duties heretofore reserved to Her Majesty, in lieu of composition, whereof how much you have already recovered, or how much is answered therefore, we would be glad to understand; for otherwise, without recovery of the rents and compositions, Her Majesty shall pay very dearly for continuance of it in peace." Send answers to divers petitions exhibited by O'Rourke before his absolute submission. Some things they have passed over in silence,

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until they have further experience of his good behaviour. Have also sent a note of O'Rourke's demands and of these answers to the Lords Justices, the Lord Lieutenant, and the rest of the Council.—[1598], May 28. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 69^b–70^b. *Copy*. pp. 24. *Inclosure*,

48. I. *The Privy Council to Sir Conyers Clifford*. “Whereas, by your letters of late sent unto us, we have been advertised of the good effect that your service to Her Majesty hath taken in that Province of Connaught, especially in reducing to Her Majesty's obedience and allegiance all the chief persons and principal men of that Province, whereby not only a settled peace and quietness is like there to ensue, but you do also conceive good hope to repress that traitorous neighbour O'Donnell, and so to weaken the chief rebel and traitor Tyrone himself; you shall understand that, as your good service, having been made known by us, is well pleasing and very acceptable unto Her Majesty, so her gracious disposition which is always inclined and bent rather to exercise mercy than to execute the severity of justice among her subjects, receiveth good contentment by the submission of those whom you have certified to be returned to their dutiful obedience, and is graciously resolved to grant them free pardons of their disloyalty for the time past, and to hold them from henceforth in peace and account of good subjects, upon hope that they will not only continue in their duty and allegiance, but also do their endeavours, by their good service against those that persist in rebellion, to make some amends for their former offence; whereof Her Majesty's pleasure is that we shall give you notice, and that you shall assure and avow the same unto those persons in that county (sic) of Connaught, or elsewhere, of whose dutiful submission you have certified us; letting them understand that, as Her Most Gracious Majesty doth, merely of her own clemency, deal so mercifully with them, and is like enough to show the like mercy unto others, that shall not over long prove her patience, but voluntarily return to obedience, so she will not fail, very severely and without remission, to punish those that shall, by longer abusing her clemency, sharpen her displeasure, and constrain her to alter her natural disposition from mercy to the execution of justice.”—1598, May 28. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 71. *Copy*. p. 1.

48. II. *The Privy Council to Brian O'Rourke*, “Chieftain of Leitrim in Connaught.” Sir Conyers Clifford has advertised the Queen of O'Rourke's penitent submission made in public, and his delivery of three pledges. Her Majesty is pleased to accept his return to his duty, and has commanded them to send him these letters. Look to see him fully bent to continue his duty, for the further quietness of his country, and its recovery from the losses and ruin it has suffered by the late unnatural rebellion. Find by Sir Conyers Clifford that no one person within the Province is more able, or is now more willing, than O'Rourke, to procure a full resettling of that country in the state in which it was before this late rebellion. “And we doubt not but that this experience which you have had, in the time of your offences, of the malicious

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purposes of the Spaniards, under colour of giving you aid, to conquer the land to themselves, and to plant the same with Spaniards, as they do in all countries where they seek to have rule, will induce you, and keep you still in memory, in no wise to give ear to their enchantments, whose intention hath appeared by the special letters of the King of Spain lately directed to you, which you have dutifully delivered to Sir Conyers Clifford." Her Majesty's clemency, and readiness to reward good service. The answers to O'Rourke's petitions.—1598, May 28. Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 71^b–72^b. Copy. pp. 2.

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49. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. Signifying Her Majesty's allowance of the demands and articles of O'Rourke, sent by Sir Conyers Clifford, and directing them to confirm and make the same good unto him, unless they shall know any special and very weighty cause to the contrary.—1598, May 28. Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 71^b. Copy. p. 1. Inclose,

49. i. "A note of O'Rourke's demands, 8th February, 1597[–8]." *Apostilled*. [Duplicate, with slight alterations, of No. 48 of 8th February above. See also Nos. 21. II., 21. III. of April 24 and No. 45 of May 25.] Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 72^b–73^b. Copy. pp. 2.

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50. "The Lord Treasurer's articles concerning the service of Ireland." "The Queen's Majesty, being informed of a project presented by you for an enterprise by force to subdue the rebellion of the Archtraitor Tyrone, O'Donnell, and their complices, is desirous for her full satisfaction how she may proceed therein, to have you to consider aforehand of all things, that in our judgment shall be requisite and necessary for the entry to the due execution of that enterprise; so as Her Majesty may see probable cause for taking the same in hand, and execution thereof according to your project. And, though your knowledge doth serve to foresee all things necessary hereunto, yet, for some remembrance unto you, you may think of these things hereafter following, adding thereto such other circumstances as shall further your project, and without the which you shall think the same shall be frustrate.

"First, what numbers of men of foot and horse shall be necessary to be herein used?

"What may be the monthly wages for the said numbers?

"What number of pioneers shall be necessary to work upon any fortifications to be made?

"Of what condition shall the said fortifications be made, and where shall they be placed; whether only of earth, or of stone and timber; and how many places shall be fortified; how large the same shall be to contain garrisons?

"Whether [there] shall be any sconces made to have wards in them, to stay the passages at the fords upon the principal rivers, and what companies shall be placed there?

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"What quantity of munition and powder shall be requisite both for the army and for the forts; within what time may the forts be built; and what artificers, as masons and carpenters, shall be requisite for the same?"

"What buildings or houses shall be made for habitation, or covering of the garrison from the weather?"

"What quantity of victual shall be necessary to be provided; and of what kinds; and for how long time the said victual shall serve the army and garrisons; and where shall the same be kept?"

"What shipping shall be requisite to transport both the forces of men and their victual?"

"What number of ships, and of what quality, with the numbers of men to serve therein, may serve for defence of the sea coast, against access of Scots and their galleys?"

"Within what compass of time is it likely, joining with the Commissary (*sic*) of Connaught's forces, to subdue Tyrone and O'Donnell, or either of them?"

"By what means may the Irish in Clandeboy, the Route, the Glynus, the Ardes, and other places possessed by the Scots, be suppressed, to be severed from the aid of the rebel Tyrone; whether shall the Lefer [Lifford] or the Drury [Derry] be taken, to be held with the garrison; and whether the house of Strabane, being the rebel's chief house in those parts, set upon the Lefer, may be taken without great ordnance?"

"How shall the two forces from Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon be able to march to meet together through all Tyrconnell, without help of necessary garrans both for their victuals and for their tents, and other carriages; considering the rebel will fly with his creaght, either towards Maguire, or else to the country of the M'Swynes [M'Sweenys] upon the North seas, and there continue for all the time that the English army shall be on foot, which may not long continue without relief?" *Endorsed*:—1598, May 28. *Copy. pp. 2½.*

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Mallow.

51. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. "The wars in the North continuing and increasing with the several overthrows lately given by the traitors to Her Majesty's soldiers and subjects, whereof I doubt not but that your Honour is advertised, hath (*sic*) very much stirred up the evil-disposed Irish of this Province, who seek only to run the same traitorous course with the rest, when they may find opportunity. Which to prevent, I have caused an assembly of the most part of the Lords, gentlemen, and others of this Province, and have, by their own consents, drawn them to put in pledges for their loyalties; which course I intend (with the advice of the Council here) to hold with all the rest; and such as are most to be doubted, to restrain of their liberty for a time; but for the keeping of them there is not any convenient place of strength within this Province, so as I am forced to divide them into the several towns, to remain in merchants' houses at the charge of those who put them in; which course, although it may serve for a time, yet if any foreign invasion should happen, it will be

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needful to be better assured of them. For which purpose, Her Majesty's Castle of Limerick were the fittest place, if it were sufficiently warded, there being now allowed only a porter.

"The traitors of Leinster do daily threaten to invade this Province. I do cause general musters, and the inhabitants to be furnished with weapon[s] (being thereunto directed by my Lord General), although, I assure your Honour, it may be much doubted which way they will convert them.

"It is very requisite that some bands do continue here, which may from time to time be removed into other places of service, and weak bands sent to be refreshed in their places. But if the Province be left altogether without soldiers, it will greatly encourage the evil-disposed.

"There is not within this Province any munition at all of Her Majesty, the want thereof I have divers times advertised to the State at Dublin, but have received no order to be supplied." Craves a supply.—Moyallo, 1598, May 30. *Endorsed*:—"Received at London the 30 of June." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

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52. Discourse on the rebellion in Ireland. *The writer is Captain Dawtrey.*

Is given to understand that the army in Ireland (which consists of 96 companies according to Captain Stafford's information) is to be supplied and made full. [*Marginal note by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"Not so resolved yet."] There will then be 9,600 men to make a frontier war until the next spring of the year. Thinks that this army, conveniently divided and placed, will do more than make a frontier war; for it will rather make a strong war, to pull down much of the rebel pride and strength. "As for frontier wars, your Majesty hath had four years' experience that it hath availed little, but consumed many men and much treasure, without any damage done unto this arch-traitor." The great charges for the number of companies above mentioned. If captains of honesty and experience were chosen, much expense might be saved. Good captains would hasten the end of the war, so as to enjoy a proportion of the attainted lands. This would bring a new revenue to Her Majesty, and much honour and profit to them. Considers 7,000 foot and 600 horse would suffice, to be divided as follows:—For Tyrconnell and the River Lifford, 2,000 foot and 200 horse; for Clancaboy and the river of the Band [Bann], 2,000 foot and 200 horse; for Leinster, 2,000 foot and 100 horse; and for Connaught, 1,000 foot and 100 horse. The forces must be divided, since the rebellion is dispersed into many places. Tyrone could not then make any incursions in force into the Pale, because of the two garrisons of Lifford and the Bann in his rear, and the commanders can easily breed factions amongst the rebels in his country. Tyrone would also have to disperse his forces and cattle, so raids would be easy for the two garrisons. This kind of service will, during the long winter nights, so fret and eat out his forces, that, by the spring, he will have few to follow him. [*Marginal note by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"The garrison of Lough Foyle cannot be settled before the spring;

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but, if it be sent now, it shall cost the Queen much, before the prosecution intended shall be begun, with which it must hold correspondency; for many things are incident to the planting of that garrison, which cannot be now provided; but I do agree that it is the best place to discommode the traitor." If the Lord General draws from the border upon Tyrone, he will not only have these two garrisons at commandment, "to be a backset for him," but all the noblemen and gentlemen, and Her Majesty's retinue, to strengthen his forces.

The Governor of Connaught has advertised that the Province stands upon good terms of obedience, and he has, therefore, little employment for his 1,000 foot and 100 horse, with all the risings out of the country to assist him, but to make sallies and raids upon the west part of Ulster. The people of Connaught, being made poor by this long war, will be glad to serve upon the enemy of Ulster, to get the spoil of that country. "Thus your most Excellent Majesty may see by the reasons aforesaid that this kind of division of your forces hath great possibility to ruin and extirp this capital rebel between August and the end of May."

States officers and wages for the foot and horse for Tyrconnell and Clandeboy. The entertainment of the 7,000 foot and 600 horse would come altogether, *per mensem*, to 9,661*l.*, and be less by 1,950*l.* than the cost of a continued frontier war.

The objections to be made against these two garrisons of the Lifford and the Bann are, "the fortifying and building of store-houses for the keeping of victual and munition, freights, adventures, wastes of victual, charge of bakers, brewers, millners, labourers, and such like charges," all which he will take away from Her Majesty upon profitable conditions [*marginal note by Sir Robert Cecil* :—"Those conditions would be known,"] if she use him therein.

Recommends that the most insufficient companies of the 96 be discharged, and that their men supply the rest, that have the best captains of experience, "otherwise the whole army will still be infected with that pestilent infirmity of the training and breeding up both of Irish captains and soldiers, which hath put that whole kingdom in great danger. For as soon as these supplies come over into Ireland, so many as are either Irish captains, or of Irish birth, will suffer the English to depart by degrees, so they leave their arms behind them, which they willingly will do, so they may be discharged; so shall the Irish be furnished with their arms, and their bands filled up with Irishmen, in place of the English discharged." *Unsigned.*

A note to Sir Robert Cecil, endorsed on this document, states that the discourse was read to Her Majesty, and that she directed that it should be delivered to Sir Robert, and that Captain Dawtrey should attend on him, to state how he would make good what was promised therein.—[1598], May 31. pp. 3.

[May.]

53. "The answer to the three notes or postills set down by your Honours upon the margent of certain opinions laid down by me

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unto the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, according to Her Highness's commandment in that behalf." *These have reference to Captain Dawtrey's plan, and are written by him to the Privy Council.*

Urges the necessity of a strong prosecution instead of a frontier war. A true and sound carriage of the forces (when the bands were made up) would give the enemy an overthrow between the middle of August and the end of May or middle of June, sooner than would the fronting of the rebels in the border towns, without any profit unto the subjects, or damage unto the said enemy. "Perhaps your Honours will think that it is in Ireland easier for Her Highness to defend than to offend, and that she may do it better cheap, and with less danger. But it is not so there; but the true defensive war is to divide your forces, so as they may have daily possibility to offend the enemy strongly in his own country. So shall you stop (as the rural proverb is) two bracks with one bush; that is, by offending your enemy daily in his own country, you shall as daily defend the subjects. And there is no true defensive war to be made upon the rebel Tyrone but in this sort."

The division of the forces requisite for Ulster, Leinster, and Connaught, and the advantages thereof. Inability of the forces in the border towns to suppress the rebellion. By the division mentioned, not only will the subjects be substantially defended, but the rebel Tyrone will also be made to call home all his firebrands of mischief, to assist himself. Yet within the time spoken of, from the midst of August next to the midst of June following, it will so pull him down, that 1,500 men, "garonyzed" [garrisoned] upon the Bann, Lifford, and Blackwater, will be sufficient to make an end of the war, if the rebel be alive then. Less men cannot be left in Ulster, to keep the people, who are received to mercy, in their obedience, and to withstand the incursions of the Scots. How these 1,500 men would be divided. "And the said Province, within two years after the enemy is subdued, will be made very well able to pay all the garrisons (and their officers of Ulster) their entertainments; and, I think, some good remain for the Receipt of the Exchequer."

If the Queen purposes to turn her frontier war into the kind of garrisons he has laid down, then the forces intended to be sent to Ireland this spring will not be needful. It will be quite possible for the men to be in the rebels' country by the middle of August next.

As regards the profitable conditions for the disburdening of Her Majesty from the charge of fortifying, &c. (stated in his plan), he will, if given the command of Clondeboy and of the forces there, undertake to do those things substantially, and put in good surety for the performance thereof, upon the conditions ensuing, "not doubting but that Her Majesty will think it very profitable for her to inhabit that country with Englishmen, and to give the land there in fee-farm, as she hath done that of the Province of Munster. And upon the re-establishing of such Irishmen as shall be received

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to mercy, that they shall change their manuer of dwellings and customs heretofore used; and shall have rents and compositions imposed upon them likewise, to bear the charge of Her Majesty's forces that must be established there (to keep them down in their obedience), as they do now maintain the rebels' mercenaries against Her Highness's crown and dignity."

The conditions alluded to are:—1. That the garrisons be paid two or three months beforehand, and that the sureties remaining in England may see victuals, and all other things covenanted, purveyed, and sent accordingly. 2. That he and his sureties may have all the land within three miles of the Bann, paying 33s. 4d. for every plough land, each plough land rated at 150 acres of arable land; besides, to have all the mountain, moor, bog, and woodland within that compass, to be equally divided to every plough land of arable, as wastes and commons belonging to the same, for the feeding of their cattle. Further, that they may have the royalty of the said river for fishing and fowling, paying unto Her Majesty and her successors 20*l.* per annum; that, at the end of four years, they begin to pay one moiety of their rent until the seventh year, and then pay the whole rent yearly for ever, as it was covenanted with the undertakers of Munster. 3. That he and his heirs may have the constabships of the storehouses and fortifications to be built, so long as they shall be loyal subjects, "and withal descended of English parents by father and mother, and that they themselves shall also be born in England."

Garrisons thus settled "will soon root out and extirp these viperous people." The greater charge to Her Majesty, if she does the victualling. "I never saw yet but that the want and corrupt victuals that bath (*sic*) often been sent into that realm, were the occasion of the death of more men in that army than the enemies' weapons. And yet Her Majesty's pay went on still, and thereby drove the matter to a continual charge and a long war."

Gives the rates at which the victuals shall be issued to the soldier:—Beer, "very good and strong," three quarts for 4*d.*; biscuit, 2*d.* a lb.; "loaf bread," 1½ lbs., 2*d.*; cheese, 2½*d.* a lb.; butter, 4*d.* a lb.; "great oatmeal," 2*d.* a quart; fresh beef, 1*d.* a lb.; salt beef, 1½*d.* a lb.; pickled pork, 2*d.* a lb.; bacon, 3*d.* a lb.; peas, 1*d.* a quart; herrings, 8 for 2½*d.*; oats for horses, 4*d.* a peck.

Further advantages of his plan. "Now for the conclusion unto your Honour[s], I take that a war is ever well laid down, where the soldiers shall be well victualled, paid, and maintained full and strong; and that the Colonels must see all these things done for their own profit and ease, whose gain can never begin until the Queen's charge doth end, and the enemy [be] overthrown. And this course will suffice to remedy all the enormities of the war heretofore found." [1598, May.] *Unsigned. pp. 7.*

[May.]

54. Memorandum by Captain Stafford on the state of Ireland. The reason why Ireland is not in a better state, and why Her Majesty is forced to a continual disbursement, notwithstanding the great charges she has been at hitherto, is, that, since the practice

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and seditious fire kindled by the treacherous Tyrone, it has not been thought convenient to commit the realm to the government of any particular man; but the Deputy has always possessed the authority of the sword, and some other the command of the forces. This has ruined the army, and Her Majesty's "poor Irish subjects are burned, spoiled, and beggared, and the kingdom so far dis-tempered, that it were a more honourable service and easier charge, for Her Highness and her subjects, to proceed to the enterprise of a new conquest than by a plausible and protracting course to continue the burden of an infinite and unpleasing expense, especially seeing their daily actions and continual practices do yield true testimony of no assured obedience or fidelity of the Irish."

Her Majesty's forces are "composed of two nations, English and Irish, both subjects to the dignity of Her Crown; the first, natural, obedient, and faithful, and the fewest in number; the second, discontented, perfidious, and ungrateful, ever disposed to innovation, and apt to rebellion, and they are by two parts in three the stronger. In what danger Her Majesty's interest of this kingdom, purchased by the royal conquest of her progenitors, and continued in subjection by herself, standeth in, well weighing their causeless and sudden entering into arms, and now the general combination through the realm, the pretended cause manifested to be the advancement of the Popish religion, we leave to the wise to judge of; yet presuming to give this caution, that this cause of religion persuadeth much in Ireland, considering how they are animated by the instigation of many seditious and evil-disposed persons, still resorting from Spain and Rome. And assuredly many forbear to show themselves in this action, which have a most willing desire thereunto, were it not that the terror of Her Majesty's sword did daunt them, and the hope and expectation of a fitter opportunity for the present withdraw them.

"But against so imminent perils speedy prevention availeth much. The means to reduce people not capable of gratuitie (*sic*) and mercy, is by force to bring them to obedience, when princely and mild courses are not accepted. And if the Spaniard should land (in whom consisteth their only hope) we are to expect (without God's divine mercy, and Her Majesty's worthy providence), no other sequel than a general subversion of the English, and that upon an instant not to be eschewed, considering the discontented time and weak estate of the kingdom at this present.

"Withal, this parley and treaty with Tyrone, and this time of cessation, availeth him much, wherein his policy is great, and his advantage more. For, generally, he never seeketh peace but at two times in the year, and these times such wherein he might receive the greatest hurt. The first and chiefest time is from February until it be May, which being granted unto him, he then seeketh to entertain the State with a persuasion of his desire of peace, and thereby winneth time unto himself hoping by that means that protraction shall be used in those determinations which Her Majesty and her honourable Council were resolved upon for his prosecution. He then well knoweth that there can nothing be

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determined in Ireland before it be considered of by this honourable table in England. And before the advertisements pass from Ireland and the confirmation of Her Highness's pleasure returned, the summer passeth away, the benefit of the time is his, the loss and prejudice Her Majesty's. And, upon an intended war, before Her Highness's forces, and provisions answerable, shall arrive in Ireland, the winter and long nights approach and draw on, being the times in which both he, his instruments, and accomplices, use to execute all their outrages. Then doth he assure himself that the army cannot remain long in [the] field for his annoyance; he being not in summer impeached, is in his desire satisfied, and then doth he all the winter employ his forces, wits, and endeavours to the subversion and ruin of the subject. Also in this time of truce he relieveth all his weak cattle upon such places which (*sic*) have been kept waste by the garrisons; where, otherwise, being weak, they stand in much danger to be taken from him, and many would have starved; and by the starving of his cattle, his people had not been well able to have relieved his forces, neither fed themselves.

"The second time he commonly seeketh peace is when their corn is ready to be cut; then he greatly feareth the burthen and spoil of the general hosting, which, being held in fit time and performed in good sort, doth mightily impoverish his people and country. And there dependeth in this cessation more inatters of principal consequence. The first, the enemy in this time spareth his victuals, and many of his people relieve themselves, and extort, upon the subject. His people then without fear repair to all port towns and markets, and then and there new furnish themselves with all sorts of grains, iron, salt, weapons, armour, and all kind of munition. He reinforceth his companies by his wicked enticements, then taketh his time and opportunities to be revenged upon such as he judgeth apt either (*sic*) willing to fall from him to Her Majesty's obedience. And by that time the cessation is expired he is fitted with everything to his content, and better able to do mischief than before. And, commonly, he then standeth upon more insolent and proud terms, reposing himself upon the pride of his strength and combination. And every spring he is so fed and nourished with an hope and expectation of the arrival of Spanish forces, that, his actions being without favour censured, and his often subillizing with the State judicially looked into, there can be no greater argument of his infidelity and disloyalty than he doth daily manifest.

"And it is to be supposed he will never be discounselled from those former courses, which he hath already complotted with Spain, and hath by his oaths tied himself unto.

"And it may be well observed and noted in all these treaties and parleys that the Irish have free access and intercourse with the traitor without contradiction. By this means Tyrone understandeth the state and disposition of all parts and people of Ireland. Besides, there are no malefactors, which have been in action within all Ulster and Leinster, but he inserts their truce and protections in

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his demand and articles, as the chief author of their mischiefs, and the protector of their villainies and disobedience.

"And further, by his directions, the tyrannical prosecution of the English hath been such that it hath bred a great terror and fear in all them that are Her Majesty's inhabitants, that they now, most of them, seek to withdraw themselves from their castles and places of manurance, and do retire to the towns and ports for the safety of themselves and families; which hath given a great encouragement to the enemy, and doth much weaken the state of the kingdom, in regard they abandon those places, leaving them to be subject to the command of the enemy, which hath been hitherto maintained by your English, and hath been a great cause of the obedience and loyalty heretofore of the Irish." *Unsigned. pp. 3½.*

Annexed is:—A list of the horse and foot under Tyrone, with the names of the commanders. Horse, 1,042; foot, 3,460. *p. 1.*

Then follows a paper:—"The factions through the North of Ireland." In Lower Clondeboy there is mortal malice between the sons of Sir Hugh M'Phelim O'Neill and the sons of Sir Brian M'Phelim O'Neill. Sir Hugh, the elder brother, dwells at Edenduffcarrick, Sir Brian at Belfast. John M'Brian, the base son of Brian M'Phelim, having been countenanced by the State, possesses and commands all the country. If Sir Hugh's son, Neill M'Hugh, were advanced, he would be, with small forces, a notable instrument for the suppressing of John O'Neill, the most perfidious traitor in all those parts. And withal, it would be a very good course for the re-establishing of that country, and the keeping of them both in obedience.

In Upper Clondeboy Neill M'Brian Ferto is Lord now in possession. There is an enemy unto him, Owen M'Hugh, who thinks he has wrong that he is not Lord of the country; and he lives in expectation to succeed the other, after the country's manner. This causes a mortal quarrel between them, and the rather because the Lord now in possession has a son at man's estate.

In Iveagh, a country adjoining to the Lordship of Newry, which Sir Hugh Magennis held from Her Majesty, and in which his son Arthur Magennis succeeded him, there is a great discontentment between the uncle Edmund Magennis and the nephew; and between Arthur Magennis and one Glaseney M'Conle [*sic* ? M'Cool] Magennis, who thinks himself "better worthy of" the country than either the uncle or the nephew. The greatness of Arthur Magennis is because he married a daughter of the Earl of Tyrone, and the Earl married a sister of his, and a nephew of the Earl married the said Arthur's mother.

There is a great division among the M'Mahon's; for Patrick M'Art Moyle, now possessing the chief seat in the county of Monaghan, is mightily maliced by Brian M'Hugh Oge, chief of the Mahons, and so now made M'Mahon by Tyrone.

Henry Oge M'Henry M'Shane O'Neill, who married the Earl's daughter, and his brothers, the sons of Tirlogh O'Neill, are, for the division and title of land, at mortal wars, and hardly to be reconciled.

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There is a great dislike between Ever Roe M'Cowly's son and Con M'Coll (the one dwelling in Ferney, and the other near adjoining unto him in Clancarroll) for the superiority of the country.

Maguire and Con Roe Maguire are at the like variance for the same cause.

Edmund O'Reilly, and Mulmorey O'Reilly, and Philip O'Reilly's sons are at dissension for the like cause.

"There is no great love between O'Hanlon and the sept of Shane Oge."

In Tyrone there is a great faction of the Donneloughes, which the Earl seeks by all means he can to suppress, in respect of the love they bear unto Shane O'Neill's sons, because they fostered unto Shane O'Neill.

Sir Arthur O'Neill lives a great discontented man, and would easily be persuaded to revolt, if he might see this traitor the Earl well followed [prosecuted].

There are mortal wars between the Scots and M'William for the lands of the Route.

There is great dislike between Teig O'Rourke, a legitimate son, and Brian O'Rourke, base-born, for the command of the country. Brian O'Rourke of late fell to obedience by Sir Conyers Clifford's good policy.

Sir John O'Dogherty, a man easily persuaded to obedience, and a good instrument to be used, if Her Majesty employ forces to Lough Foyle.

Hugh Duff M'Donnell, a very good instrument also, and would soon revolt from O'Donnell if he saw a strong garrison settled in Lough Foyle.

"And many, which now shadow themselves under the cloak of Tyrone's villainies, will yield great means, and plot good courses for Tyrone's ruin and overthrow, if they might see Her Majesty fully resolved to prosecute war against them."—[1598, May.] *pp.* 2.

[May.]

55. The submission of Phelim M'Feagh M'Hugh, addressed to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. Prays for mercy, and that he and his brother may have their father's lands at such rents and under such conditions as shall be thought meet.—[1598, May.] *Copy.* *p.* 1.

June 1.
Dublin.

56. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to the Privy Council. Have been unjustly blamed for certain martial affairs, wherein they thought they had not to deal, only civil causes having been committed to them. No answer received as yet to their letter of April 21 to their Lordships. The last truce taken with "the great Rebel of the North" will expire on the 6th instant. "In this time, as in all other times of cessation from arms, the rebels have taken great advantage, and are grown to an exceeding strength. The rebels of Leinster, to wit, the Kavanaghs, the Byrnes, the O'Moores, and the O'Connors, heretofore accounted but a base and beggarly kind of people, are now, by the usual granting of protections unto them, grown to that number and insolency, as they have

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wasted a great part of that Province, being the best and principal part of Her Majesty's kingdom. For, after that they had murdered some ancient English servitors in Offally, called the King's County, and burned and left waste a great part thereof, as hath been formerly signified to your Lordships, then went they into Leix, called the Queen's County, and there, not only burned in most parts of the same, but likewise spoiled and utterly wasted all that county, which they do now in a manner possess as their own, the poor English gentlemen of that shire not daring to manure one foot of their land, or almost to look out of their castles; which they are now even ready to abandon, for lack of means to relieve them, their tenants being already departed from their dwellings, and become rebels with the rest; so as now we account that county no better than lost; the gaining whereof hath heretofore cost England so much English blood and treasure.

"After all which murders, burnings, spoils, wastes, and other villainies, having received a new protection, they then drew their rabble of rebels into the county of Wexford, where, after many vile outrages and spoils committed upon the poor inhabitants of that country, they have now lately (since the Lord Lieutenant's departing from hence) made a slaughter of a number of Her Majesty's soldiers and subjects in that shire, viz., the lieutenant, serjeant, and 44 soldiers of the foot company under the leading of Sir Henry Wallop, being of Her Majesty's old garrison, and a strong band; [also of] four score of two several bands of the Picardy soldiers then under the leading of the lieutenant of Captain Wilton, wherein the said lieutenant and divers of the under officers of those two companies were also slain. And of the gentlemen and inhabitants of that county, being in number six score, there are likewise many of them slain; amongst which, one Leonard Colclogh, the second son of Sir Anthony Colclogh, was cruelly slain, and his elder brother, Sir Thomas Colclogh, sore wounded in two places of his arm, after that his horse was slain under him. Of which grievous accident we would have advertised your Lordships so soon as we heard thereof, but that we daily expected to receive a true report, as well of the numbers slain, being as we have before recited, as also of the manner thereof, of which we cannot yet learn the certainty. Hereupon the Lord Lieutenant General (being then at Kilkenny near to the rebels), having levied a great army, as well of Her Majesty's soldiers, as of the gentlemen and inhabitants of the country, and drawn to the parts where those bloody rebels remained, we were in great hope that his Lordship would have taken some sharp revenge upon them. But now we understand that his Lordship hath again protected them for a month longer, whereat we greatly marvel, and purposeth, as we hear, to bring with him at his coming hither, Donnell Spainagh, the chief of the sept of the Kavanaghs, and Brian Reogh, one of the chiefest of the O'Moores, both of them being the principal actors of this treacherous accident happened in the time of their former protection. Yet to what end, or for what cause, they are now to be

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brought hither, we know not, neither are we made acquainted therewith."

Have, with the rest of the Council, dealt with Phelim M'Feagh, according to their Lordships' directions. His demands for pardon, and for his father's lands; also that the fort of Rathdrum be "quit," and the ward there presently withdrawn; further, that the bonds forfeited for the non-appearance of his "mother-in-law," Feagh's wife, be cancelled. Granted the two first demands. Deferred the performance of the two last until Allhallowtide next, when they were promised, if in the meantime he behaved himself as they expected. He seemed then well contented, and took his oath of loyalty to Her Majesty. Have since sealed the pardon for him and more than 400 of his country (whom he "booked" unto them), and have delivered the pardon to his agent, promising to pass him a grant of the lands, whensoever he sent about it. "Yet now we understand that he received his said pardon with many doubts and scruples, because he had not present performance of the demands for the fort and the cancelling of the bonds; by which, together with other circumstances, we doubt that, how full soever he shall be yielded unto in all his demands, yet he will still continue an arrant traitor in mind, and be ready to take the advantage of any opportunity to do mischief; as likewise we are of opinion the other two will do, that are now to come in with the Lord Lieutenant, what conditions soever shall be yielded unto them.

"We see, to our great grief, how by these cessations, protections, and protraction, the rebels do still combine and grow strong; the time to prosecute them passeth away; the country for the most part utterly wasted; the subject murdered and discouraged; Her Majesty's exceeding great charge of treasure, victual, and munition consumed, and (especially the great quantity of corn lately sent) will be wasted before any service can be attempted; her realm perilled; and we, Her Highness's poor servants and subjects, in daily danger to be massacred. We may well bemoan our miserable and distressed estate, but, having no power or authority in ourselves to redress it, otherwise than by advice, we do now make the same known to your Lordships, to be speedily considered of in your grave wisdom, and related to Her Most Gracious Majesty, from whom only, next unto God, our comfort and relief must proceed."—Dublin, 1598, June 1. *Signed.* pp. 3.

June 6.
Greenwich.

57. Captain N. Dawtrey to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have answered the notes or postills set down by your Honour upon such articles or distinctions as I had formerly by Her Majesty's commandment sent unto Her Highness." [*See Nos. 52 and 53 of May above.*] Perceives now that the forces in Ireland are to be but 6,000 foot and 642 horse. These cannot, as intended, make a frontier or defensive war, by reason that the traitorous Earl, finding this determination, will know that his natural people of Ulster, who are not chargeable unto him, but such as yield him revenue, will be able to defend his country against Her Majesty's forces so employed, and that he may spare all his mercenaries to kindle fires in all other parts of Ireland.

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"And the same mercenaries, so dispersed, will, with a right good-will, go to rake and hunt for spoil; and, for this purpose, he, the rebellious Earl, hath both Jesuits and seminaries to employ in all places to stir the base-born of every great house, or other discontented men of any family that are left without living, promising them that, if they can beat the English out of Ireland, that (*sic*) the Pope, and his Lieutenant, the traitor Tyrone, shall make them great Lords. These be his spirits and firebrands, that shall make great flames in divers parts of Ireland, to breed fear and discontentment amongst the subjects, whereby the Arch-traitor hath his purpose as well as if he had personably (*sic*) with great force of arms invaded all the whole kingdom. The cessations of arms from time to time are of the like nature, and will give him the like means to gain his desire, for, by the means of these frontier wars and cessations he still hits the mark he shoots at. If your Honour will receive my poor credit and experience, I assure you there is no way to quench the flames of his subtle practices abroad and out of his country but by garrisons seated in his very neck, to make a strong offensive war in his own country." Advantages thereof. Dawtrey's plans for the prosecution. Hears speak of 500 foot and 100 horse more, by reason of this late overthrow in Leinster, where the enemy is greatly increased in strength. The cost of these extra men will be but 753*l.* 10*s.* per month of 30 days, and they may be discharged after the Leinster rebellion is ceased, which will no doubt soon end, after they see the capital rebel Tyrone so strongly undertaken. It is a politic course to temporise a little with those outlaws of Leinster, and to pardon and take them in, "until that the same great Author of all the rebellions of Ireland be overthrown; then the rest will be met withal by ordinary course of justice; for they are not so sound men, but that they will daily enter into felonies in the best times of peace."—Greenwich, 1598, June 6. *Signed.* pp. 2.

June 7. 58. "The present state of the house of Kildare." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"Junii 7, '98. The state of the lands which the Earl of Kildare had." pp. 1½.

June 8. 59. Sir Roger Wilbraham, Solicitor-General of Ireland, to Sir
Gray's Inn. Robert Cecil. Touching the matter to be contained in the new letters patent, passing his uncle's lands to Captain O'Connor Sligo.—Gray's Inn, 1598, June 8. *Holograph. Seal.* p. ½.

June 9. 60. John Fitz Edmond Gerald to Sir Robert Cecil. His very
Cloyne. good friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, certified by his letters of the good opinion conceived by Sir Robert of the writer, and how Sir Robert had defended him against the malicious accusations of Justice Saxey. Wrote about nine months ago, but understands his letter was not delivered by Mr. Southwell. His gratitude to Sir Robert. Sends by the bearer, his man, one "earie" [eyrie] of falcons, in signification of his good-will.—Cloyne, 1598, June 9. *Signed.* p. ½.

June 9. 61. Note of men, money, munition, and victuals sent into Ireland since May last. "By Privy seal dated the 9th of June, 24,000*l.*" Foot, 4,000; horse, 100.—1598, June 9. p. 1.

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June 11.
Dublin.

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62. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I received yesterday your Honour's letter, which brought no small gladness to me, as well for your safe delivery out of that treacherous country of France as for that, by your return, the miseries of Ireland are in way to receive some measure of comfort, which by your absence they could not have. And I am not a little sorry that there is no better matter from hence, to congratulate your coming home, than the unsavoury events of this kingdom, which daily do multiply to worse, without expectation of better, till Tyrone be turned out of Tyrone, which I see will not be done with Her Majesty's honour for the present, nor with the safety of the kingdom for the time to come, without his entire extirpation and banishment.

"The last truce expired the 7th of this month, and, within two days after, Tyrone made this division of his forces. One part he sent before the Blackwater, which now he holdeth environed, swearing by his barbarous hand that he will not depart till he carry the fort. Another part he thrust into the Brenny, and at this present assaulteth the castle of the Cavan there, promising not to leave the place so long as he can get a cow out of the English Pale to feed his companies. A third part he hath laid ready to send into Leinster to strengthen his faction there; and they are upon the borders, awaiting a time to pass, and join with the Kavanaghs and the rest. Against these distresses the State is in weak case to make head, or at least a thorough resistance, the whole forces in the realm consisting [in] effect upon Irish, and the rest dis-contented; a lamentable matter, to hazard upon their trust the safety and preservation of the kingdom. And yet, touching the Blackwater, I see not, but it must be left to the valour and fortune of the garrison there, for that here is no means to put an army on foot to rescue it; for Leinster, being the danger that striketh nearest the heart, the Lord Lieutenant is now to make prosecution against them in his own person; and for succouring the Cavan, and to repel incursions into the Pale, a strength of 1,500 or 1,600 men is now to be sent up to the borders for that purpose. This is all that the State can do to encounter these great perils for the present, until forces come from England, which may help to rear an army to march into Ulster, and wrestle with Tyrone in his own country; and, till this be done, there will be no means to divert his forces out of Leinster, but he will more and more peril that Province, and make a dangerous hazard to the whole kingdom. It may please your Honour to haste away the soldiers with all possible speed, that the opportunity of this summer turn not to the advantage of the rebels and dishonour of Her Majesty, as have been suffered in the years past, to the grief of such here as have a true zeal of Her Majesty's service; and that it would please Her Majesty to consider out of hand for the settling of the government entirely in one man's hands, to the end this divided authority may cease, which assuredly is the ground of many enormities in the government.

"Tyrone is still inquisitive what conclusions are made in your Honour's last negotiation in France, and it seemeth he hath got an

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inkling that Spain and France are compounded; and Her Majesty left to a longer time to accept or refuse. This was advertised to me four days since by a person very inward with Tyrone; but, how true or false it is, your Honour best knoweth; only the intelligencer writeth that Tyrone is now more confident in the Spanish helps than ever he was, but, for his part, he seeth less probability thereof than at any time before, for that all this year (as he advertiseth) Tyrone hath received nothing from Spain, not so much as a letter of advice."—Dublin, 1598, June 11. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

June 12.
Dublin.

63. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. The complaints in his letter of June 11 of supposed breaches made on their side, whilst he seeks to avoid far greater violences done by him and his confederates both in Leinster and Ulster. His desire that a convenient day be appointed to hear and redress all wrongs on both sides. Know not what to gather from this uncertain manner of writing. See not how they may expect good dealings at his hands, or repose any assurance in his words, when by his letter he desires a day of meeting, and in the meanwhile commits apparent violent hostilities, by attempting the fort of the Blackwater, assaulting Cavan, and invading the islands there, with other insolencies done in other places, all contrary to the show he makes of a meeting for "commoning" of wrongs. Yet, for staying of further harms on both sides, will consider of a time for a meeting, if he signifies by the bearer, who is sent at once with his messenger, what time he desires. In the meanwhile, he is to demean himself better than he has done of late, and to give order that no more of those barbarous provocations be offered against Her Majesty. Have heard nothing from him in reply to their letter of May 4, advising him to think better of his duty in yielding to the articles formerly subscribed by him, but from which he fell upon some undutiful humour.—Dublin, 1598, June 12. *Copy. pp. 1½.*

June 12.

64. A list of the forces in Leinster. Foot, 2,180; horse, 150.—1598, June 12. *pp. 1½.*

June 13.
Dublin.

65. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cécil. It is now more than half a year since, by his letter to Burghley, he signified his readiness and earnest desire to yield up his office of Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer at Wars in Ireland. Received answer that Her Highness gave favourable ear to his motion, but was not resolved of his successor. Understands that Burghley has left the Court, and for a time retired himself for the recovery of his health. Begs Sir Robert to procure Her Majesty's resolution. His son, the bearer, shall attend Sir Robert to inform him of the causes which move Wallop to this suit. Is the rather forced to press a speedy dispatch thereof, because of the daily increase of his infirmities; and because his man, who has spent nearly two years in England, to Wallop's great charge, about a former account, now writes that the Auditors tell him the Commissioners will not pass the same until Wallop is present to be sworn to it. It is dangerous and grievous that a man

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of his years and infirmity of body should have so great accounts hanging in this sort undetermined. — Dublin, 1598, June 13. *Endorsed*:—"Received at London by his son, the 30 June." *Signed*. p. 1.

June 14.
Dublin.

66. Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil. "I sent you a letter by a servant of Sir Henry Norreys, which I trust is safely come to your hands, though I much doubted it, because it was reported and believed here that your Honour was gone again into France; and therefore I forbore to write until I received certain advertisements of your Honour's being at Court, which before yesterday I understood not.

"May it please your Honour to overlook my last letter, that, comparing it with the late accidents and with the estate of this present time, your Honour may allow or condemn my judgment. Concerning the courage and discipline of the enemy, their late attempts and their happy success against some English forces, both in the county of Wexford and elsewhere, doth (*sic*) sufficiently approve my opinion. What effects Phelim M'Feagh's pardon may work, though it be not yet so apparent as hereafter it may be, yet we see that, by the means and countenance thereof, he is already made so strong, as (being before but a fugitive wood-kern), to a late parley with Captain Montague he brought six score pikes, besides shot and other good furniture, and threatened to return his pardon again, unless he might presently have the fort of Rathdrum delivered to him, and Rose O'Toole's bonds presently cancelled, contrary to his former demand and composition with the State. It is certain that he hath continued intercourse of friendship, practice, and conference with Brian Reogh, the Kavanaghs, and the rest of the Leinster rebels, and that all the preys taken from the subjects are kept in his country; that many of the Byrnes ['Burns'] are gone out already, and more expected to follow, all which is done by the privity and practice of Phelim; so as my judgment in that point falleth out to be too true, though many here did promise to themselves a far better event of this agreement with him. I will tax no man of corruption, but the course that is holden with him is very suspicious, and in the end will prove dishonourable to Her Majesty, and very dangerous for the state of this poor country. The time appointed for the general hosting is near at hand, but the unwillingness of the people in bringing in of beeves and other provision for the journey doth show how little good they hope to receive by it, especially now when the greatest part of the army is all Irish, worse armed than the rebels, and many as ill-affected, and haply waiting for a fit opportunity to revolt from us. Touching the protections, we find the inconvenience of them by the utter undoing of many; for the rebel, growing strong by them, making no conscience of his promise nor oath, and taking advantage of the time, executeth his will upon the poor subjects, who, finding themselves unable to resist, and ill-defended by others, flee with their creaghts and goods to the rebels, making them rich with the waste and impoverishing of whole countries, especially in the county of Carlow, Leix, Offally, and the

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borders near adjoining; insomuch as at this day no man hath assurance of anything, though very near Dublin. If there come not a sufficient force to Lough Foyle, to keep Tyrone occupied there, the army will no sooner be on foot towards Ulster, but all Leinster will be on fire, a matter of great consequence, and the foundation indeed of Tyrone's safety. My continual purpose to return, and the expectation of some advice from your Honour, hath occasioned the stay of these occurrents. Being disappointed of both, I am bold to deliver my simple judgment." What troubles him most is his forced absence, without means to perform any service for Her Majesty. His indebtedness to Sir Robert.—Dublin, 1598, June 14. *Holograph. pp. 2.*

June 14.
Greenwich.

67. "Certain articles undertaken before the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Privy Council, to be performed by John Jolls, of London, merchant; John Wood, of London, gent.; and George Beverley, of the City of Chester, gent., in the providing, shipping, and transporting of the provision of victual hereunder mentioned, out of this realm of England, to the port of Dublin in Ireland, for the victualling of 4,000 for two months."—Greenwich, 1598, June 14. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 73^b–74^b. *Copy. pp. 2.*

June 15.
Athlone.

68. Sir Conyers Clifford to [the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener]. Received the Council's letter of June 14, as he was returning from Roscommon to advertise them of matters of Connaught. "I do send you O'Rourke's own letter (*wanting*) in answer to me to know his mind, having been advertised before of his purpose to revolt, but, in respect of my own opinion of the contrary, I could take no notice, for fear he should have had any jealousy of me. My opinion is now, that he is a villain amongst the rest, and that, by his show of submission, he desired to compass that which he hath now done, which was the compassing of Teig into his own hands. He hath in former letters lately to me complained of a prey my Lord of Delvin took from him, which I do assure your Lordships was very hardly done of my Lord, in respect of this time; yet I find he alleged the same but for shift. Ballymote is betrayed by two that the Constable trusted; and what they will do with it, I cannot yet advertise your Lordships. They make show as if they would deliver the same back to me again, but I have no hope, either of them or any else, longer than they may serve their turns. I will use all my endeavours to keep Her Majesty's footing in this Province as I may, but my means is (*sic*) such, as I take God to witness I know not how to provide the companies one day. Your Lordships and the rest know it is full four months and odd weeks sithence I received any money for their maintenance. For the 500*l.* your Lordships now write of, it is already expended in full pay for the months of January and February, so as I am out of any help thereby. The companies are full of Irishry, as I have advertised from the beginning, and, for want of means, lately grown very weak, so as my case is every way hard, and, for aught I see, likely to be worse; but, what

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extremity soever shall fall, I hope in God to discharge my duty to Her Majesty.

"I received, with your Lordships' letters, other letters from the Lords of Her Majesty's Council of England, in answer of some from me to their Honours, but the time is so far altered sithence, as I must deliver to your Lordships this for my opinion. The people whom I recovered I saw good use might have been made of, if the opportunity had been taken." O'Rourke's pledges and assurances. Full submission of others. Thought no better assurance could be required than to see them draw blood one of the other. Was scantily provided from the time of his first entrance into Connaught, so, of necessity, had to "temper" [temporise]. "For aught I see, there is no way for Her Majesty now but to invade those proud rebels in some convenient place upon the sea, and with good numbers (for the course of temporising is fully ended, if I be not deceived). For I assure your Lordships and the rest, divers of these parts, which had rather live in their duties to Her Majesty than join with these Northern men, are utterly discouraged. First, the time hath been long that they have endured great spoils by the rebels, and great burdens by the soldiers, in all parts; so as at this day they seem desperate what to do, seeing the pride of the rebels generally so great, that they despair of relief. And, in my opinion, if Her Majesty do not abate their prides before harvest, but suffer them to take in the corn, Ireland will be chargeable to recover."

Will send daily advertisements, and desires to hear from their Lordships, so that he may the better direct himself to win time as long as may be.

"For Sligo, if opportunity had been taken whilst they were broken, one upon the other, in those parts, it was easier for me to have settled a garrison there with 500 men, than it is now with 2,000; for your Lordships may conceive there is no possibility now with any reasonable force from hence, unless Tyrone were busied elsewhere; for whosoever undertaketh that work now, must be armed to encounter O'Donnell, all the Province that are now joined again, and many of the forces of Tyrone. I am instantly to draw to Roscommon again, where I have appointed O'Connor Don, M'Dermott, and O'Connor Rce, to meet me, where I purpose to persuade them, if I may, to draw all their cattle between Roscommon and Athlone; which I do in respect not to venture the forces far, till I be better enabled. I assure your Lordships, this day I have not one barrel of powder."—Athlone, 1598, June 15. *Copy. pp. 3.*

June 16.
Dublin.

69. Sir Henry Wallop to the Privy Council. In accordance with the directions of the Council in Ireland, sends a brief collection (*wanting*) of various sums due to the country for beeves, and to several towns and corporations for diet of soldiers.—Dublin, 1598, June 16. *Signed. p. ½.*

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June 16.
[London.]

70. Arthur Hyde to Sir Robert Cecil. Begs his favour to set an end to the overburdensome and tedious suit between himself and Condon. Encloses his petition and breviate (*wanting*).—[London], 1598, June 16. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 16.
The Fews.

71. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Ormonde. "I received your letters, in which you generally charge me with many outrages committed in Ulster, and by Leinster men, contrary to our truce; to which, seeing the causes are unknown to me, I say, that anything done by those of Ulster are (*sic*) little or nothing to the loss they sustained. And as for Leinster men, their cause is not private to me. If they have done anything contrary to our peace, I will stand to my promise touching them, so that you also see my losses amended as you promised. As for attempting the fort of Blackwater, I gave them more commodities of wood and other things than I promised; which they requited by taking my prey, as I formerly complained, and found no redress. As for anything done to the Cavan and Islands, I believe you will find no fault withal, considering in our former truces their injuries were adjudged to be satisfied, and was not done (*sic*). And in this last truce Mulmorey himself banished O'Reilly out of his country, took both his uncles prisoners, took all their goods and tenants, and his uncle Owen O'Reilly's castle. Not only this, but very many more, done by these and others, will I verify, if indifferent arbitrators be appointed to hear and determine our matters, and prove myself to be true of word and promise. Also, my prey was taken by the garrison of Dundalk, who put a ward in Glasdromine, an island of mine in the Fews, and received their 'cirichts.' I wrote unto you heretofore to know whether my pledges might be released for the young Lord of Trimletston and Captain Constable, and received no answer, and now would fain understand your determination. As for a day of meeting, I told your man my mind, and do seek none, if things be no better kept than they were hitherto; only I would be glad to discharge me of any breach, wherewith I should be falsely charged. So I end, from the Fews, the 16th of June 1598." *Endorsed:—*"Copy of the Archtraitor Tyrone's letter to the Lord Lieutenant;" *also*, "The like being written verbatim to the State by Tyrone, in answer of one written before to him by the State." p. 1.

June 17.
Dublin.

72. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. Acknowledge the receipt of their Lordships' packet of May 28, delivered on the 11th instant, and are comforted at being purged in Her Majesty's opinion from the hard imputations sinisterly surmised against them. "So for the public distresses of this kingdom, which we cannot but lay near our hearts, and have given you from time to time notice and insinuation thereof by all our former despatches, we see that, though you have honourably comforted us, that we shall be aided with men, victuals, money, and munition, yet it seemeth your Lordships, upon other considerations not concurring with our advertisements, have thought good not to

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answer us so fully in the means we have desired, as, in our understanding, the dangers of the realm do require; and, in our opinion, the lessening of the means written for, after so long hoping for them, and so much time given to the rebels in the meanwhile to grow in strength, doth not a little increase our dangers; for Tyrone, having long feared a great force to be sent out of England for his prosecution resolutely, and particularly a strong garrison of foot and horse to be laid this summer at Lough Foyle, the conceit whereof did not a little amaze him, for that he saw how far it might tend to his ruin, now when he seeth no accomplishment of that plot, and that he shall stand clear in the part where he feared most danger, it cannot but put him into more stomach, seeing Her Majesty doth forbear to trouble him in the place which he doubteth most. And, upon this alteration, we cannot but think that, in the pride of his mind, he will attempt more dangerously against the heart of this State than he would have done, if he had found impeachment in such an outer limb as Lough Foyle is, whereof he beginning [*sic*; begins] already to make apparent demonstration, by preparing to employ a great part of his forces into Leinster, to bear up his faction there; and by thrusting another part into the Brenny, where he hath already evicted some islands, and taken the prey, killing ten or twelve of the guard that kept them, with the loss of eighty-six of his own men; and afterwards, making offer to attempt the castle of the Cavan, where a garrison is held for Her Majesty, he was put back by the soldiers, with the loss of six more of his men. And with another part of his forces he hath blocked in the fort of the Blackwater, swearing in his barbarous mood that his force should not depart, till he had carried the piece. All which he could not have done, if a force had been sent to Lough Foyle, which, holding him occupied in those parts, would have been a mean to divert him from Leinster and other borders near the English Pale. But, inasmuch as it is thought good to your Lordships otherwise, it is meet we do submit ourselves thereunto; though (under your Lordships' honourable favours) we are of mind that he will now bend his main force against Leinster and the English Pale, seeing he need not doubt to be impeached and troubled by an army in Ulster. And, for Leinster, we have credible advertisements that he hath ready upon the borders a strong company, awaiting a fit time to enter, and to join with the Kavanaghs, the O'Mores, the O'Connors, and most of the Byrnes and Tooles, who are now in open action, and do consist altogether upon a strength of 800 or 900 fighting men at the least, besides other loose people, that do daily draw to them in no small numbers, and besides the said forces of Ulster ready to enter, which we hear will arise to 1,000 men well appointed, besides others that may be sent after them, and besides a further force, which he hath prepared to break into the English Pale by incur-sions by the borders of the north. So as the whole brunt of the danger is now like to fall upon Leinster and the English Pale; for that, upon conference in Council, and a thorough view and consideration of Her Majesty's forces within the realm, we see not how we are able to make a

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sufficient strength to set upon him at home in Ulster, whereby the war might have been counterpoised in some measure, or at least the whole burthen not to light altogether upon Leinster and the Pale; which as it is above the experience of any of us, that have served longest here, that Ulster should have so strong a party in Leinster, and a ready way to maintain it, by sending in fresh supplies of forces, so the danger is the greater, as there hath been no example thereof; and what will be the further events, we see not how we can make any good account thereof, being not able to trouble him in his own country, as aforesaid.

“Nevertheless, according the weak means we have, we have now laid down a course, both for a prosecution to be intended against the traitors in Leinster, and also a strength to be sent up to the borders of the north, to lie off and on, to resist the incursions that way; and this force for the borders, consisting of 2,000 foot in list, which we doubt will not hold out by poll, in respect of the deficient, we mean shall be laid in two places, to be drawn together for a bulk, to answer every part for defence of the borders, as occasion shall serve, not being able to keep them together, as were meet, for want of victuals and money to provide them. And to these are to be added about 160 horsemen in Her Majesty’s pay, such as they are, besides the risings out, both of horse and foot, of those shires of the Pale that frontier nearest the borders, who being but a few in number, and very slenderly appointed for the wars for arms and weapon[s], will stand the service in small stead. And all these to be commanded by the Lord of Delvin and Captain Cuny, if the Marshal may not be spared to take that charge, to whom we have now written therein. And, for the prosecution intended in Leinster, there is likewise a force of 2,000 foot, besides some companies of horse, and the risings out of the countries adjacent to those parts, all which are divided in several troops, into Leix and Offally, the counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny, and the south mountains ‘for anempst’ the counties of Dublin and Kildare, as they shall be drawn upon occasion of service, those being the places where the traitors do make their most haunt. This prosecution in Leinster I, the Lord Lieutenant General, intend to follow in person, for that the service being of great consequence, and the action thereof to be divided into many parts, I will do my best to manage it myself in person, the better to carry others in good order by my example. And yet we think it a force not strong enough, for that we have no means to employ an army to entangle Tyrone in Ulster, as the Lord Burgh did the last year, who then had no impediments by Leinster, for that the O’Mores and Connors were then in, and with his Lordship, and the Kavanaghs stood in good terms, so as he had no cause to be withdrawn from Ulster by any wars in Leinster. And Fcagh M’Hugh was also suppressed before he entered into charge, and his offal banished into Ulster, to seek succour of Tyrone; but now his two sons, with the most part of the Byrnes and Tooles, are doubtful.”

Enclose list of the disposition of the forces; also a list of all the forces in Her Majesty’s pay (*wanting*) as they stand now reduced,

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to answer the service of the field. Three-fourths of them are Irish. Beg that the promised 2,000 soldiers may be hastened, and directed to land at Dublin and Drogheda. Pray for supplies of munition, victuals, and money. Ormonde will cause an exact inquiry to be made into the decay of the Picardy soldiers from 1,100 to 612.

“ We have seen the copies of such letters as your Lordships sent with the packet concerning Sir Conyers Clifford, grounded as it seemeth upon overtures left to the solicitation of Sir Calisthenes Brooke, wherein, for so much of those matters as shall pertain to any of us, to be performed by our several authorities, we will not fail to answer Sir Conyers in all things, as shall be most expedient for Her Majesty's service, according our usual means, wishing, as your Lordships do, that the gent[leman], through his over much confidence, be not deceived by those Irish treacheries or falsehoods, who have many deep subtilties to abuse such as know them not thoroughly; wherein, nevertheless, as we have done, so still we will not fail from time to time to give him the best advice and cautions that we can.”

The long-expected munition arrived about twenty days past. The greater part already issued. Enclose certificate. Crave a further large proportion. Will be as heedful as they can concerning the defalcation of the munition from the soldiers' pay, though they know it will be a difficult matter, as the soldier is already so much strained in his lendings and apparel.

“ Where, in the forefront of this letter, we made mention of the fort of Blackwater, and how it is blocked by the traitor Tyrone, not mentioning then for how long time it was victualled, which is but till the last of this month at the furthest; and, forasmuch as neither the traitor's force can be removed, nor the place relieved with victuals but by the countenance of an army, it standing so far in the main land, as there is no commodity to succour it by water; we doubt that, through these extremities, it may receive such disaster as we shall be sorry for, and yet not able to remedy it, not having means thereunto for want of force; therefore we thought good, upon these considerations, to desire your Lordships' advice and direction, whether (the great necessity of the fort not being otherwise to be relieved), we may not advise such as have charge there to consider how they may quit the place with the best advantage for their own safety. The garrison there consisteth upon four companies of foot, such as, in former attempts made by Tyrone against that place, have behaved themselves with great valour and resolution, whose worthy services have well deserved not to leave them to be exposed to the uttermost hazard and cruelty of the enemy, if there be any way to preserve them; in which respect we humbly pray again to have your Lordships' special resolution therein with all possible speed, I, the Lord Lieutenant, and all the rest of us, being not a little grieved to make this overture, if we could devise any other means to prevent the mischief by removing the traitors by force; and for my part, I, the Lord Lieutenant (if the extremity be not to be holpen otherwise), do think it less dishonour to have it

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razed, or yielded upon composition, than the soldiers to be left to the uttermost danger.

“ We have daily advertisements of Tyrone’s treacherous practices to extend his rebellion and treason into all the parts of the realm, having his ministers to pass to and fro through every Province and other country of the kingdom, labouring to seduce the people, by many colourable offers and pretences, to right them in their supposed Irish claims and titles to lands and countries, long since lawfully evicted from them, and to introduce papistry, which he beginneth now to make a more firm ground of his rebellion than he did before, insinuating that he is borne up and maintained therein by the Spanish King, by which course he hath wrought dangerous impressions in the hearts of the people, who, of themselves, are overmuch inclined to alteration, but specially being carried with the promise of restitution to their idolatrous religion and old vain titles of lands. And though there be some, who are not so lightly carried down the stream as the rest, but do stay to await what time will bring forth, yet it is to be doubted that many of those, seeing Her Majesty not to proceed so resolutely as were to be wished, to pull down this great traitor, may grow to a further weakness in their loyalty than is meet for good subjects, specially when they consider how long Her Majesty hath suffered him in his rebellion, and how much he hath prevailed therein. And the example of Leinster being so much corrupted to the devotion of Ulster, as was never seen before, is to him a special ground to work many to his party in the other Provinces of the realm, wherein I, the Lord Lieutenant General, have done what I can to keep them hitherto out of Munster, having had a late meeting with the Lord President touching certain doubtful men, to be laid hands on there, whose names I gave him a note [of]; so as, if Tyrone be not out of hand before winter otherwise encountered than he hath been, he will put in hazard to shake the whole State. For, though he feed the people with the pretences before touched, yet we are of opinion that it is not religion, nor old beggarly titles, that do carry him, but that it is the alteration of the government and State that he aimeth at, as by his letters, which we have formerly signified to your Lordships, he hath promised to the Spaniards, and is still countenanced and encouraged therein by them. Thus much we are bold in discharge of our duties to acquaint your Lordships withal, humbly leaving to your Lordships’ considerations, how great are the dangers of this realm, and how requisite it is that Her Majesty enter into a real removing of them, before things grow to the utmost hazard.’

Weak state of the horsemen in Ireland. Beg that one hundred well-furnished horse may be sent with all speed. Mistake in a former certificate as to the numbers of horse and foot. Send a corrected one (*wanting*), and beg that the proportion of money and victuals may be sent in accordance with it. Enclose a note of such of the traitors as have been cut off by the sword and martial law since the last certificate was sent.—Dublin, 1598,

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June 17. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich the 23rd." pp. 5. *Inclose*,—

72. I. "*A list of the forces upon the northern borders;*" foot, 2,140; horse, 204. *Also, a list of forces remaining in the north;* foot, 1,020; horse, 95.—1598, June 12. pp. 2½.

72. II. *The issue of the munition lately arrived at Dublin, together with a remain thereof, taken the 16th of June, 1598. Signed by Sir George Bouchier.* pp. 5.

72. III. "*A collection of certain traitors, executed and slain, since the last certificate sent by the Lord Lieutenant into England, 1598.*" *Signed by the Earl of Ormonde, 1598, June 17.* pp. 2.

June 17.
Dublin.

73. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council to the Privy Council. Are much importuned on behalf of the young Baron of Trinletston, who, about a year ago, in the lifetime of his father, was wounded and taken prisoner in Her Majesty's service, and who yet remains with the traitor Cormack M'Baron. The latter refuses to enlarge him upon any other condition than the liberty of his son, a child, who, together with Tirlogh M'Henry's son, was long since delivered as pledge for Tyrone's loyalty. The young nobleman deserves great commiseration. If his liberty had stood upon the enlargement of a prisoner of other nature, though of far greater weight, they would not have troubled their Lordships. But as the prisoner demanded was delivered in as a pledge to Her Majesty (though it has appeared to the whole kingdom that his detaining neither has restrained, nor, in their opinions, will restrain, either his father or Tyrone from any disloyal action), they have thought it meet to acquaint their Lordships first. Beg for a speedy reply, "for that we fear that their barbarous usage of him, so far contrary to his education and nature, may endanger his life, which we doubt not your Lordships will most favourably regard, the rather for that he is a nobleman, and, in his first entrance into Her Majesty's service, hath, with the loss of his blood, showed so good forwardness and resolution."

Beg also to know their Lordships' pleasure concerning Captain Constable, who was taken prisoner by James M'Sorley, the Scot, at the time Sir John Chichester was slain. Two other pledges, one of the Quins and one of the Hagans, may work his liberty. "As to Tirlogh M'Henry's son, as the matter now standeth betwixt Tyrone and Tirlogh, we think it not meet he should be delivered into Tyrone's hands, but, for the rest before-named, we are all of opinion that no better use can now be made of them than to redeem such men of worth as, by mishap in Her Majesty's service, have fallen into those traitors' hands."—Dublin, 1598, June 17. *Endorsed is a memorandum by the Clerk of the Privy Council, dated at Greenwich, 2 July 1598, stating that the Council are of opinion that Her Majesty shall do a gracious deed by taking some such order for the liberty of the two prisoners, as is motioned by the letter. Signed. Seal.* pp. 2.

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June 18.
Dublin.

74. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. His letter dated at Theobalds, 11 June, was delivered to them on the 15th instant; "by which we understand that your Lordship had sequestered yourself thither from intermeddling with great affairs, to make proof whether you may recover the health there, which to our great grief we understand your Lordship [to] have lost in other places. Yet, in regard, both of your most honourable affection to Her Majesty's service, and your wonted care of this miserable country, we perceive your Lordship could not, with good satisfaction of your mind, forbear to impart unto us sundry things mentioned in your Lordship's said letters." These they have in effect already answered in their joint letter with the Council, yet, for Burghley's private satisfaction, have now thought meet to give further particulars.

Explain the variety of payments in the issue of the last 12,000*l*. Have acquainted Sir Henry Wallop with Burghley's letter. Beg the speedy dispatch of a large proportion of treasure. Their extreme care in the issue of money. Pray for supplies of men and victuals, otherwise, "it will so peril the state of this sore-shaken kingdom, as we know not what account we shall be able to render to Her Majesty of her services here.

"Touching the reports of terrible news, wherewith your Lordship hath been much troubled to hear of the loss of Her Majesty's subjects, and of some holds here, viz., the Blackwater and Armagh, both supposed to be destroyed by the rebel; and in Leinster, first Kingsmill's band, likewise supposed to be destroyed, and now last of all, the Treasurer's band, also either destroyed or defeated by the Kavanaghs; we are sorry that those, who take upon them to be intelligencers, or reporters of the affairs here, do not with better advice inform themselves, before they write or speak, but, even upon the first report of unfortunate accidents, to (*sic*) advertise things often proving untruths, as, God be thanked, it hath done in this (*sic*). And that your Lordship may now be better informed thereof, it may please your Lordship to remember that, first, for Armagh, it hath long since been signified thither to your Lordship and the rest, that the same was quit by the Lord Burgh in the time of his government. Blackwater stands, and is yet held, for Her Majesty, but we doubt greatly that neither it, nor holds of as great importance, will not (*sic*) long so continue, unless we may be speedily holpen with means from thence, to pull down that Archtraitor, who omitteth not one day's watch and opportunity to destroy them. And of Kingsmill's band, not one man destroyed or hurt, for they were not in place at that conflict with the Kavanaghs; but of Sir Henry Wallop's company there were slain at that time, in the county of Wexford, his lieutenant and 44 soldiers; of the Picardy companies, Captain Wilton's lieutenant, 4 under officers, and 80 soldiers; and of the inhabitants of that country about 30. Yet the rebel scaped not so free, but there were slain of them (as I, the Lord Lieutenant am credibly informed), the number of 80 or upwards, even in their own fastness, whither by their trains they drew on our forces, where the numbers before mentioned, and

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no more, were (through their own foolish hardness, and want of discipline in one Leonard Coleclough, who had the leading of the country forces) so lost, and this we inform your Lordship of the truth of that accident."

The corn sent to the several ports has arrived, but in ill condition. Insufficiency of the apparel sent; "and although we must agree with your Lordship that there were no reason to allow [any to] the mere Irish (if we had others to put in their rooms), yet how dangerous it were, either to discharge them, the army consisting for the more part of that nation, as we have often informed thither, or to exempt them from receiving apparel as the rest, and so to drive them in a generality to jealousy, discontentment, and mutiny, not having others presently to supply their places, we leave to your Lordship's grave and wise consideration; and ourselves have lately had experience thereof from some of them, who, for that the apparel stretched not to serve them, have given their captains and other officers work enough to keep them from disbanding and running to the enemy." The great care exercised in the distribution of the apparel. The defalcation for the same. "And for that we have cause to doubt the event of things by having bands thus stuffed with Irish, it hath made us to forbear reinforcing the several companies lately reduced to lesser numbers, until we may be supplied from thence, although we had never more need to make them strong, which (*sic*) for that and other purposes of great importance, it is high time to haste them hither in good number, otherwise we assure your Lordship that we have great cause to doubt that such will be our case, as we shall not often more write unto you."

The proposed attendance of Sir Henry Wallop in England with respect to his accounts. Told him that point in Burghley's letter. "We were loath to advise him for his own repair thither, for that we have great use of him in these times of importance, both for his long and good experience of this country and service, as also by reason of his place and employment here, where great sums of money are to be used." Hope he will appoint a sufficient deputy; "but our greatest hope and comfort is, that God will restore and spare your Lordship, as a careful father for this poor realm, now groaning in misery, and that your Lordship will, in your wonted respect to Her Majesty's service, and care of this her kingdom, and us her poor servants and subjects, continue your honourable endeavours, in furthering our relief with all fit means from thence."

The reason why the Lord Lieutenant did not make warrants for the army was, that Burghley's late letters, sent with the treasure, were directed to the Lords Justices and Sir Henry Wallop. Yet they stayed the issue of the treasure fourteen days for the arrival of the Lord Lieutenant, who was then on the borders. They will, from henceforth, with all willingness leave the work to Ormonde, and be ready to assist him with their best advice, whenever he requires it.

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“Although we fear we have been over troublesome unto your Lordship, yet, lest some of these busy intelligencers should take upon them to advertise thither an unhappy accident happened here in these mountains by Dublin, the 14 of this instant, and therein haply err, as in the former reports they have done, we have now thought good to certify your Lordship the truth thereof, as from me, the Lord Lieutenant, who was myself in person at that instant in the field; and thus it succeeded. The 13 of this month, at 12 of the clock in the night, an intelligence was brought unto me of a saucy approach made by Cahir M’Hugh, brother to the late traitor Feagh, towards the parts of the mountains next adjoining to this city. Whereupon, I instantly prepared myself, and with what haste I could drew forth the two companies of Folliot and Kingsmill, then garrisoned here, with such small number of the citizens as upon that sudden could be had out (and yet they came not in time to the service), and then, accompanied with but a few horsemen, and some captains that then were here, I hasted forwards, and the plot being well laid the night before, I was brought the next morning where I discovered some part of the enemy in some villages within 14 miles to Dublin, and following the rebel as covertly as I could, doubting lest they should too soon discover me, and so fly towards their fastness, as commonly as they use, I both gave commandment myself, [and] sent Sir George Bouchier, my steward, and another messenger, at several times to stay some few horsemen of the gentlemen who accompanied me, and went before without either reason or discipline, and, to be short, such was their rash hardiness, as, contrary to all my former commandments, they rested not galloping before me, until, ere they were aware, they engaged themselves amongst the enemies, where their horses were so spent with their unreasonable riding of them before, as they were not able to stir a foot; but that the rebel, after a volley of shot discharged in the bosoms of them, came even to hand blows, where they ten times over-numbered them, and so put them to the sword, viz., Mr. Oliver Wallop, second son to the Treasurer, and a voluntary follower at that time, who was first shot in the breast with two bullets, and afterwards pitifully mangled with a sword; one Gibson, a captain, who made such haste, as he had neither staff, sword, nor rapier, at that instant to defend himself; one Nix, a pensioner, who is said to have drawn on the rest to their untimely end; and one Greame, a horseman. These were all that were slain; and but hurt, a captain only, called Alford. Of the enemy there were slain 45, as I, the Lord Lieutenant, am credibly informed; and assuredly, but for the rash over-forwardness of the fore-named gentlemen thus perished, I had performed a good piece of service, for, in all likelihood, few or none of the rebel[s] had escaped, being then after a long journey fallen to their rest, and beset round about by me, until by these means discovered.

“In these conflicts the rebels go not free; for, since the last certificate of me, the Lord Lieutenant, mentioning the number slain and executed of them by martial law, there hath likewise been put to the sword, and executed of them by martial law, as I am

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severally advertised, above 434; and, by a good and speedy means from thence, I hope the like confusion will befall the whole rabble of them."—Dublin, 1598, June 18. *Signed.* pp. 6.

June 18.
Dublin.

75. The Earl of Ormonde to Queen Elizabeth. Finds the pride and insolency of the archtraitors Tyrone and O'Donnell such that he cannot but be heartily sorry that stay is made of the forces once meant to be sent into the north to subdue them. They "deserve the sharpest prosecution that can be devised by fire, sword, or any other extremity, whereby they may be an example for all other traitors to the world's end." Begs that Her Majesty would send to Lough Foyle 1,200 foot and 100 horse, victualled for five or six months, and with a proportion of money and munition. Also, that the 2,000 men for supplies may be presently sent over.—Dublin, 1598, June 18. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 18.
Dublin.

76. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. No man is gladder than he at Sir Robert's safe return. Will hereafter, as Burghley has written, give his warrants for issuing such treasure as shall come.

"You write that you of the Council were sensible of my lacks. I confess it is no small heart grief to me to hold the place I do, and to want the means whereby I should be enabled to perform that I most desire against the traitors. I protest to God the state of the scurvy fort of Blackwater, which cannot be long held, doth more touch my heart than all the spoils that ever were made by traitors on my own lands. This fort was always falling, and never victualled but once (by myself) without an army, to Her Majesty's exceeding charges."

Refers on other matters to the joint letter of the Council, now sent over. Thanks Sir Robert for his French advertisements, whereby he perceives that the French King has shown himself a cold friend, and that the States are to be dealt with by Commissioners, who being, as the French King says, enriched by the wars, are like therefore to forsake peace, which will prove bad for them, if Her Majesty leave them to themselves.

"Sir, I pray you help to supply our wants speedily, that we may have some revenge upon these wicked and unnatural traitors that daily increase, though there have been since my employment to this present above a 1,000 put to the sword and executed by martial law, as I can avow."—Dublin, 1598, June 18. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 18.
Dublin.

77. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. The distressed estate of Ireland. "Except our wants be presently supplied, I fear all the country here will be overrun, before any means be sent to make resistance against the incursions of those wicked traitors, who grow very strong by mean of the continual revolt of their confederates, taking advantage of the wants we have, wherewith they are well acquainted." The numbers slain and executed. The imminent danger, unless men are sent to Lough Foyle, and the

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promised 2,000 supplies come over presently; "for the traitors, as I understand, are preparing to invade the Pale, and our army here are (*sic*) so dispersed in Connaught, the counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Carlow, Leix, Offally, Kildare, and the county of Dublin, to withstand the several forces of the rebels in those counties, as, until we shall have supplies, we shall not be able to encounter their main force; which is no small heart-breaking unto me, being employed in this service, and not supplied with means to effect the same." Begs that the men may be hastened, and victuals with them. These cannot be had in Ireland. "Divers do break out here daily, which hitherto have not discovered their treachery; and O'Rourke, lately come in to Sir Conyers Clifford, is now revolted from him. I am forced thus to leave, the post being ready to depart, and am very sorry that I can send you no better news." Prays Sir Robert to haste the Earl of Thomond to Ireland, "for he hath well by his service deserved the same." Sends a note received from Sir Geoffrey Fenton, to be used as Sir Robert thinks fit.—Dublin, 1598, June 18. *Signed.* p. 1. *Incloses,*

77. 1. *Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the Earl of Ormonde.* Asking him to have the following inserted in a letter to the Privy Council:—"Forsomuch as, by Her Majesty's last letter, I am directly restrained to deal further with Tyrone by way of treaties or parley, unless he submit himself to the articles formerly prescribed to him by Her Majesty, which I have submitted to your Lordships before, by Her Majesty, please your Lordships to move Her Majesty whether, upon the occasion of our great weakness here to set upon him in Ulster, and the great dangers that thereby may fall upon the State by his strong faction in Leinster, and the forcible incursions he may make into the English Pale, I may not deal further with him by temporising, to the end to divert the dangers from the heart of the State, if I can by that course; humbly praying your Lordships that herein I may receive Her Majesty's direction out of hand."—[1598, June 18.] *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 18.
Dublin.

78. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. That favour may be shown to the bearer, Florence M'Carthy, who is now repairing into England about some suits of his; and that he may be dispatched back, as he can be hardly spared in this dangerous time.—Dublin, 1598, June 18. *Signed.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

June 18.
Dublin.

79. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The two general packets now sent contain largely the ill condition of things here, only in particular I am bold, in the grief of my mind, to write a little how dangerous it is for this kingdom not to be able to vex Tyrone in his own country, but to give him the fruit of this summer to invade us in the heart of the realm. And the matter that increaseth our danger is that Tyrone hath received knowledge that Her Majesty will send no forces to Lough Foyle this year, which was the place he feared would soonest ruin him. This alteration he carrieth many ways to his advantage; first, he liveth free at home, without fear to be distressed in Ulster; secondly, he hath commodity to bend all his force against the heart and seat of the

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kingdom, I mean Leinster and the English Pale, into which he is ready to make a strong invasion in three parts, namely, by the way of Longford and Westmeath, with a force of 1,000 men to be led by O'Donnell, Maguire, and the O'Farrells; into Meath and Offaly, with 800 men, guided by Captain[s] Tyrrell and Nugent, and they to pass through the Brenny; and into the county of Louth and Dundalk, by way of the Fews, with 800 men to be led by Cormack, Tyrone's brother, and the M'Mahons; and to give a better passage to these invasions, he hath drawn a strong faction in Low Leinster, which he spareth not to bear up with men and means out of Ulster. So as your Honour may see how he hath made a globe of his forces to comprehend us round, assuring you it will be hard for us to avoid a dangerous blow, without good store of men and victuals to be sent out of England with all possible speed. But the matter that I fear most is that this, his thorough fortune in Leinster, will cast Connaught again into a relapse, and stir coals in Munster, which remaineth yet in reasonable good terms. To make us the stronger against these invasions, the State is driven, for preservation and defence of the heart, to abandon two of the outward limbs; and I fear more will run the same fortune, if it be not Her Majesty's pleasure to reinforce us out of hand, or at least with the 2,000 men promised and 100 horsemen, with money and victuals to sustain them. The hazard of the kingdom is apparent, without a stronger force than we have to prevent it; and the not settling of the government in one sufficient man's hands entirely, whereby the divided authority might cease, is a cause of some confusions which otherwise might be repressed. But, having written at large of this before, I forbear to trouble you further, being overwhelmed in the miseries and wretched events in this unhappy State."—Dublin, 1598, June 18.

[*Postscript.*]—"After I had signed this letter, I understood out of Connaught that O'Rourke was revolted, of whom for my part I never looked for other, and therefore his new treachery doth not much trouble me." *Signed.* p. 1.

June 18. 80. "A schedule of the several numbers of men to be levied in certain counties of the Principality of Wales and the marches of the same, and in other particular counties, mentioned in the said schedule, for the supplying of the decayed bands in Ireland." *The places at which the men were to embark are Bristol, Chester, and Milford, and the number of the men is 2,000. The names of the officers in charge are given.*—1598, June 18. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 74^b. *Copy.* p. 1.

Appended are, "Instructions for the Captains that were to conduct the said 2,000 men to the ports from whence they were to be transported."—Greenwich, 1598, June 18. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 75, 75^b. *Copy.* pp. 1½.

June 19. 81. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, Dublin. and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. Send the bearer, John Allen, clerk of the Ordnance, to receive the munition for

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which they have written. Pray for his speedy dispatch back.—
Dublin, 1598, June 19. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 22.
Dublin.

82. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I wrote of late to you that Tyrone's two sons, with their schoolmaster, were left in Dunluce, upon pretence to study there. But as I doubted then of some further dangerous meaning, both in Tyrone and James M'Donnell, who is the usurper of Dunluce, and did at that time acquaint the State here with my conjecture therein, so sithence I have received advice out of Ulster that Tyrone's meaning to leave his sons in Dunluce was not for learning[s] sake, but rather to lie there in the custody of James M'Donnell, as pledges to the King of Scots, upon some compact made between His Highness and Tyrone. I have no certainty of this, yet the likelihood is great, for that the castle of Dunluce standing upon a point of land towards Scotland, and James M'Donnell being wholly for the Scottish King, and combined with Tyrone, it argueth a more deep pretence to have his two sons confined to that castle than to follow their books in so remote a place from himself, and so apt to negotiate any matter with Scotland. I am loath to be over-suspicious of the Scottish practices against Her Majesty with these rebels of Ireland, and yet fresh probabilities rise daily to move a belief therein, but your Honour hath better means to discover that bottom than I can have, which I humbly leave to your own course, only still I follow this ground, that between Spain and Scotland, the one for money and the other for men, this dangerous rebellion of Ireland is borne up, for it is not the house of O'Neill, nor the succours of the beggarly potentates in Ireland, that could stir and maintain so great a sedition, if it were not countenanced and fed by foreign Princes." Recommends Sir Robert to labour with Her Majesty for the settling of the government of Ireland in one sufficient man's hands, "which will be a main step to reconcile this broken estate."—Dublin, 1598, June 22.

[*Postscript.*]—The Marshal is sent for to take charge of the forces laid upon the borders to resist Tyrone's incursions into the Pale. The Lord Lieutenant is to follow the prosecution in Leinster, "where the rebels rise daily into heart." *Signed.* p. 1.

[*A Commission from the Earl of Ormonde, dated 1598, June 23, appointing Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall Chief Commander of Her Majesty's forces in the counties of Armagh, Antrim, Down, Louth, Meath, Westmeath, and Drogheda, will be found in No. 140 of October following.*]

June 25.
Dublin.

83. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "It may please your Honour to see by this enclosed what dangerous correspondencies do still pass between the King of Scots and Tyrone. I have often advertised that the fair semblances, used by that King to Her Majesty are but so many Scottish dissimulations, and having taken a particular care to trace out so much of his dealings as concerned this government and his intelligences with Tyrone, I find still that the meaning of that King is, to bear up the rebellion of Ireland and underhand to hold Her Majesty entangled here to the end to draw

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her to serve some turn of his, which he thinketh he cannot bring to pass by other means.

"I doubt not but he maketh all contrary demonstrations to Her Majesty, and so it behoveth him the better to stand clear in Her Majesty's opinion. But assure yourself he runneth on with his practices to keep Ireland in sedition, of which I have had so many strong presumptions, as I have no reason to rest any longer in doubt thereof. Tyrone's two sons (as I wrote to your Honour two days past), continue still in Dunluce, and I see not but by some stratagem they might be surprised in that castle; which in my opinion might best be performed by the two pinnaces of war, which I understand Her Majesty meaneth to send to occupy these northern seas between Scotland and Ulster. There are pretexts enough to shadow this matter, which are familiar to seamen of any understanding. Yet, if your Honour shall think good to address to me any one secret staid man of those pinnaces, I will give him some special notes for the better carriage of his attempt, which I am of mind may be compassed without any great hazard.

"The Marshal is this day come hither, and to-morrow is to return to the borders of the North, to take charge of the forces assigned to lie there against Tyrone. And this day the Lord Lieutenant is to depart towards Leinster, to manage that prosecution; and, in his way, is to attempt to victual the fort of Maryborough. The proportion of these forces I sent to your Honour in the last general despatch, hoping by my next to give you some taste of their services; for, now the axe is laid to the tree, I hope some branches will be cut off ere it be long; and it is high time that either the corrupt trunk of the tree be cut down, or some of his principal boughs be shred off."—Dublin, 1598, June 25. [*Postscript.*]"Tyrone is still inquisitive whether there will be a peace between Her Majesty and Spain this year, wherein it seemeth he expecteth to be comprehended; and he thinketh that, by deferring to make war upon him this summer in Ulster, Her Majesty hath a purpose to make peace with Spain." *Signed.* p. 1. *Incloses,*

83. 1. — to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. "*Yesterday, being Thursday, I was in talk, within three miles of Dundalk, with the Earl and others of his people, where he did tell me that the Earl of Ormonde did deal very hardly with him after this manner. That the King of Scots did send the Earl of Tyrone a letter, [of] which letter he gave the copy to the Earl of Ormonde; and the Earl of Ormonde did send it to the Council in England; the Council in England did send it back to the King of Scots; and the King of Scots did send the same, or the copy, to the Earl of Tyrone, the 15th day of this month, which was, as I think, on Monday last. Whereupon he hath written an excuse to the King that the letter was stolen from him. You know I wrote to your worship, when that letter came to the Earl of Tyrone; assure yourself that the King will and doth him any favour he can.*" *The rebel forces that are to go to Leinster. They go up 800 men, and will depart by Sunday*

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next. "At the Venvery," 1598, June 21. No signature. Copy. p. 1.

June 26.
Athlone.

84. Sir Conyers Clifford to the Privy Council. His particular travails for the settling of the Province. Sworn protestations of loyalty from O'Rourke and the general assembly of the people of Connaught at Athlone. His former requirements of 1,200 foot and 100 horse, for the recovery of Ballyshannon and the keeping busy of O'Donnell with factions.

"What, my most honourable Lords, I did then write touching the recovery of this Province, was true, upon my duty of allegiance; and what I now write for these parts, and for the service upon O'Donnell, I require no favour, but being now provided of 1,500 foot and 100 horse, and freed of Tyrone's forces, to be undertaken at the same time by the army, I will upon my life make due performance of all which formerly I have set down, notwithstanding O'Rourke is since combined with O'Donnell, who saith (as your honourable Lordships by his letter will see), that he doubted of my accomplishment of the promises I made to him in Her Majesty's name, by reason the Lord Lieutenant sent Teig O'Rourke's mother to him, with great promises to Teig, who is near allied to his Lordship, and hath been brought up with him. Besides, it doth appear that Teig was no fit instrument to be gained for Her Majesty; for O'Donnell, to recover O'Rourke again, hath taken Teig prisoner, and, in the agreements between O'Donnell and O'Rourke, must deliver him to O'Rourke, which is not yet done, neither hath O'Rourke seen O'Donnell since his submission; so as I hope, if I be enabled in time as I desire, O'Rourke will be for Her Majesty's service, as he is bound by oath and pledges unto me. And as I conceive this is but a subtlety in O'Donnell to entrap O'Rourke, and a time-winning in O'Rourke to save the wealth of his country from O'Donnell; yet shall O'Rourke find, God willing, that, if he join assuredly with O'Donnell, I will thoroughly meet with him therein.

"This he allegeth to be the cause why he again combined with O'Donnell, and your honourable Lordships, well understanding the state of this kingdom, know them to be a fickle, inconstant people, and of necessity sometimes to be humoured, according to their own natures."

Does not excuse O'Rourke. Will not approve his own proceedings further than their Lordships think them grounded upon good reason. Since his last, the companies with him have been without any means, but such as he has taken from the regained subjects, the most dangerous cause of all inconveniences to Her Majesty's proceedings. Nearly five months, since he was supplied "with any penny" to maintain the forces with him. The plans he formerly proposed. Desires now but 1,500 foot and 100 horse to constrain O'Rourke to a new submission "or other overthrow," and to break O'Donnell; after which only six companies of foot and 100 horse need be continued in the Province.

"For I do assure myself by my former experiences of O'Donnell's strength, Tyrone's forces and the instruments he useth for Leinster

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being stiffly held to by such to whom it appertaineth, to be able, with the faction in Tyrconnell and the assistance of the provincial chieftains sithence my coming hither submitted (notwithstanding O'Rourke's revolt), both to recover the castle of Ballyshannon and to work O'Donnell to equal terms with the rest, who, by the prosecution of the rest of the army, shall be regained.

"And where I conceive your honourable Lordships think this large offer to proceed from my trust in the Irishry, I do protest unto your Lordships, never any man came amongst them that affecteth their barbarous customs less than myself, and, under correction I may speak it, no man of my poor estate hath paid dearer to know them than myself, and only, as I shall answer before God, to do Her Majesty service. So as, building no conceit upon their trust, but induced by the passage of the service from my entry into this Province until this time, and thereby grounded upon reason, I have presumed to undertake the service afore set down, being so accomplished as I most humbly desire."

His former success in Connaught. "What danger soever this kingdom is now in is by no policy of the rebel, but altogether by want of means to such as are employed by Her Majesty." Begs that the Earl of Thomond, the Baron of Dunkellin, Sir Calisthenes Brooke, and O'Connor Sligo, may be returned to their charges. Good service of O'Connor Sligo, whom it is necessary to return well satisfied.—Athlone, 1598, June 26. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich the 21 of July." *Signed*. pp. 3. *Incloses*,

84. 1. *Brian O'Rourke to Sir Conyers Clifford*. Received at the same time his letters, and those of the Privy Council, and the copy of his articles postilled by the Secretary. Thanks Sir Conyers for the great trouble he has taken on his behalf. Was credibly informed by some friends that the Earl of Ormonde "was crossing to have any dispatch" of O'Rourke's business for Teig's sake, and that he had promised to give ear to Teig's agents. Ormonde's support to Teig. "Of your worship's wonted favour I doubt not, assuring myself, if all the magistrates of Ireland were of your mind, that these wars of Ireland had been ended long ago; but when they that are authorised do rather look to their friends than to the furtherance of Her Majesty's service, all goes hard, and God keep all honest men from such dealings." Is credibly informed that no point of his business is ended yet in England, from whence he got all news of late. Prays that the dealings of Sir Conyers in his behalf may not hurt his credit, "taking God to witness that I wish you no worse than mine own life, and if the hard dealings of them that have jurisdiction to bar my proceedings in all my lawful causes should not put us aside, God confound him that should break with your worship." Sends two hawks to Sir Conyers.—"Lough Asknye, this present Saturday, being the 27 $\frac{17}{27}$ of June 1598." *Endorsed*:—"Received 19 June 1598." *Signed*. p. 1

June 26.

85. "Divers points to be handled at this consultation."

"1. What money must be now sent to make up a payment of lendings to this day for the companies which are already in Ireland.

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"2. It would be considered what shall be done with those Irish that are there in pay, which are three whole parts of the army, as is certified.

"3. Whether Her Majesty shall send any more now than 2,000 already levied, which will be at the seaside by the 9 of July, *which numbers, being added to those already, will make the army 8,000.*

"4. Further order to be taken for victual, there being now only provided victual for 2,000 men for four months, where it is required that there may be a provision for victual for 4,000 men for 4 months.

"5. Provision of munition and arms according to a note subscribed by the Master of the Ordnance there, and sent to my Lord Essex.

"6. What advice shall be given them for Blackwater, now in danger, in which point they do so much desire to be instructed.

"7. What money shall be sent to pay lendings for the army from henceforth, when these 2,000 men already levied shall be there.

"8. Whether there shall be any forces sent to Lough Foyle if 2,000 men more shall be levied.

"Mr. Lane's opinion that the Irish serve well and endure all hardness.

"Memorandum : That money will be presently required for the conduct, transportation, and coating of 2,000 men.

"Debts of towns; of captains cased; of others not discharged. Sir Conyers Clifford to be paid."

The words in italics are in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. Endorsed : —"1598, June 26." p. 1.

June 27. 86. Donogh O'Connor Sligo to Sir Robert Cecil. "Where my bad fortune is such as all this while I could not be dispatched, in respect I had not the letters patents made to my uncle here to show, but have sent for them a fortnight ago, according your Honour's direction; yet understanding of the daily increase of troubles in Ireland, and specially in Connaught, where I left the said patent, where all the ways and passages be so dangerous, as I fear me my man will not nor can not be here again this quarter of a year to come at least; it may therefore please your Honour to send your warrant to Mr. Attorney, to have my book drawn according to the contents of this my most reasonable petition here inclosed (*wanting*); and the rather that my present repair into Ireland is so necessary for Her Majesty's service in general, and that the rebels may see how graciously Her Majesty useth such of her subjects as faithfully serve her and stick unto her; and that my poor tenants, bordering upon O'Donnell's country, be subject to the daily incursions of the northern rebels: and lastly mine own estate being such as I am not

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able to continue any longer in England."—1598, June 27. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 27. 87. List of "warrants already granted" for the pay, victualling, &c., of the troops for Ireland. *Signed by* Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Fortescue.—1598, June 27. p. 1.

June 30. 88. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to Dublin. Acknowledge their letters of 20th March last touching the accusation and commitment in Dublin of Captain Thomas Lee. Those letters came not to their hands until April 20, when the Lord Lieutenant and divers of the Council were absent. The witnesses, also, to be examined were many, and dwelling diversly and far off, and some of them not to be come by; as Cahir M'Hugh, brother of the late Feagh M'Hugh, and now in actual rebellion; Oliver Garrett, Captain Lee's Lieutenant, not yet come by, but likely to come to them. Strict examination of the rest of the witnesses, and re-examination of some. The cause has divers times been debated at large at the Council table, and Piers Hackett, the principal accuser, and the party accused, were there once confronted; the one very constantly (in words) did maintain his accusation, the other as confidently (in words) denied in part, and in part laboured to avoid the same. The circumstances of those examinations have been such that, with their other great employment, they could not make their certificate in the matter before now. Send the informations, accusations, and examinations verbatim, and also a catalogue and abstract of the same. Will attend their Lordships' further pleasure touching their further proceedings.—Dublin, 1598, June 30. *Signed.* pp. 2. *Inclose,*

88. I. "A note of such articles as Captain Lee will be charged withal." Duplicate of No. 73, March 3, above. *Endorsed by* Burghley:—"Contr. Capt. Lee." pp. 3½.

88. II. Copy of the examination of Cahir O'Toole, taken on January 2, 1597-8, by direction of the Lords Justices, before Her Majesty's Serjeant and Attorney. *Attested by the same.* pp. 2.

88. III. "A note of certain articles against Captain Thomas Lee, which doth partly manifest how the said Captain Lee was privy, not only of the first intent of treason of the Earl of Tyrone against Her Majesty in the realm of Ireland, and now of the coming of these northern men and forces of the Earl of Tyrone to Leinster, which were sent to the foresaid Captain with a privy token from O'Neill to the said Captain Lee, the which token was betwixt the Earl and the foresaid Captain Lee from the beginning of the first malicious intent; and also commanding them, I mean these northern men that came last from the foresaid O'Neill to Leinster, not only to follow the said Captain Lee his direction and counsel in their wicked intent and treachery against Her Majesty's subjects in Leinster, but also commanding them to join in familiarity and love with the foresaid Captain, and also that the Captain should forget and forgive all matters that ever was

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betwixt the foresaid Captain and Feagh M'Hugh his sons, the which is set down more at large by me Piers Hackett, as followeth." —Dublin, 1597–8, February 25. Attested like the preceding. Copy. pp. 3.

88. IV. Copy of the confession of Edmond M'Shane Oge, upon his book oath, taken before the Lord Lieutenant General, Sir Robert Napper, Sir George Bouchier, and Sir Walter Butler.—Dublin, 1597–8, March 2. Attested like the preceding. p. 1.

88. V. Copy of the examination of Owen M'Hugh M'Owen, taken, by direction of the Lords Justices, before Her Majesty's Serjeant and Attorney, the 10th day of March, 1597–8. Detailing Captain Lee's disloyal dealings with various rebels. Attested like the preceding. pp. 2½.

88. VI. Copy of the examination of Donnell M'Hugh Duff, taken before Sir George Bouchier, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and Sir Walter Butler, by direction from the Lord Lieutenant General. Dated at Dublin, the 23rd of March, 1597–8. Attested like the preceding. p. 1.

88. VII. Copy of the examination of William Goldsmith, sometime Lieutenant to Captain Lee, taken, by direction of the Lords Justices, before Her Majesty's Serjeant and Attorney, the 10th day of April, 1598.

Concerning Captain Lee's interview with Brian Reogh, and Goldsmith's own meetings with the same chieftain. Attested like the preceding. pp. 3.

88. VIII. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Captain Thomas Lee. Original of No. 12. II. above, under April 19.—1598, April 16. Her Majesty's Serjeant and Attorney have put their signatures at the foot of this letter. p. ½.

88. IX. Copy of the examination of Brian M'Tirlogh M'Phelim Boy, taken at Rathvilly, the 2nd of May, 1598, before the Lord Lieutenant General, Sir Nicholas Walsh, and Sir Robert Napper. Attested like the preceding. p. ½.

88. X. Copy of the examination of Phelim M'Feagh O'Byrne, taken before us, Her Majesty's Serjeant and Attorney, the 11th of May, 1598, by the direction of the Lords Justices. Attested like the preceding. p. ½.

88. XI. Copy of the re-examination of Owen M'Hugh [M'Owen], taken 11th May, 1598. Attested like the preceding. p. ½.

88. XII. Copy of the examination of James M'Knowde, otherwise James Knowles, soldier and household servant to Captain Thomas Lee, taken by us, Her Majesty's Serjeant and Attorney, by direction of the Lords Justices.—1598, May 14. Attested like the preceding. p. 1.

88. XIII. Copy of the examination of Alexander M'Donnell, soldier and household servant to Captain Thomas Lee.—[1598, May 14.] Attested like the preceding. p. 1.

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88. XIV. *Certain personal interrogatories ministered to Captain Lee at the Council table, 24 May, 1598.*

1. "Whether did you write any letter, sithence the beginning of August last, to the said Piers Hackett, that he should not interrupt one Elizabeth Bane, the Earl of Tyrone's messenger that then came to Redmond M'Feagh with special advice from the Earl, or no; and, if you did, what was the reason made you to make that restraint, and wished (sic) Hackett not to meddle with that messenger? [See last volume of this Calendar, p. 381; also No. 88 III. above.]

2. "Whether did you in August last incite Edmund M'Shane and others of the Byrnes to enter into rebellion, and to stand upon their title of the land, which was first given or promised to yourself by Sir William Russell in his government, and after given or promised by the Lord Burgh to Captain Clare, or no? or what speech had you with the Byrnes concerning that matter?

3. *Item, what privy token have you received from the said Earl of Tyrone sithence the beginning of August last, and to what purpose, and to whom have [you] made that token known, and when?" Signed by Her Majesty's Serjeant and Attorney. p. 1.*

88. XV. *A Catalogue of such matters as are herewith sent (one or two are wanting) concerning Captain Lee's cause.—Endorsed:—1598, June 6. Signed by Her Majesty's Serjeant and Attorney. p. 1.*

88. XVI. "The state of the cause whereof Captain Thomas Lee is accused, with the commencement and proceedings of the same, until this present 30th day of June, 1598; abstracted out of the informations, accusations, and examinations herewith sent."

In this abstract are Captain Lee's answers to the three personal interrogatories given in No. 88. XIV. To the first, he replies that his meaning was to have taken the woman on her return to the Earl of Tyrone, and that thus he would have known not only the message, but the answer to it. He mentions four persons to whom he told his intent, but these were absent [from Dublin] on Her Majesty's service. To the second, he replies by denying that he incited the Byrnes to rebellion, but confesses that he had some speech with them concerning their title to the land, and the same being given from him to Captain Clare. He further showed five commissions empowering him to parley with the traitors named. To the third, he replies that a privy token did come to him from the Earl of Tyrone, and that he imparted the same to the Lord Justice Norreys, the Lord Lieutenant General, and the Lord Justice Gardener. All three deny that he did. Captain Lee stated that the Earl meant that, when that token was sent, he intended to come in. As to the letter from the Earl of

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Tyrone to Captain Lee, the Lords Justices admit that they were made privy to it on its receipt.

Signed by Her Majesty's Serjeant and Attorney. pp. 8.

[June.] 89. Rough notes by Sir Robert Cecil regarding the cost of the forces to be sent to Ireland.—[1598, June.] p. 1.

[June.] 90. Memorandum of certain omissions by the Clerk of the Ordnance in his brief respecting the issue of the munition.—[1598, June.] p. ½.

June. 91. "A supply of munition meet to be sent for out of England, for the furnishing of the army in Ireland." Signed by Sir George Bouchier.—1598, June. *Copy. p. ½.*

[June.] 92. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. "Tyrone takes his opportunity by the weakness of Her Majesty's arms, and busies Leinster very hotly. O'Donnell came as far as Sligo into this Province, and hath brought O'Rourke to join with him again, but so as he will not trust his person with him, nor be drawn yet to do anything as a rebel. Her Majesty must of necessity busy them this harvest in their own countries, or else divers, who are yet subjects, in the winter by all likelihood, will join with him; who stay but to see Her Majesty's proceedings.

"I do only desire this honourable favour from your Honour, that I may have the prosecuting of O'Donnell; which I desire to Her Majesty's service only, as shall appear. And if Sir Calisthenes Brooke be there at the coming of the supplies, I beseech your Honour that he may bring the supply that shall come to me, that they may land at Galway, or where I shall appoint upon O'Donnell. Your Honour will see by my general letter what part I undertake, and with what number; which I desire I may be tried withal. And for the rest of the project for Ireland, I dare not meddle." His indebtedness to Sir Robert.—[1598, June.] *Holograph. p. 1.*

July 1. 93. Note of provisions shipped in the *Benjamin*, to be transported into Ireland for Her Majesty's service there.—1598, July 1.

July 4.
Dublin. 94. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to the Privy Council. The charges against Captain Thomas Lee. Could not, though frequently importuned, yield to any motion for his liberty, until they had sent their report to their Lordships. Have now granted him the liberty of Dublin, upon bonds for 1,700*l.*, for his forthcoming. He is not to depart without license, until further direction is received from the Privy Council.—Dublin, 1598, July 4. *Signed. p. 1.*

July 5.
Dublin. 95. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to Sir Robert Cecil. Send doubles of certain letters written out of Spain, and brought to them this day by a merchant of Galway, who landed at Waterford about 14 or 15 days past. They contain some intelligence concerning Ireland, and are sent from an agent residing in Spain, and there employed (as it seems) to solicit for the rebellious Irish combinations. Will have the parties, to whom the letters were addressed, and by whom they were to have been

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delivered to M^cWilliam, specially examined, and further proceeded withal, according to the quality of their offences. The principal parties are already committed to the gaol at Galway. If any are proved disloyal, "we think it not amiss to make an example of them, the more to terrify others of their condition in this most unsound and conspiring time." Desire Sir Robert to haste away the succours they have written for, for their extremities and the hazard of the kingdom daily increase.—Dublin, 1598, July 5. *Signed. p. 1. Inclose,*

95. 1. *Thomas Lalley to Robert Black. Makes mention of divers merchants of Galway. Letter to be delivered to M^cWilliam, and Black will be sent again to Madrid. Forgot to say how he received the letters of O'Donnell and M^cWilliam. "I cannot write unto you now but shortly. You shall write or send word to M^cWilliam that O'Neill shall receive some money of the King, and 2,000 footmen, there, ere it be long." Dare not write of the appointed time, for he is sworn not to do so. Prays Black to follow his direction.—Madrid, 1598, March 28. Signed. Directed to Robert Black at Seville. Copy. p. 1.*

July 5.
Kilkenny.

96. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although I have oft written to Her Majesty and the Lords of the weakness of Her Highness's army for want of supplies of English soldiers, being doubtful of the mere Irish, that are strong in all our companies, and run away daily to the rebels from us, yet I see no soldiers come from thence, which grieves me greatly, and do fear that, before their arrival, some part of the Pale will be overrun by the Archtraitor and his confederates, and the fort of Blackwater in danger to be lost, which as yet is held for Her Majesty.

"There is no money sent to pay the lendings due since the 21st of February, nor for any growing charges; neither is there any store of munition left here." Prays for speedy supplies. Importance of the 1,200 foot and 100 horse being sent to Lough Foyle.

"Since the writing of my last letters of the 19th of June, we have not been altogether idle here, having put to the sword, and executed by martial law, of these Leinster traitors, 265; divers of them being leaders and of account amongst them, as by the inclosed you may perceive. I could wish these traitors were made an example to all others, for whom there is no plague too great, nor mercy fit to be used towards them; whose malicious minds may appear by a letter written from Cahir M^cHugh (brother to the old traitor Feagh M^cHugh) unto Tyrone, which was lately intercepted, a copy whereof (translated verbatim out of Irish into English) I have herein sent you."—Kilkenny, 1598, July 5. *Signed. p. 1. Incloses,*

96. 1. "A note of such traitors as have been slain, and executed by martial law, since the 18th of June last." The first of the leaders mentioned is Garrett Oge Kavanagh, "a cousin german to Donnell Spainagh, and the principal man that gave the overthrow to Sir Henry Wallop's band, and the Picardy company, in the county of Wexford."—1598, July 5. p. 1.

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96. II. *Cahir M'Hugh to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone.* "Commendations from Cahir M'Hugh M'Shane to you, O'Neill; having thought good to advertise you that a special friend of mine, which lately came from England, sware unto me that your store of munition is to be betrayed to the Queen's army, which are to land at Lough Foyle, and the manner of it is thus. A brother of him that is overseer of your store comes in great credit with the Queen's army over; and his brother, who has the charge of your store, promises the same to them. And he that told me this was minded to make his repair to yourself; this suffices for this matter. But Donnell Spainagh and we all are now in great lack of your aid. Remember me with great speed, because I did forsake my kinsmen, and such as would take my part, for you.—The 28th of May, 1598." *Copy.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

July 5.
Dublin.

97. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The quality of the advertiser, Thomas Lalley, being considered, weakeneth much the credit of his writing. He is in Spain a general informer, as well against English merchants as against "particulars of this country," who trade there for wine and iron. To help out his maintenance, he pretends to be a solicitor for M'William and O'Donnell. Accounts him rather a fugitive, who lives in Spain by the shift of his wit, than a person specially employed in the affairs he pretendeth. The forces he promises from Spain "are but comforts in the air, and hopes without fruit, dissembled by the Spaniards, to hold the Irish in breath."—Dublin, 1598, July 5. *Signed. Seal.* p. 1.

July 7.
Dublin.

98. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Encloses letter about the state of Knockfergus. Fears it will grow into further danger, for default of a Governor who may give order for its defence. Since Captain Eggerton departed for England, Knockfergus and the whole government of Clandeboy have been destitute of a superior Commander. This is the cause why the Scots, inhabiting the Glynnns and the Route, seek to distress the town. Fears they will endanger it further, if a sufficient Commander be not sent thither out of hand. Wishes him to be chosen from England, for there is little choice to be made in Ireland. The importance of the place, it being now the chief footing Her Majesty has in the north. Touching the fort of Blackwater, which is the second place now holden for Her Majesty in Ulster, doubts the next news will be, that it has been forced by the rebels, and the garrison either put to the sword or driven to quit the "piece," upon such conditions as they can make for their own safety. The passage boat being gone, is driven to send this letter after, so cannot write at more length.—Dublin, 1598, July 7. *Signed. Endorsed:—"Received at Greenwich the 22nd."* p. 1. *Incloses,*

98. I. *James Byrt to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.* "The 13th of this present, being Tuesday, the Scots came to this town [Carrickfergus], horse and foot, to the number of 800 men, and gave their assault so hard that our men was (sic) put into the town, with the loss of some six men. For they came within culiver shot of the walls, and

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we lost one man upon the rampier. There was killed of our men in all some twelve, for they were taken straggling abroad; of which three were horsemen. The enemy as we think lost much about the number that we did. Our soldiers did very well for the strength they were, but, under correction be it spoken, I shall assure your worship that there will never any service be done here, except there be a good strength of horse; for our horsemen were so overtopped, that they became footmen, and fell into the battle.”—1598, June 14. [Postscript.]—“The enemy hath, ever since they were here, laid hard siege to Belfast, and Captain Atherton is in this town, making merry with part of his men; so that we do greatly doubt that place will miscarry.” Signed. p. 1.

July 11. 99. Rough notes in Sir Robert Cecil's hand respecting the Carrickfergus district. *Endorsed:—1598, July 11. p. 1.*

July 13. 100. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. Acknowledge their letters of the 17th and 18th of June. “For that part which containeth a declaration of the declined state of Her Majesty's kingdom, we must confess that it is not a little grievous unto us to hear so pitiful reports as are daily brought, especially when we consider Her Majesty's excessive charge of an army there maintained, thought sufficient in respect of their numbers not only to defend, but in most men's judgments thought able to gain upon the rebels, as long as they make the war without any strangers' force. We do find that you do impute your ill successes to your many wants of forces to resist the traitors, wherein surely, if Her Majesty's payments were no greater than her forces, the case were not so difficult. But when it doth appear unto us, that by the multitude of the Irish, wherewith the bands are filled, Her Majesty's service, by your own confession, is principally endangered, we must return that fault upon your own shoulders; for, by your giving passports daily for English to come away, and by your tolerating the Captains to take in Irish for gain, that will serve for half pays to fill up bands, and at times of musters to abuse Commissaries, you are absolutely guilty of that inconvenience.

“Further, we must also let you know, that although the losses lately received have been very many, and such as do not a little touch Her Majesty's honour, both by loss of places and overthrow of divers companies, yet, when we examine them duly, we find that most of their defection have happened by rash and ignorant undertakings of private Captains, and the surprises of Her Majesty's forts and wards have happened by mere negligence and oversight in those that were Commanders of them; as namely, the loss of Ballymote now of late, which was not taken by main force, but lost by negligence, a thing suitable with divers other accidents of like sort, where Her Majesty's forts have been gained by the rebel, through the negligence or corruption of those that held the same.”

As for their complaints of lack of treasure, victuals, and munition, the Privy Council sent a great quantity of corn (the arrival whereof has been advertised), a good portion of munition, and, lately, 12,000*l.*,

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towards the lendings of the army. This sum of money, considering the notorious decays in the companies, might, with the defalcation of victuals and due checks, be much further extended than for two months. Nevertheless, as it was estimated for the payment of that period, ending the 5th of April, so now they have, by Her Majesty's commandment, given order for 12,000*l.* more to be sent to Ireland [*a marginal note states:—*"This arrived in Ireland the 15th of August, as appeareth by their letter of the 23rd"], besides provision of victual already shipped for 4,000 men for four months; not doubting but, by that time it shall arrive, there shall be as much more aboard and ready to set sail for the like service; although they must confess that they never find any manner of husbanding of the same, when it does arrive, but that great part of it is employed as well for private men's provisions as for the sustentation of the army. It is true the Council send over certificates, both of the victual and of the musters, yet they come so seldom and so late, that they are never able to yield Her Majesty so exact an account as is requisite, considering what infinite sums are daily issued out of her coffers. These 2,000 men, ready to embark by the 9th inst., must serve only to supply bands. Thereby the Privy Council account that, where the army is now 8,000 in list and 6,000 strong, it shall be raised to 8,000 strong again, a force in all men's opinions able to stop the traitor's course in other sort than yet it hath done. Order has been given for the provision of munition according to the Council's note. Her Majesty is sorry to find that the late provision was not employed with the privity of the Lord Lieutenant.

As to the 1,200 foot and 100 horse, which the Council ask to be sent to Lough Foyle, with all things necessary for them, the Privy Council find that a greater force must be used to make the war there, the place being remote from succours, and in the heart of the country. Therefore Her Majesty is pleased to provide one hundred horse and two thousand men, to be sent thither, with all expedition, and victualled for six months, not doubting but that, upon their arrival, the Council will consider how such correspondency may be held, as may be fittest for Her Majesty's service. She is resolved to root Tyrone out by all means possible.

"We have also thought good to let you know, that we do hold it so dangerous to cass the Irish upon the sudden, as Her Majesty is pleased that, from henceforth, care be only taken that, as they die or disband, no more be inserted, but that, upon future lacks, notice be given of the same to England, that new supplies may be sent, whereby the bands may be no more unserviceable, as by your certificates it doth appear they are; but of this order we require you, in Her Majesty's name, that no speech be used to the Irish."

Divers merchants of Ireland, dwelling in corporate towns, whither great store of arms is brought out of England, are known to be daily sellers of the same to the rebels and traitors; "a matter whereof we do wonder that you do take no better care, to whom the civil government is committed, but that you can complain that they are relieved from foreign parts, and will not prevent it in the same kingdom, considering how severe laws are in force for such offences."

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The President of Munster, and the Council themselves, state that that Province is not "free from jealousy." Move them in no sort to leave Munster in danger, but to second the President well against any of those base rebels.

The infinite sums demanded by the towns and private men, whose reckonings (if they were not made loosely, and without all manner of circumspection or due examination), could not amount to one-half of that which is required. "But we do see plainly that there is such buying of bills and composition for reckonings, as every man makes gain of the Queen's debts."

Her Majesty is contented that they deliver Cormac [M'Baron's] son in exchange for the young Lord of Trimletston.—1598, July 13.

[*Postscript.*].—Considering the time it will take to provide victuals for Lough Foyle (which service requires expedition), they now think it expedient to send thither the second provision for 2,000 men for four months promised in this letter. Besides they hear of plenty of corn in Munster and other parts of Ireland, and also of good quantities brought thither out of foreign parts by merchants. But if the Council importune for more, will do what they can for their satisfaction, hoping they will not needlessly exhaust England, but be careful of the issuing of the victual, and certify how it is defalked, the lack whereof doth much displease the Queen. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 75^b.—77^b. *Copy*. pp. 4½.

- July 15. 101. Captain Henry Skipwith to Sir Robert Cecil ["Sitssilt."] Chester. Has attended at Chester the coming of 400 men out of Wales, for the service in Ireland. On the 12th inst. he received into his charge 100 from Montgomery; on the 13th, 100 out of Denbigh, 50 from Flint, and 50 from Merioneth. The remaining 100 from Carnarvon will not arrive before Monday next. His desire to serve Sir Robert.—Chester, 1598, July 15. *Signed*. p. 1.
- July 15. 102. "A note of moneys borrowed in Ireland to Her Majesty's use."—[1598, July 15.] *Signed by Sir Henry Walop*. p. ½.
- July 18. 103. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the Mallow. employment in Spain of an intelligencer recommended by Florence M'Carthy.—Moyallo, 1598, July 18. *Signed*. p. 1.
- July 20. 104. The Mustermaster-General's account of the supplies landed at Dublin the 18th and 19th of July, 1598, and by his clerks mustered the same day. Present, 1,472; absent, 129. Also, list of the names of deficient, according to counties. Also, account of 875 men, delivered to Captains Hugh Bangor and John Kelly, to be conducted to Kells. *The first two parts are signed by Sir Ralph Lane*. [1598, July 20.] pp. 4.
- July 22. 105. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to the Privy Dublin. Council. Have received no answer yet to their general despatches of the 17th and 18th of June. Fourteen days ago arrived the 12,000*l.* sent by Burghley, but they await the warrant of the Lord Lieutenant General for its distribution. Arrival at Dublin of 1,600

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of the 2,000 soldiers promised ; 400 stayed through contrary winds, but daily expected. The men placed in the city, " though not without grievance to these citizens, by reason of the disorder of the soldiers, which in the beginning we prevented the best we could, by setting out of proclamations and other directions for their better government." Sent word of their arrival to the Lord Lieutenant, who is now either in Kilkenny or Leix, and who has been away from Dublin all last month. Have not yet received any answer from him for their disposal.

" And although we know well that the managing of these martial affairs are (*sic*) left wholly to his Lordship, from whom (as we said before) we have not yet heard, nor when he will be here, yet seeing all our endeavours too little to contain them in order here, and the many overseers which we have appointed to look unto them, and every day to train them, not able to keep them from running away (as little a time as they have been here); as also that we are now credibly informed of the approach of Tyrone, with O'Donnell, Maguire, and the rest of his confederates, to attempt some sudden mischiefs into divers parts of the Pale, we thought it much better to dispatch away a thousand of them to the Marshal, who lieth at Kells (in the county of Meath, on the border of the Pale), whilst they were strong, well-armed, and in full number, than to let them remain here to no purpose, where they are not so well disciplined, nor can by no means be kept from brabbling one with another, selling their clothes and arms, and running away." The men sent away under Captain Hawes, and divers pensioners. Strict orders to the Marshal not to dispose of any man of them, save in that garrison until the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure be signified.

" In a late bickering in Leix (upon Sunday last was sevensight) between his Lordship and the Leinster rebels (unto whose aid Tyrone had sent the day before one Tyrrell, with 600 of his men), we are advertised from his Lordship that his nephew, Captain James Butler, was then slain, and to the number of 20 more of our soldiers, besides some of them hurt. We are likewise advertised that divers of the rebels are also slain and hurt, and that Brian Reogh, a principal leader of the O'Moores of that country, is either slain or dangerously wounded in that conflict. Since which time, those rebels have taken divers castles in Leix, namely, the castles of Whitney, Hethrington, and Barrington; and in Offally, called the King's County, the Connors of that country have in the absence of that garrison (who attended the Lord Lieutenant in Leix) burned the town of Philipstown, being the principal town of that county, and attempted the fort there, but that it was guarded by some soldiers left for that purpose."

Expect to see the Lord Lieutenant very shortly. Hope that the other 400 supplies will then have arrived. The sea captains, Moyle and Fleming, have come, and, together with Captain Thornton, are ready to be employed in the service, to which the Privy Council have directed them.

" The fort of Blackwater is yet held, with great honour and resolution, by that valiant gentleman, Captain Thomas Williams,

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who commandeth it, and although Tyrone have (*sic*) lately bent his whole forces to surprise it, and have left many men still about it, who have blocked them in on all sides of that fort, yet that worthy Captain doth still defend himself and the place; and, as we understand, hath lately by some stratagem issued forth, and besides the killing of two or three principal men of Tyrone's, hath gotten divers horses and mares of theirs into the fort, which, as we are informed, is victualled yet for a month. And we hope that, upon the Lord Lieutenant's coming hither, his Lordship will have an honourable care for the relief and supply of that servitor and the rest of the soldiers in that fort (who have hitherto with such honour and resolution preserved it for Her Majesty from the many assaults used by the rebels to get it), wherein we will assist his Lordship with our best advice and furtherance."—Dublin, 1598, July 22. *Signed. pp. 3.*

July 22. 106. John Lee to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the 2,000 Spanish morions and 2,000 swords for the service in Ireland, returned to the armourers, with whom he made composition. Is much blamed by them. Informs Sir Robert that Sir John Fortescue has 300*l.* paid long since to him by Lee, on Burghley's appointment, for armour sold by Sir Henry Lee, Master of Her Highness's armories. This sum might well serve to pay for the above morions. Recommends that half of the swords be accepted and put in the store, where there are none. So in some measure the armourers will be satisfied. Would have attended on Sir Robert himself, but is sick. *Endorsed:—1598, July 22. Signed. p. 1.*

July 22. 107. Sir Roger Wilbraham, Solicitor-General of Ireland, to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning certain alterations made by Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Chancellor [Sir John Fortescue] in the debts due for Irish services. Encloses a particular book of these alterations (*wanting*). Lord Buckhurst has a double thereof to show Her Majesty.—Gray's Inn, 1598, July 22. *Signed. p. 1.*

July 23. 108. "Certain reasons to be considered of, touching old debts, supposed to be due from Her Majesty to certain Captains, upon their entertainments in Ireland."

"Considering what excessive charge, and expense of treasure, Her Majesty is, and hath been, at hitherto in maintaining wars against the Irish rebels, and that neither the service is thereby advanced, nor yet Her Highness acquitted with the masses of money already spent, but is still affirmed to be indebted many score thousand pounds for pays and entertainments remaining yet due and not discharged, notwithstanding the manifold supplies of treasure, victual, and munition ordinarily sent over thither from hence, forsomuch as the full payment of such debts and arrearages were unreasonable, and indeed unseasonable for Her Majesty to perform, in these hostile and chargeable times, and that the treasure, sent over thither from time to time, sufficeth not in any measure to defray imprests and diet money for the soldiers, because,

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commonly, it is no sooner arrived, but a great part thereof is forthwith issued to pay former debts, due divers manner of ways, whereby the prosecution of the service hath been hindered, and Her Highness drawn to an endless labyrinth of ill-succeeding charges and difficulties; some convenient course may be taken, if not quite to forbear payment, yet at least wise to lighten this heavy weight so much displeasing and discommodious to Her Majesty.

“The most part of the money which Her Majesty is said to owe in that country, is the arrearages of entertainments claimed by Captains, which as they do unjustly demand, so may the same, for the most part, be very justly denied unto them, weighing the corrupt and disordered times wherein, and the fraudulent and deceitful means whereby, those sums of money are grown due. For what likelihood of reason is it, that a private Captain should, for a small time of service, have fifteen hundred or two thousand pounds due to him, over and above all imprests, munition, and victual received? Can any Captain truly avouch that he disbursed so much money to furnish and supply his soldiers’ wants? The contrary is too well known, and that so great a sum is specially grown due by deceiving Her Majesty, extorting and spoiling the poor subjects, defrauding the soldiers, and disappointing the service; which is a matter not heretofore much looked unto there, but rather continual bargaining, trade, and traffic made of such bills of debts, howsoever and by whomsoever bought and sold, half in half, and oftentimes for much less, as it is well known to divers persons by experience, albeit they never dealt in the like themselves. And although Her Majesty’s pay were by that means brought into public scandal and slander, yet hath Her Highness paid her price of them with her treasure.

“Now, as I am specially required, I will as briefly as I can set down the reasons how these great sums of money do grow due to the private Captains in so small a space. In the meantime I will add thus much further that it is impossible (*sic*) for any honest Captain (the officers of musters likewise performing their duty honestly) that will deal justly and uprightly with his soldiers, at the end of one whole year’s service, in his account to save any more by his company of 100 foot, than only so much as hath been in reason sufficient to maintain himself and [a] few followers.

“First, companies of 100 horse, or 100 foot, being sent over thither out of England, have been generally found within two months after, or thereabouts, exceedingly weakened, and few Englishmen left, what [with] dead by diseases of the country, running away, and voluntarily dismissed by their officers, in lieu of some rewards given them by their soldiers, whose daily pay and entertainment runs on current to the Captains, until the companies be reinforced; and then, upon a report of some service to be done, or a journey to be taken in hand, of necessity they were driven to entertain Irishmen into their bands, both of horse and foot, who commonly are retained, discharged, augmented, and decreased, whensoever the Captain[s] will, at their own pleasure and profit,

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without any restraint, order, or discipline. [*Marginal note:—*‘The Captains of horse companies did ordinarily heretofore dismiss the English soldiers, sold their horses and furniture, and entertained in their stead Irish horsemen, riding on pillions, having nothing to defend their bodie[s] but a staff, and some, staff and target.’] And, for the most part, [they] are none other but Irish *passevoulants*, desiring no pay for themselves, more than liberty to spoil the poor subjects, without any desire or will at all to do service. They will never fail to make show at musters, but if any seeret occasion of service be offered, they will be sure to give the slip, and many times run to the enemy. [*Marginal note:—*‘In the time of Sir John Perrot, the subjects did not grudge to diet the soldiers at their own charge, and most of them never demanded pay or recompense for the same, and thereby their pay did grow due to the Captains for that time.’] So the Captain’s company were most commonly found in garrison, about fifty or some threescore, yea, the most not above seventy strong, in his band of 100, English and all, that duly received pay, and did duty; besides that the palpable blindness, ignorance, and corruption, heretofore, in the officers of musters, hath been such as they regarded nothing else, but how to make their most advantage and corrupt profit, winking at the disorders of the Captains in dismissing their English soldiers, retaining and discharging the Irish at their liberty, and when [it] pleased them, and tolerating the Captains to keep their bands, both of horse and foot, very shamefully weak. Albeit their half year’s checks never exceeded (for anything I can find in the former records, in the time of Sir William Fitzwilliams, and before him, and in most part of Sir W. Russell’s time), the sum of 40*l.* or 50*l.* sterling, and for one Captain whose check surmounteth that sum, you shall find twenty at the least checked not above 4*l.*, 6*l.*, 8*l.*, or 10*l.* at furthest, when most or all of them might have had checks imposed upon them, as by divers consequences may be proved some 100*l.*, some 150*l.*, some 200*l.*, and some more, or less, as occasion required. Hereof is it that Her Majesty hath been exceedingly deceived, her service defrauded and disappointed, and the Captains’ accounts and reckonings increased.

“Secondly, there is another means, whereby the Captains have exceedingly increased their reckonings and accounts, besides the officers of musters consent to rob and deprive Her Majesty of her treasure; that is, when either Deputy or General commandeth the forces out of all parts of that realm to be drawn together upon any service into the north, into Connaught, or into any other parts of the country, the day and place of their *rendezvous* being specially appointed; as, for example, the horse bands and foot bands that lay in garrison in Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, in the Province of Munster; and others in garrison in Galway, Thomond, and Sligo, in the Province of Connaught; and others in Leix, Offally, and Meath, in the Province of Leinster; were all expressly appointed to make their repair and *rendezvous* at Dundalk, in the Province of Ulster. [*Marginal note:—*‘These places are distant from Dundalk, some eight score miles, some six score, some 100, and some

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80 miles'] : who hath been usual, when as the country was wealthy and in prosperity, to set out of their garrison place, from the furthest and nearest places, much sooner than was requisite or necessary, to the end to take their cess along the country as they went, marching not above three or four miles at the most every day, taking, yea, rather extorting, from the poor subjects, not only meat and drink of the best, but also all the officers in every band would violently urge their hosts every morning to give them three, four, or five shillings a piece; to every soldier, 12d. or 2s.; to every one of their women as much; to every boy, 6d. or 8d. at least. If they had it not, then they carried away for pawns, garrans, coverlets, mantles, sheets, and other household stuff, and sold them at their pleasure. [*Marginal note* :—'An ensign of a foot company extorted and violently took from a poor man near Drogheda 7s. sterling, because he had no meat for his breakfast.'] Thus in their going and returning back to their garrisons, they did of purpose make stay and linger in their way, sometimes a month or six weeks together, in regard of their good cheer and private gain, and thereby impoverished and oppressed the poor subjects and inhabitants of the Pale and elsewhere, who, by that continual extortion without any mean or measure, are grown the most miserable, wretched nation under the sun, dying daily for hunger, and some that are left alive have for very want and necessity, and to avoid the oppression and extortion of soldiers, yea, out of the very cities and chief towns in Ireland, revolted and gone to the rebels. In the time of Sir Jo[h]n P[errot], Sir W[illiam] Fitzw[illiams], and in part of Sir Wi[lliam] R[ussell's] time, Ireland was so plentiful, and all the farmers so rich, as the poorest of them all did scorn to take any money for meat and drink from any traveller, much less from the soldiers, but were then contented to give them both meat and money. [*Marginal note* :—'The people are of that mind in the greatest part of the Province of Ulster to this day.'] And, therefore, at all times when such journeys were taken in hand, as I before mentioned, the pays and entertainments of the whole band, for all the time of their going and returning (excepting only their time in service) to their garrison again, runs (*sic*) altogether upon the Captain's account and reckoning, and is due wholly to him, and it is very probable, within that space, how long or how short soever it was, the Captain's whole band, officers and all, did not stand him in 6d. charges. These journeys and removings happened commonly five or six times in a year. This have I known by experience, and understood also, by the most sufficient men of that country, that thus it hath been there in times past. And let it be a sure position, that, of the English soldiers in times past, there is none now remaining expecting any pay (except by chance one left amongst a thousand), and there needs no further payment for them; nor the Irish entertained soldiers never expected any, for they needed not, sith they were maintained by the spoil of the country. So they challenge this money as due to themselves for their special good service done to Her Majesty; when, God of

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heaven knoweth, they spared it unspent, and made their unlawful gain thereof in a most damnable sort, to the utter misery, spoil, and destruction of a whole commonwealth, consisting of many thousand men, women, and children; and I have seen very ancient men, truly affirmed to have been rich farmers in the English Pale, sufficiently able in their time to have entertained the Lord Deputy for a night or two, go a begging; and these not spoiled by the rebels, but by the very spoil and oppression of the soldiers. Hence is it also that Her Majesty hath been much deceived, infinitely abused, her country wasted and destroyed, and the Captains' accounts and reckonings unlawfully increased.

"Thirdly, it may be duly weighed and considered how ungracious, unchristianlike, and irreligious people, most of these unconscionable men are, that have had the leading and charge of many a poor man of their own nation, yea, and more than that, of their own flesh and blood, that, without pity or compassion at all, detained and kept from the poor souls, not only their imprest and diet money, whiles they remained in their garrison in extreme hunger and cold, need and necessity, both night and day, but also suffered them (in hope to save and spare it in their own purses, to buy them rich apparel, to maintain their pride and lasciviousness, their drunkenness and quaffing carouses, their tobacco and tobacco pipes), to make havoc and spoil of the poor inhabitants and subjects of the land, which is now so wretched and miserable, as the poor souls that are left have nothing else to feed upon but roots, grass, and boiled nettles. Nevertheless, this their intolerable abuses that is past (*sic*) cannot content them, but they may be heard with very lewd voices to swear most execrable oaths, stare, and protest, as though heaven and earth came together, that their companies stood them in so many score pounds for so long a time, to their utter undoing; when indeed they themselves had devoured and wilfully wasted all such Her Majesty's treasure and victuals, as should not only have satisfied and maintained the poor miserable starved soldiers, but also it had been a mean to have restrained them from quite spoiling and destroying the subjects. It may be wondered at, that a man is so impudent as dare presume to affirm that Her Majesty is 1,500*l.* or 2,000*l.* in his debt, when in his conscience he knoweth that it is due unto him but by the unlawful means of permitting his soldiers to waste, rob, and spoil many a poor man, to feed upon, and by hiring and borrowing men that were never soldiers, to muster and make show in his band [*Marginal note:—*'It hath been usual in the time of musters for Irish soldiers to come from the rebels, to make show at the musters with the English Captains, and passed away again without any further doings'] before the officers of musters, whom he likewise had bribed and rewarded; and he, in regard of his perquisites and profits, yielded and gave his consent to his unlawful and unconscionable gain; signs of most miserable, covetous, and ungodly persons. Hereof is it also that their wits, study, and practice, have been altogether employed for their private commodity, to supply their unlawful actions, and therefore did most carelessly forego and overpass Her Majesty's service, and the welfare of her country.

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“Fourthly, it is further to be considered how and by what means all sorts of gentlemen, merchants, victuallers, men of occupations, and others, do commonly come by so many of these reckonings and accounts from the Captains. For, even as we see divers times some of the Captains themselves as needy and in as much want and necessity, sometimes, as the poor soldiers are wont to be, so when their credit faileth for such necessities as they need, then they do trade and traffic their bills and reckonings in such manner unto others, that they pass them over for quarter the value, or thereabouts; as for example, to gentlemen and merchants, for 20*l*. in ready money oftentimes they give them a bill of 100*l*., or 150*l*.; to mercers, for stuffs for apparel, the like; to victuallers, to tailors, to shoemakers, and to other manual trades, the like; and these are oftentimes enforced to take these papers and tickets, otherwise no hope for any payment at all. Some others buys (*sic*) those bills of them purposely, for a little or nothing, in hope to have friends either about the Court to procure them payment in England, or about the Lord Deputy to procure payment there. They are likewise accustomed to give to the Treasurer's substitutes, and to the officers of musters, for passing their account at every half-year's end, bills and warrants for their fees, of double or treble the value which commonly are paid there, out of such Her Majesty's treasure as are sent thither for other purposes. And it is very well known that all those which sue here for payment of such bills never stands them not (*sic*) in above the third or fourth part of the value at the most; and, sith they are thus bargained and sold, as ill-gotten goods, according to the old proverb, *mala parva mala dilabuntur*, some special order may be taken for Her Majesty's most advantage; and so much checks as formerly Her Majesty hath been fraudulently deceived of, by the bribery and corruption of the officers of musters, may now very lawfully be detained for some better purposes.

“Finally, it hath been a general custom in that realm of Ireland, as it is generally and publicly known, for all sorts of people, in all offices, to make their most gain and private commodity, every man for himself, never regarding how wastefully or wilfully Her Majesty's treasure was spent; how the poor subjects were spoiled and destroyed; how the rebels increased; how ill or how well Her Majesty's service succeeded; but generally all men providing and caring only how to enrich themselves by their offices, to be able to bestow their children and join them with honourable personages, to procure them great friends and kindred; and so that this happened and succeeded well, they esteemed not, though the whole country and commonwealth, yea, and all the world, were in misery and calamity. God of His goodness and mercy bless and preserve our most gracious Queen long to reign over us, and lighten the hearts of her subjects, and them that have been, and are, in authority under her there, that they may see wherein they have done amiss, and give them grace diligently and carefully to hasten the amendment of the same. And God of heaven convert or speedily confound those rebellious traitors that still disturbs (*sic*) the prosperous estate of that kingdom. Amen.” *Endorsed*:—1598, July 23.

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This document is unsigned, but it is in the handwriting of Hugh Tudor, the servant of the late Maurice Kyffin, and was evidently written in England. pp. 7.

July 24.
Greenwich.

109. Warrant by the Queen, directed to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and to the rest of the Privy Council, authorising them to levy upon the clergy and recusants, for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, twenty horses in the Province of Canterbury, ten in the Province of York, and twenty-six upon the recusants. Every person chargeable with a horse for this service, to be assessed at 30*l.* for the furniture of the horse and man.—Greenwich, 1598, July 24. *Signed by the Queen. Seal. p. 1.*

July 24.
Dublin.

110. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The arrival on July 18 of 1,600 men of the 2,000 soldiers promised. The remaining 400 detained at Chester by contrary winds. One thousand of the men sent to the northern borders, to strengthen the army lying there to stop Tyrone's incursions into the English Pale. Probability of disorders, had the men been kept in Dublin. The remainder await Ormonde's directions.

On the 10th of July, Ormonde set upon the Leinster rebels in their strongest fastness within Leix. Brian Reogh, their chief commander, sore wounded, with many others of their principal leaders. Is credibly advertised that nineteen or twenty carts, laden with hurt men, were sent back again into Ulster, and that Brian Reogh is supposed to be dead of his wound. "The fight was sharp for the time it continued; and, the place being plashed [fortified] before, to the advantage of the rebels, the attempt was so much the more to our disadvantage and danger; and yet, God be thanked, we lost not above a dozen or twenty men, and so many hurt; and no man of reckoning slain but Captain Butler, the Lord Lieutenant's nephew, a young man of red hair, whom your Honour may remember to [have] be[en] brought up in the Court as page to his Lordship."

Since this exploit, nothing has ensued worth advertising. Hopes matters will not long stand so quiet, for the Lord Lieutenant is preparing to attempt them again in their places of strength, seeing he cannot draw them out into the plains; and being both grieved and nettled with the loss of his nephew, will, Sir Geoffrey hopes, follow the revenge of his death with more sharpness.

"The fort of Blackwater holdeth out still, notwithstanding Tyrone hath lain afore it above a month, and hath spent the most part of that time in plashing of passes, and digging deep holes in the rivers, the more to distress the army that should come to relieve it." The heroism and successful stratagems of Captain Thomas Williams. Suggests a letter to him from the Privy Council acknowledging his good services.

Encloses abstract of intelligence just received from one remaining about Tyrone, touching the state of the Blackwater fort and Tyrone's proceedings and further intentions. Has dispatched a duplicate to the Lord Lieutenant General, who will thereby know certainly for what time the fort can yet hold out.

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Two pinnaces lately sent over from England are this day dispatched with their commission to lie off and on upon the seas between Scotland and Ulster; and the *Popinjay* is to follow after as admiral, as soon as she can be put in readiness.—Dublin, 1598, July 24. *Endorsed*:—"Received the 13th of August." *Signed*. pp. 2. *Incloses*,

110. I. "*Extracts of a letter of intelligence written to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, touching the fort of Blackwater and other matters.*"

"The boy which your worship sent up, came not to me before the 10th of this month, and I wonder how he came then without being taken or killed.

"The 13th day, I made an excuse to go into the fort, where I told the Captain the token your worship sent up by the boy, which the Captain remembered well, and did believe it, so as he told me all his case; which was, that he would keep the fort yet this month, which he may do, for that he hath got of late into the fort seventeen or eighteen of the Earl's mares, which will serve him and his company a good time. He prayeth your worship to haste away the Queen's army to succour him, or else that he may know from you within twenty days whether he shall make his composition with the Earl or not.

"Of this matter your worship must return the boy back again with all speed, and for his excuse I have willed him to bring up a couple of bottles of wine, and I have told the Earl that he is my boy; and I sent him to Dundalk for the wine, but your worship must write to the Governor of Dundalk to let the boy buy the wine, and pass along with it. I pray God send the boy to come as safe to me now as he did before, and by his return the Captain of the fort will be glad to receive some good news from your worship.

"The Earl hath made great plashes between Armagh and the Blackwater, and there he saith he will fight with the Marshal if he come to victual the fort. He lieth there strong, with as great an army as ever I saw in the North; and yet he hath of late given leave to O'Donnell, M^rWilliam, Maguire, and James M^rSorley to go home into their countries, and [to] be ready to come again when he shall send for them.

"There is a ship of three score, late came out of Scotland, in Lough Foyle, freighted by one Fleming for Spain, and the Earl and O'Donnell have now written a letter to the King of Spain of their proceedings; but what is the effect of the letter I cannot learn now; but when the boy returns back again your worship shall know as much as I can yet.

"The 18th of this month, Captain Tyrrell, who is making wars in Leinster, wrote to the Earl of his safe passage, and how they had killed the Earl of Ormonde's cousin; and Tyrrell willed the Earl to play his part upon the borders of the Pale, and O'Donnell to play his part in Connaught, and he would play his part in Leinster."—1598, July 20. "Three days after the writing of this letter, I did discover these chief points in their letter written

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to the King of Spain; namely, that they were desirous to know what composition was taken, or like to be taken, between England and Spain; if a peace were made, that the King of Spain should provide to have all Ireland comprehended in the peace; but, if there were no agreement, then to send them help of men and money; and that Tyrone and O'Donnell do much marvel that they have heard nothing from the King of Spain these fourteen months past. They request the King's speedy answer and the dispatch of the ship." pp. 1½.

July 25.
Dublin.

111. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. The arrival of the 12,000*l.* on July 9. The Lord Lieutenant, who came to Dublin on the 24th inst., is in hand to set down a dividend for the issue thereof. That being once finished, Burghley shall soon receive a certificate of the disposal of the same.

Importunes to be freed from the toilsome place he holds. His age and infirmities. "For, besides the decay of my memory, which daily increaseth, a deafness hath possessed me of long time in one of my ears, to my no small grief, which, together with the gout now and then visiting me, and an exceeding cold now disquieting me, putteth me in mind continually to prepare for my long home." Prays for his speedy discharge, and for the sending of a more sufficient man in his place.—Dublin, 1598, July 25. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 31.
Dublin.

112. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. The bearer, Chief Baron of Ireland [Sir Robert Napper], can so well acquaint Burghley with all occurrents that Ormonde need not write much thereof at this time.

"But I may not omit to let your Lordship understand that, upon a late general assembly of the traitors of Leinster in Leix, I made a journey thither to prosecute them, and, in the great woods of the Camagh, being their strongest ground, the woods being plashed, I turned some company to follow them; where Brian Reogh O'More, the most mischievous and malicious traitor and practiser among them (being the commander of all the rest), was slain, with divers others, and most of their leaders maimed and hurt; and of our side, my dearest nephew, Captain James Butler, was slain, with some few private soldiers, and no other man of account. This Brian, after the death of Feagh M'Hugh, carried his sons, Onie M'Rory, the base Geraldines, some of the Kavanaghs, Connors, and many other of the Irishry, to the North, to combine with Tyrone. The gentlemen of Leix, upon whom Her Majesty bestowed large territories and lands, who should have kept 140 horse and 280 foot, have fostered and brought up most of these traitors of Leix, whom they might have kept from rebellion if they had continued their forces, as by their tenures they were bound. But now some of them yield up their strong castles to the traitors, most vilely and cowardly, without resistance, being well furnished with munition and victual, which the traitors break as soon as they be possessed of them. So as if mine advice were followed (though the rebellion were presently

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suppressed), those that thus yield up their castles should never be restored to them again, but should be (*sic*) bestowed upon others that would better keep the same.

“Of the late supplies sent under the leading of Captain Rockwell and Captain Malby, the Lords Justices sent 1,000 men in bulk to the Knight Marshal, to Kenles [Kells], the night before I came to this city; who were received in gross, and not by poll according their indentures, so as I do find by the enclosed note that they made not at Kenles above 716, with great loss of their arms, as in the same is set down; which I thought good to certify to your Lordship.” Defects in their armour.

Want of munition, owing to the proportion sent to the Marshal. Does not hold the Blackwater fort worth victualling again, because of the excessive charges, unless Her Highness send forces to Lough Foyle, which will be to very great purpose for Her Majesty's service. Recommends the bearer to Burghley's favour.—Dublin, 1598, July 31.

[*Postscript.*]—“Since my coming hither, the traitor Tyrrell, Onie M'Rory and the Leinster traitors, have burned and spoiled part of my lands, and others of the subjects; whom I mean presently to prosecute, and therefore do make my present return hence.” *Signed.* p. 1. *Incloses,*

112. I. “*A note of the supplies received from Captain Kelly and Captain Bangor, and mustered at the Navan, 26 July, 1598.*” Also, “*a note of the defects of armours and furnitures in the supplies received at Navan, 26 July, 1598.*” Both signed by William Paule, Commissary. *Copy.* pp. 1½.

July 31.
Dublin.

113. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. [*Mainly to the same effect as the preceding letter.*] Brian Reogh was the chief actor at the overthrow of Captain Marshall's and Captain Lee's men in Leix, and after of the Picardy soldiers and Sir Henry Wallop's company in the county of Wexford. The Marshal is appointed to go to the Blackwater, and Ormonde in person to follow the service in Leinster. Has committed many of the gentlemen of Leix. Received a letter from Sir Robert in behalf of Sir Calisthenes Brooke. Will show him any favour or friendship he can. “His father was my old acquaintance, and one I loved very well.” Has sent letters and proclamations to all the shires and ports adjoining [Dublin] to make search for the soldiers who ran away after their landing.—Dublin, 1598, July 31.

[*Postscript.*]—Sends copy of a letter delivered to him by Cambell, Dean of Limerick, from the King of Scots, to be shown to Her Majesty and imparted to Burghley. Courtesies offered to Ormonde by the King. “The ground hereof was, for friending the said Cambell, being a Scot, recommended unto me long since by Mr. Secretary Walsingham.” Has imparted the King's speeches to the bearer, Sir Robert Napper. *Signed.* pp. 2. *Incloses,*

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113. I. *Duplicate of No. 112. I. Copy. pp. 2.*

113. II. *James, King of Scotland, to the Earl of Ormonde. Acknowledging the goodwill of the Earl, and offering to do him the best offices he can, when so required. Refers him for further declaration of his affection to the report of the Dean of Limerick. Recommends the latter to Ormonde.—Holyrood House, 1598, May 31. Copy. p. ½.*

July 31.
Dublin.

114. Captain George Thornton to the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England. The *Spy* and the *Merlin* arrived at Dublin on July 17, and, by direction of the Lord Lieutenant General, departed northwards on the 24th. A small bark pressed to transport the remain of the victual, that could not be stowed in the *Popinjay*, to Carrickfergus. His company for the *Popinjay* entered pay on Wednesday, the 26th instant. They are much grieved that they have been twice discharged without any pay, and that now they can get no part towards the supply of their present necessities. Craves present remedy to be had herein, for otherwise it will greatly hinder Her Majesty's service, "because the men of best ability for service are fled, and will not serve before they receive their old pay." The *Popinjay* is ready to set sail northwards to-morrow.—Dublin, 1598, July 31. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

July.

115. "The humble requests of the Captains of Ireland," with marginal notes by Sir Robert Cecil. Beside the protest against arrears, he writes, "a vain motion to be made here." As to the conveyance of the lendings to the garrisons, instead of the Captains fetching the money from Dublin, he writes, "unfit to be spoken here." To the request that the Commissaries may not be permitted to discharge any soldier without the privity of the chief Commander or Captain of his company, he replies, "fit for Ireland, and not for England." Against the request for so many dead pays to be allowed in the hundred, Sir Robert simply puts a cross. Against that for the payment of some parcel of the Captains' accounts, he writes, "Of those that have resided, good care would be taken; but of those that have sold their companies there is no such regard to be had." Sir Robert has added a few rough memoranda about the clothing of the soldiers, &c. *Endorsed:—July [1598]. One Sheet.*

July.

116. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. Concerning the munition to be sent for the garrison to be settled at Lough Foyle. Will send a schedule to their Lordships of such things as are in the store under his charge, or are usually provided. Great diminution of the store. "I do now humbly put your Lordships in mind, how great the warrants be which I receive for this Irish service, and how thick they come; and do assure your Lordships, except Her Majesty grant extraordinary supplies, the office will be quickly bankrupt of any store." *Endorsed:—1598, July. Holograph. p. 1.*

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July.

117. "These entertainments Sir Conyers Clifford hath in Connaught with that Government:—

Connaught.—"First, for his diet *per diem*, 20s.For his fee *per annum*, 140*l*.

Item, a band of 200 footmen.

Item, a band of 50 horsemen.

Item, the manor and demesnes of Athlone, with the town and customs there.

Item, the Constableness there, with 20 warders at 8*d*. sterling 'le pece' *per diem*.

Item, St. Peter's Abbey in Athlone, with 8 personages for his house.

Item, the castle and lands of Ballymote. } These two are with

Item, the abbey of Boyle, with } the rest annexed
all the lands and tithes. } to that Govern
ment.So it appeareth his entertainments are as good as 3*l*. 6s. 8*d*. *per diem*, besides his horsemen and footmen.Ulster.—Item, the President's fee and diet *per diem*, 3*l*. 6s. 8*d*. sterling.

Item, the Palace at Carrickfergus for his house, with the Constableness and 20 warders.

Item, a band of 200 footmen.

Item, a band of 100 horsemen.

"It may please your Honour, as I am most willing to serve Her Majesty, so do I very humbly desire your Honour's favour for my placing accordingly. But, having considered of your honourable offers and the course of government now continued in Ireland, I find all places so full, as none is left to sort with my credit and services, unless the Lords Justices' or General's place were void and unbestowed. For (Right Honourable) I do desire such an employment, as I might be able to give an account of, without either wronging of myself in taking an inferior place, or prejudicing of the authorities already given to other men; having formerly seen, by like confusion and intermingling amongst the principal Commanders there, no small hindrance to Her Majesty's service in that realm; and besides, if I be placed under double commandment, I shall be able to do nothing, but as I shall be directed and have allowance for, which can be but a very unnecessary charge to Her Majesty."

Endorsed:—1598, July. p. 1.

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1598.

August 2.
Dublin.

1. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. Received yesterday by Whitwell three letters from their Lordships, two of July 12th and the third of July 13th. Will not fail to use their best endeavours, both to remedy the present disorders noted by their Lordships, and also to prevent further dangerous sequels, "so far as the iniquity of the time, universally corrupted with treason and disloyalty," will suffer them. Humbly beseech the Privy Council, "howsoever the stirs and troubles of this realm may minister matter to some busy spirits, rather carried with affection than with verity of matters to write of our calamities and accidents here, that your Lordships would vouchsafe to such no further credit than their slight reports do deserve, but to depend upon the advertisements from the State, which we will be careful to ground, as near as we can, upon certainty and truth."

As for the great abuse of suffering such English soldiers as are sent over to disband and run away, and of the Captains entertaining in their room so many of the Irishry, who often serve at half pay, and yet are bound by their particular tenures to personal service otherwise, whereby the strength of the country is diminished, which of right should answer service to their own defence, cannot deny but that such abuse hath been in former times, and still would continue, if they laboured not by extraordinary means to prevent it. Have not only published sundry proclamations upon severe penalties to all post towns and creeks, where was resort of shipping, not to transport any soldier without lawful passport, but have also given strict charge to their captains and officers not to change them, but to present them to the Commissary at every muster, unless there were very reasonable cause, the same to be allowed by the Lords Justices or Lord Lieutenant General, and, in their absence, by the Governor of the Province under whom they served. If some frauds have passed notwithstanding their diligence, can give no other reason than that the corruptions of the time have prevailed above their industry. Will use such further penalties as their Lordships have ordered in their last letters, by discharging the Captain, if he cannot give a good account of his soldiers, and also by charging him with consenting to the escape of his men, if he take not order for their apprehension, to the end they may be punished by martial law.

"And for the multitude of Irish, which have crept into companies by sundry ill means, as the first permission thereof came by the late Lord Burgh, who gave license to all Captains the better to strengthen their companies, being upon a journey to the Blackwater, to fill up their bands with Irish, which by time are multiplied to these dangerous numbers they are now ;" so we, foreseeing the inconveniences that might and did ensue by those overgrown companies with Irish (*sic*), have long since made a general restraint in as covert manner

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as we could through the whole army, that there should be no further entertaining of Irish soldiers, but, as they died or disbanded, their places should be supplied with English, which we thought would be a mean to eat them out in time, the danger being too great to discharge them upon a sudden." Will have some help in this point by the supplies lately arrived out of England. Defects in the numbers of these, as may appear by the book herewith sent (*wanting*). Suggest that the various counties from which the men were levied should be called to account for these defaults. Of the men arrived, many are run away, notwithstanding all the endeavours to prevent the same.

Promise, shortly, a certificate of the last 12,000*l.* sent. Pray that the other 12,000*l.*, with victuals and munition, may be hastened over. Will husband them with the greatest care. The munition they issued to divers garrisons, without the privity of the Lord Lieutenant, was so sent owing to the absence of his Lordship in Leinster. Are glad of the resolution taken for sending forces to Lough Foyle. Wish that all expedition may be used to send them away, that they may take the commodity of the time to destroy the harvest of the rebels, and otherwise to accommodate themselves before the winter. Thank the Privy Council for repayment of the sums of money borrowed at Dublin, amounting to 8,000*l.* The particulars thereof appear in a note sent herewith (*wanting*). Will obey their Lordships' direction not to license the going to England of any suitors for debts, as Her Majesty has intended another course therein by way of Commissioners. Will deliver up Cormack's son in exchange for the young Baron of Trimletston. Will also try for the liberation of Captain Constable in exchange for some Irish pledge, "otherwise it will greatly increase the afflictions of the gent, when he shall see his fellow prisoner set at liberty, and himself left in prison."

Phelim M'Hugh, though he lately received a free pardon for himself, his brother, and his followers, yet holds a jealous and suspicious course, shunning to come in to the State, and making means to have his country passed to him, as was promised upon his submission. Pray for Her Majesty's warrant to be sent to that end.

Sir Henry Bagenall, the Marshal, is now to draw into Ulster with part of the army (consisting of 3,500 men by poll, and about 300 horse), to revictual the Blackwater; and the Lord Lieutenant, with another part of the army, is to attend the prosecution in Leinster. The nobility of the English Pale, with the strength of the country, have been appointed to remain in defence upon the borders till the army return out of Ulster. The day for the rendezvous of the latter is the 7th instant, at Ardee, whence they are to march to Newry, and so to the Blackwater. Tyrone's preparations against them.

Will have a care of the Province of Munster. Tyrone's endeavours to stir rebellion there. Precautions by the Lord Lieutenant. Grieved to see the state of Leinster more and more endangered through the

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prevailing of the rebels, who have lately burned in Ormonde since the repair of the Lord Lieutenant to Dublin, and who daily practise compacts and combinations with sundry of the Irish, "who show themselves now more than ever before."—Dublin, 1598, August 2. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich, 11 August, by Mr. Williams." pp. 6.

August 2.
Dublin.

2. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. Received Burghley's letter of June 14, and is heartily sorry to hear that his infirmity draws him from the Court. "Touching my daughter, I hope the preferment of her in good sort will be no offence to Her Majesty, myself being bound by nature to have cure thereof. For the offers touching the chief traitors, I have put several men in hand therewith, and have sundry promises made unto me by divers, to whom I promised consideration, which, I pray God, may take the effect I desire; and, as things shall proceed, the same shall be certified to your Lordship." Desires to know Her Majesty's pleasure as to the warrants for the issue of treasure in Ireland. The Treasurer does not regard Burghley's letter on the subject a sufficient warrant. Will not trouble his Lordship further, as he has written at large in the joint letter from the Council.—Dublin, 1598, August 2. *Signed.* p. 1.

August 2.
Dublin.

3. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Received yesterday Sir Robert's letter of July 13 on behalf of Captain Constable, and will endeavour to the uttermost to procure his liberty, as formerly he had done, though it took not the effect he desired. Promise being made by James M'Sorley to deliver Captain Constable upon the enlargement of M'Sorley's brother, James, now prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, Ormonde caused the latter to be sent to Carrickfergus for that purpose, but M'Sorley "did not keep touch, as he promised." As to the discharge of Captain Constable's men, Sir Robert is not ignorant what sharp reprehension came from Her Majesty and the Privy Council for the exceeding charge of Her army being so weak. Whereupon, Ormonde caused the companies to be reviewed, and their numbers certified. Five companies of foot were discharged, "whose Captains foisted country husbandmen and townsmen to muster before the Commissaries." Nineteen companies were reduced in strength to 50 or 60, for the ease of Her Majesty's charges. At this time he let Captain Constable's companies stand, but after his 50 horse were certified to be not many more than 20, he reduced them to 25, and so they stand. The foot company was also certified as weak, and the lieutenant had gone away with some of the men, so Ormonde cashiered them, and bestowed such as remained upon Captain Morgan, who was greatly recommended to him by the Privy Council. Will use his best offices for Captain Constable, and help him to a company as soon as he may. Sir Henry Wallop and the warrants for the issue of treasure in Ireland. Has received advertisement that a notorious traitor, called William M'Hubbart, who had the leading of 200 men, and was hurt in the last conflict at Ormonde's being in Leix, is dead of the same. Refers to the joint

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letter from the Council.—Dublin, 1598, August 2. *Signed.* p. 1.
Incloses,

3. I. *Memorandum [by Sir Henry Wallop] on the question of the proper authorities to issue warrants for the payment of treasure in Ireland.*—[1598, August 2.] *Unsigned.* pp. 2.

August 4.
Dublin.

4. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The surmised reason made there to keep me out of the Commission, because I am Surveyor, is a shift used by some particulars there, to the end I should not have means to discover deceits and disorders amongst the undertakers, which others have and do wink at. And, by your Honour's favour, those abuses have had too long sufferance to be now reformed, but by the ministry of some others to be put in the Commission, who will look to Her Majesty's profit and lay aside their own particular. The like evasion, I see, prevaieth to cross me in Tarbert, and to carry that land to Mr. Goold, under considerations, that it lieth fitter for him than for me, and that he deserveth recompense; as though I had not served a far longer time than Mr. Goold, at far greater charges, and no recompense at all; where he, by the small time of his service, hath engrossed great wealth, hath had public recompense, and hath been such a private scraper of other men's lands that the people grudge thereat, and the State is dishonoured by it, for that he hath done these things under colour of his employment in Her Majesty's service. I humbly beseech you interpret this to the plainness of my mind, being grieved to see that, in ordinary and mean things, I am not respected, who so long hath served here to serve Her Majesty's turn, and not sought mine own particular; and a mere Irishman, who of late bought his office for money, that, under cover thereof, he might work his own gain upon poor subjects, to weigh me down in the comparison of services and deserts; protesting to your Honour, by the duty and love I owe you, that, howsoever it is laboured to make the land lie unfit for me, yet Mr. Goold, in many respects, for Her Majesty's honour and her service, is unworthy to have it. I am fully satisfied that your Honour dealeth for me honourably in these matters, but it is my portion not to prevail in any cause I sue for; but, to be overborne by so unworthy a man as Goold, against whom are many foul objections, and that partial allegations made there in his favour, by some that would not have me look into Munster, should thus suppress me in this suit, is the thing that most grieveth me; wherein I bemoan myself to your Honour, and do humbly submit my redress to the same."—Dublin, 1598, August 4. *Signed.* *Seals.* p. 1.

August 4.
[Dublin.]

5. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to [Sir Robert Cecil]. "Right Honourable. Touching the matter of Dunluce, I have conferred therein with the Captains of the pinnaces, and have given them the best instructions I can to carry their course by stratagem; for by force it is not feasible, for the impregnancie of the place. This I was told to do before the receipt of your letter, foreseeing what danger might grow by delaying it further.

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"For the other greater matter mentioned in your Honour's letter, though I know it will be difficult to draw one dog to bite of another, and more desperate to find an axe to strike down at one blow a great oak that hath grown up in many years, yet I will cause the ford to be sounded, to see if there may be found a passage that way.

"When your Honour shall write to me of these matters of secrecy, or in any other cause that may concern mine own particular, and that you do send those letters in the general packet, it may please you to indorse the direction of the packet to me; so shall I take out mine own letters, and deliver the rest to the Lords Justices."—[Dublin], 1598, August 4. *Holograph.* p. 1.

This letter is not addressed, but was probably enclosed in the preceding, which has three seals.

August 6. 6. Captain Henry Skipwith to Sir Robert Cecil ["Sytsilt"].
[Dublin.] Late arrival of the 100 soldiers from the county of Carnarvon. On July 21st, 46 were delivered him by Mr. Trevor, and on the 22nd, 45 by Mr. Ellice Maurice, a gentleman of Carnarvonshire. Asked for the residue, but could get no more. The delay in the arrival of the men lost them the favourable wind for crossing. They, and many other soldiers delivered him before, were kept at the seaside until the 29th of July, when they embarked, and reached "here in Dublin" on the 2nd inst. Sir Ralph Lane viewed the men, and found them to number 359. Has sent the names of the residue, being 32, to the counties where they were pressed. Is blameless for the default. It cost him above 40*l.* to maintain six officers, to hold them together. Prays for repayment. Defects in some part of the arms delivered from the county of Denbigh. Asked for others, but could obtain none.—[Dublin], 1598, August 6. *Signed.* *Seal.* p. 1.

August [6.] 7. "Schedule of the counties from whence the men were levied, for a garrison of 2,000 foot and 100 horse, to be settled at Lough Foyle, under the charge of Sir Samuel Bagenall." The numbers amount to 950, and a note states, "to these were added the 1,000 soldiers that were drawn out of the Low Countries, to serve with the Earl of Essex in his journey to the Islands, and, at his return, left in the west parts."—[1598], August [6]. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 77^b. *Copy.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

[August 6.] 8. "The names of the Bishops and Deans, who were charged to furnish horses." Thirty horses are thus levied.—[1598, August 6.] *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 78. *Copy.* p. 1.

[August 6.] 9. "Horses levied from several counties." Sixty-four are thus levied.—[1598, August 6.] *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 78^b. *Copy.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

[August 6.] 10. "Money levied from recusants, viz., 30*l.* for a horse." Names of 26 recusants and their counties.—[1598, August 6.] *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 78^b. *Copy.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

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August 7.
Greenwich.

11. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lords Justices [Loftus and Gardener]. In the time of Sir Thomas Norreys's government, on some signification from the Council of Ireland, the pay of the horsemen was increased from 12*d.* to 18*d. per diem*, owing to the great dearth in the realm. This increased pay has continued ever since, albeit great store of provisions has been sent from England, and Ireland itself (God be thanked) is blessed with greater plenty. The increase was intended to continue only for the time of the dearth, and the horsemen were to have been reduced by the number of insufficient ones. Desire their Lordships to signify as speedily as possible for what reasons the 18*d. per diem* should be continued, especially as Ireland is already well freed of its former scarcity, and like to recover itself better by this year's fruitfulness. The horse now levied for Lough Foyle must receive the same entertainment that others do, who serve in Ireland, or else confusion cannot be avoided. —The Court at Greenwich, 1598, August 7. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 79. *Copy. p. ½.*

August 7.

12. "Commission for Sir Samuel Bagenall, Knight, Chief Colonel of Her Majesty's forces sent to Lough Foyle." [See No. 140 of *October following.*]—Greenwich, 1598, August 7. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 79, 80. *Copy. pp. 2.*

August 8.

13. Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Ormonde. "My good Lord. Although my affliction is so great by my father's death, as I shall be excused to be long writing, yet to you that are participant [*'are' has been struck out, but not 'participant,' and above is written, 'do partake with me'*] of it also, I need not use arguments to tell you that you have lost a noble, true, and ancient friend [*from 'also' to 'friend' is struck out*], I think not amiss to advertise it, assuring you that if I shall not say that you have lost a most noble and constant friend, I were not worthy [*these last three words are struck out*], should betray him that is dead.

"For the supplies which are sent, I hope your Lordship sees you are not neglected. The garrison which shall be at Lough Foyle is appointed greater than yourselves required, and therefore Her Majesty hopeth, when such a garrison shall be placed, so to divert him, that it will be remembered that the other charges be lessened in the army. They shall embark the 20th of August, if wind serve, and are commanded to obey such directions as the State there shall send them from time to time. And thus, with humble thanks to my noble Lady the Countess for her goshawk, I take my leave."—*Endorsed*:—"1598, August 8. Copy of two letters of my Master's to the Earl of Ormonde and Mr. Secretary Fenton." *Rough draft in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. p. 1.*

August 8.

14. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. "I do so well love my Lord of Ormonde, as I think it fit to advertise him privately by you what is reported, which may be false and may be true, namely, that his servant, who is his secretary, and privy to all, doth play some bad parts in discovering to the enemy. If this be untrue,

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let it die in his Lordship's breast, but, if it be true, this caution will do my Lord no harm. No man but may have ill servants. I pray you tell my Lord of it, for I was loath to write it, lest haply my Lord, not being well, might have given my letter to have been read by his secretary.

"For our state here, shortly this. My affliction makes me more brief by loss of my worthy father; but this is certain, that Her Majesty expecteth, upon this said garrison established in Lough Foyle, some diminution of her other charges, and hopes to hear of no more such outrages in the Pale, seeing this will work such a notable diversion, and is 2,000 foot and 100 horse in number, when yourselves asked but 1,200 foot and 100 horse. And thus in haste I end, your loving friend, RO. CECYLL."—[1598, August 8.] *Holograph, but not addressed.* p. 1.

August 8.
Dublin.

15. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Hears from England that one Burkinshaw has a despatch from the Privy Council to succeed Kyffin in a joint exercise with Sir Ralph of the office of the musters. The great improvements made since his absolute administration thereof, both as regards the certification of strengths and the checks. Kyffin, notwithstanding all his best dexterity, was far from such results. Prays that Burkinshaw may be discharged from any exercise in the office, as his intermeddling will occasion great loss to Her Majesty.—Dublin, 1598, August 8. *Signed. Endorsed:*—Received 9 October. pp. 2.

August 9.
Dublin.

16. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. In his former letter to Sir Robert, he sought to be freed from his charge, which is now grown to be a burden over heavy for his years and great infirmities. Sorry that Burghley's illness prevented him from attending to his suit. Prays for his restoration to health. May not without danger pass over any longer time, his great accounts hanging yet undetermined, and more treasure being required to answer the service in Ireland. This would, if he stayed, add new cares to his age, "rather challenging to be freed from the old, now that one foot is already in my grave." Importunes Sir Robert speedily to obtain his discharge, or he must leave an encumbered estate to his posterity, for his faithful service to his sovereign. Sends by his son, the bearer, his petition to the Privy Council, beseeching Sir Robert to further it. If he is informed of anything that may tend to his touch in credit, prays Sir Robert to suspend his judgment until the writer's answer is received—Dublin, 1598, August 9. *Signed* pp. 1½. *Incloses,*

16. 1. *Petition of Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, to the Privy Council, praying to be discharged from his office, in which he has served nineteen years and more.*—[1598, August 9.] *Draft.* p. 1.

August 11.
Ely O'Carroll.

17. Sir Charles O'Carroll to Sir Robert Cecil. Has lately been driven many times to his best defences against sundry assaults of his enemies, who are all rebels against Her Majesty. Has received

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great losses. Made suit unto the State to be allowed some men in Her Majesty's pay, but could not obtain them. His indebtedness to Sir Robert. Begs him to talk with Sir William Russell and Sir William Fitzwilliams, who, he hopes, will report favourably of him. Desires to be allowed some men, and not to be removed from the charge, without special direction from Her Majesty or the Privy Council. Sends Sir Robert a goshawk of an approved good eyrie.—Ely O'Carroll, 1598, August 11. *Signed.* p. 1.

August 13. 18. Warrant to the Government in Ireland to secure to Honora, Countess of Clancarty, the third part of the lands, &c. of the late Earl, in full satisfaction of her dower. *Endorsed*:—1598, August 13. *Copy.* p. 1.

[August 14.] 19. "The ill news out of Ireland." "The 12th of August they came from the Newry to Armagh. The 14th of August they set forwards towards the Blackwater, with 4,000 footmen and 350 horses.

"Captain Percy and Captain Cosby led the first regiment of foot, being 1,000. Captain Percy was hurt, Cosby slain, and almost all the regiment slain.

"Sir Henry Bagenall led the second regiment, being of 1,000. He was shot in the head, slain, and most of the regiment.

"Sir Calisthenes Brooke led the horses, being 350, was shot into the belly, and thought to be slain. About 2,000 footmen slain and Captains Cosby, Evans, Morgan, Turner, Leigh, Street, Elsdon, Bankes, Petty [*i.e.*, Pettit, as in other lists], Henshawe, Bethel, Fortescue, Hawess, Mulmorey O'Reilly, and Burke.

"William Paule, Commissary, a voluntary, slain. James Harrington, son to Sir Henry Harrington, [and] Maximilian Brooke, taken or slain. Mr. Constable, a voluntary gentleman, slain."—[1598, August 14.] p. 1.

August 16. 20. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Council to the Dublin. Privy Council. "It may please your Lordships. At the Lord Lieutenant's last being here, which was at the time of our last despatch to your Lordships of the second of this month, upon conference had in Council touching the distress of the Blackwater, and the revictualling thereof, the Marshal being also present at that consultation, and sent for expressly by the Lord Lieutenant; some of us were of opinion that the hazard were too great to adventure so many of Her Majesty's forces as were thought requisite to be employed in that expedition, yielding this reason, amongst others, that the fort, being valued at the highest, was no way comparable to the loss, if the army should receive any disaster in the attempt. But when we saw his Lordship and the Marshal stand so much upon the honour of the service, alleging how greatly it concerned Her Majesty in honour to have the fort relieved, we left to themselves the resolution, wishing, by way of our advice, after they had determined it should be attempted, that the Lord Lieutenant would undertake the matter in person, alleging, amongst many other respects, that, in that case, his Lordship might draw

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with him many of the nobility with their followers, which would greatly strengthen the action; and, besides, his presence in the field might move Tyrone, either for fear or for some other respects, to give way to him, whereby the service might be performed with less danger. And before this consultation, having considered thoroughly of the perils in this enterprise of the fort, and the difficulties to accomplish the same, the Lord Lieutenant and ourselves, jointly together, wrote to the Marshal, lying then upon the borders, and withal sent our special letters, to be conveyed by his means to the Captain of the Blackwater, advising him to consider how he might make his composition with Tyrone in time, to the most honour he could for Her Majesty, and best safety for himself and the garrison there. But the Marshal, staying these letters in his own hands, did not send them to the fort, but brought them back again with himself, affirming how dishonourable it would be to hold that course, and that he knew by good intelligence that the fort was yet in case to hold out, and that he had tried by stratagem to send some victuals into them. In our advice, which we gave to his Lordship, for undertaking the service in his own person, we put him in mind that the prosecution of Leinster might be committed to some other during his absence. But his Lordship and the Marshal agreeing otherwise, his Lordship took upon him the matters of Leinster, and left to the Marshal the action of the Blackwater; who accordingly came to Armagh the 13th of this month, without any loss other than the taking of Captain Ratcliff prisoner, and some four or five others cut off in the strait between Dundalk and the Newry, who straggled after the army, and did not march under the safety thereof.

“And the next day, being the 14th of this present, the army dislodging from Armagh, with purpose to pass further to revictual the Blackwater, the rebels of the North, having waylaid them there in places to our disadvantage, rose out with their main forces to stop their passage, where, after a sore trial made by the army, striving to put the rebels from the advantage of their place, our forces were repulsed with a grievous loss, both of the Marshal himself with sundry other particular Captains, with their colours, and also a great number of the soldiers. The residue that remained (except some of the Irish, who ran to the rebels), retired to Armagh, as the next place of succour they could get; where they remained in the church there, awaiting for such comfort, as men in so great a calamity may expect.

“These heavy news were brought to us this day by Captain Charles Montague, who, having the second place of charge of the horsemen in the service, and being appointed by the consent of the Captains (as he affirmeth) to adventure through the enemy's country to come to us, hath made declaration to us of this lamentable accident in this summary manner, which herewith we send to your Lordships under his hand: a matter so grievous to us, in respect of so great a diminution of Her Majesty's forces in so dangerous a time as this; and to have so great a part of the army (being 1,500 men, as Captain Montague reporteth), cooped up in the Church of

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Armagh, environed round about with the rebels, as we cannot but fear far more dangerous sequels, even to the utter hazard of the kingdom, and that out of hand, if God and Her Majesty prevent them not. For we assure ourselves that, upon this accident in the North, the whole combination of the rest of the rebels, in all the parts of the realm, will grow mightily proud, and will not spare to take the opportunity of the time, and pursue this success at Armagh to their best advantage in Leinster, Connaught, and all other places of the realm. And they know as well as ourselves that we are not able without present succours out of England, to fetch off those poor distressed companies, that are in Armagh, who (as Captain Montague reporteth) have victuals to serve them for eight or nine days, and not further; within which time we have no means to rescue them from thence by force, nor after that time to relieve them with victuals, which being a most lamentable distress to us, we have now signified the same to the Lord Lieutenant General, who, as we hear, is at Kilkenny, praying his speedy repair hither upon this heavy occasion. This encounter at Armagh was [on] the 14th of this present, and the report thereof brought to us this day about nine in the morning; since when we have been busy to send out many despatches into sundry parts of the realm, to prevent dangers, and contain the people as much as in us lieth, and have specially written to the Lord Lieutenant General to haste hither with all speed, to the end to consider with him of the present dangers in all parts, and how Her Majesty's forces that are left, which are wholly under his charge, may be employed, to the most safety of the realm, and preservation of that which remaineth.

“But, under your Lordship's honourable reformation, and in an humble discharge of our duties, we wish that Her Majesty were thoroughly informed of the dangerous estate of this realm, as well for want of forces, by reason of this defeat, as for lack of skilful and experienced commanders. And particularly this disaster of Armagh having taken away the Marshal, which place is in Her Majesty's disposition, we humbly wish that some well-chosen person, being of good understanding in the wars, may be sent from thence out of hand to supply that office; to the end that, by the assistance of such an officer, Her Majesty's martial services may be carried in that course which is requisite against so many proud rebels, in sundry parts of the realm. And, though the Lord Lieutenant be now absent from hence, whereby we cannot communicate with him in this and other things, as were meet, yet, if his Lordship were here, we doubt not but he seeth reason to be of our opinion that, inasmuch as the distresses of this kingdom are divided into many parts, and every part hath his particular danger, that that necessity presseth to have a further assistance in the proceedings of the war, and a subsisting authority to be joined with his Lordship, unless Her Majesty would be pleased to settle the whole government entirely in one man's hands, which for our parts we wish, for the avoiding of many confusions growing in the main

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government, now that the authority is divided, which, it is not unlike, would be better redressed if the superior authority were reduced into one man's hand, as Her Majesty's Deputy, the consideration whereof we humbly submit to your Lordship's grave advice. Only, and lastly, beseeching your Lordships with all the duty and earnestness we can, that, till a Deputy may come, a Marshal may be sent with such other assistants for the wars as your Lordships shall think requisite; and that also a further force of men may be sent out of hand, the certain numbers whereof we cannot otherwise limit than according the greatness of our dangers; and that such as shall be sent may be trained men, well weaponed, and consisting of able bodies, to be able to bear out the toil of this hard service. This choice of a Deputy, or, in the meanwhile, [of] some good assistants for the wars, to be assigned and sent out of hand with forces, the longer it is deferred the more will it increase the dangers of the realm; for that both the enemies will multiply and insult, knowing how weak we are, as well in Commanders as in men; and the subjects, that yet stand, will take it for an occasion of discouragement, when they see so small means to defend them. Such further advertisements as we shall receive of this disaster of the army in the North, or of any other matter occurring in any other part, shall be signified to your Lordships with the best speed we can; being most grieved that this wicked land will not yet yield better matter to advertise to your Lordships. And so, being greatly fearful that Tyrone, in the pride of this success, will bend some dangerous attempts against the Newry, Dundalk, Knockfergus, or other frontier places of importance, we most humbly take our leave. In great haste, at Dublin, 16 August, 1598."

[*Postscript.*]"—"Lest Tyrone might use further violence to those distressed companies in Armagh, we thought good to send a pursuivant to him with our letter, the copy whereof we send to your Lordships herewith, having directed the pursuivant to learn the true state of the soldiers, with other instructions, which was our chief purpose in sending him to Tyrone." *Signed. Endorsed:*—"Received the 21st of the same." pp. 3. *Inclosure.*

20. 1. "*Captain Montague's report of the accident at Armagh; dated 16 August, 1598.*"

"On Monday, the 14th of August, the army marched from Armagh (leaving there all our victuals and some munition), for the Blackwater, by computation, 3,500 foot and 300 horse. Their form was in six regiments. We marched severally some six or seven score paces' distance between each regiment, our way being hard and hilly ground, within culiver shot of wood and bog on both sides, which was wholly possessed by the enemy continually playing upon us. After a mile's marching thus we approached the enemy's trench, being a ditch cast in front of our passage a mile long, some five foot deep, and four feet over, with a thorny hedge on the top. In the middle of a bog, some forty score paces over, our vanguard passed the trench. The battle stood, for

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the bringing up of the saker, which stuck fast in a ford, and also for our rear, which, being hard set to, retired foully to Armagh. In the meantime, the vanguard passing, one was so distressed, as they fell to run, and were all in effect put to the sword without resistance. Up came the Marshal, being Chief Commander, to relieve them, who was killed dead (sic) in the head with a bullet; notwithstanding, two other regiments passed over the trench. The battle coming up, two barrels of powder took fire amongst them, by which they disranked and routed; in which while, those two former regiments, being passed (sic) the trench, were for the most part put to the sword. Then, by the help of our horse, the enemy's munition being well spent, we brought off the rest into the plain, and so recovered Armagh; where the Captains resolved to refresh their men with victuals and munition, and so to march directly to the Newry. In the meantime the enemy approached, and fell round on all sides of us with their whole force. Then the Captains, finding the insufficiency both in mind and means of their men, concluded that the horse should adventure to break forth through the enemy's quarter, and so pass into the Pale, to advertise the State, that present succour might be sent to fetch them off; or else the enemy, seeing the horse gone, might be persuaded that they having a month or two (sic) victuals, which indeed was there, but disposed upon their first resolution, so as they made account they had not now left meat for above ten days at the uttermost, that the enemy could not keep together, hearing, by a prisoner that was taken, that O'Donnell and Maguire was (sic) then ready to depart. The horsemen, according their desires, performed it with some loss. By the Captains' estimation we had killed and run away to the enemy, not less than 1,800 foot, some ten horsemen, and thirty horses. The enemy lost, as we heard by some of theirs that we took, seven or eight hundred. There remains of ours about 1,500 in the Church of Armagh." Signed. pp. 1½.

20. II. *The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to Hugh Earl of Tyrone. "We have taken knowledge of the late accident happened to part of Her Majesty's forces employed in Ulster, only for victualling of the Blackwater, and that many of them are retired into Armagh, where they now remain. We thought good upon this occasion to send to you on their behalf, though we think that, in your own consideration, you will let them depart without doing them any further hurt. We are to put you in mind how far you may incense Her Majesty's indignation towards you, if you shall do any further distress to those companies, being as you know in cold blood; and, on the other side, how far you may move Her Majesty to renew a favourable conceit of you by using favour to these men. And, besides, your ancient adversary the Marshal being now taken away, we hope you will cease all further revenge towards the rest, against whom you can ground no cause of sting against yourself, being employed by Her Majesty in these Her Highness's services. Thus much we thought good to signify unto you, and by way of caution to admonish you*

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to avoid to provoke so mighty a Prince upon such a matter as to distress her servitors in cold blood. To this end we have sent this bearer the pursuivant, by whom we expect your answer. — At Dublin, 16th August, 1598.” Copy. p. 1. [Sir Geoffrey Fenton has added the signatures of the Lords Justices, Sir Henry Wallop, Sir George Bouchier, and himself, and written at the foot: “To the Earl of Tyrone.” He also endorses this copy, “A pursuivant sent to Tyrone upon the late disaster at Armagh.—16 August, 1598.”]

[Aug. 16.] 21. “The names of the Captains slain near Armagh, 14 August, 1598.” [*The list is the same as that in No. 19, with the exception of Captain Burke, who is not included here.*] p. 1.

August 16. 22. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Can write no more
Dublin. of the woeful issue of the accident in the North. Captain Montague returned with most of the horsemen. Is grieved that the State cannot succour by force the men at Armagh. Sees no likelihood to deal for them by treaty, “in this furious pride of the enemy,” unless the Lord Lieutenant, by some meet persons, move Tyrone to some feeling of honour towards them. Will deal with the Lord Lieutenant to this end, on his arrival at Dublin. The absence of the latter, even in this particular case, is very inconvenient, for he has sole charge in all martial causes, and, before his return from Kilkenny, “things may grow over-dangerous, which otherwise might be more easily stayed, if his Lordship were present to use the opportunity. And I fear much that Tyrone will, out of hand, strike at Dundalk and Knockfergus, two ancient frontier-places against the North, for, touching the Newry, I give it lost, if he will prosecute the ruin of it; and, all these places being weakly manned, the State can do nothing to reinforce them till the Lord Lieutenant’s return. By which your Honour may see how perilous it is for the safety of this realm, to have a divided authority, which till it be reduced entirely into one, and the governments settled in one man’s charge, and he to be some worthy man sent from thence, and thoroughly enabled and countenanced, I see no way to weed this garden, or prevent the overgrowing thereof with such pestilent weeds, as will not be plucked up but with more charges and trouble than the fruit of the garden will be worth.” Has often urged this point of the divided government; and now the Lords Justices are of his mind. Wishes Sir Robert would deal resolutely with Her Majesty to dispatch a Deputy, and to send before a Marshal, with two or three other assistants for the wars. Thinks this course cannot be offensive to the Lord Lieutenant, “who, besides the confusions in the realm, seeth at his eye that the services martial grow too heady and violent, to be taken down by one man’s industry.” Wishes that the 2,000 men designed for Lough Foyle may be sent to Dublin and Drogheda, to be employed for defence of the Pale, and to suppress the rebels of Leinster, and afterwards the garrison intended for Lough Foyle may be supplied and sent thither, according to the first project. The

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treasure, being 12,000*l.*, has this day arrived.—Dublin, 1598, August 16. *The signature is wanting, but the endorsement gives the name of the writer.* p. 1.

23. "Instructions given to Sir Samuel Bagenall, Knight, appointed Chief Colonel of two thousand soldiers that are sent under his service to Lough Foyle, in the realm of Ireland."

Charles Egerton to be second Colonel. Sir Samuel Bagenall to be at the port of Chester by the 20th instant, where 600 men of the 2,000 are appointed to be embarked. He is to direct his course for the Bay of Knockfergus or Olderfleet, whither the other companies to be embarked at Plymouth are directed to repair. Either companies to await the arrival of the other, and to go together to Lough Foyle. Is to give all assistance to Hugh Tudor, Commissary of the Musters, and to see that no injury be offered him by any officer or soldier. Victuals appointed for his force for four months. These are to be carefully issued after arrival at Lough Foyle. When any victual is recovered from the enemy, that in store is to be spared, for the navigation will be uncertain in winter to bring them any supplies. "Because Lough Foyle is a waste place, and uninhabited," special care must be had for the safety and preservation of the victuals. Like care to be had of the munition. Money delivered him to provide 100 horse, at the rate of 30*l.* a horse. Is to see that the armour and furniture both for the horses and men are serviceable, and that the horse are of good stature and fit for service. They are to be sent to Chester, where James Ware, gent., and others, will view and muster them, after which they shall be entered into Her Majesty's pay. If Sir Samuel Bagenall takes ship with part of the horse and with the foot companies from Chester, he is to leave a sufficient person to take charge of the rest of the horse. Is to take the first wind that serves for a passage. Two of the 100 horse to be delivered to the Provost Marshal, to serve for his assistance. Seeing that the place where Bagenall is to arrive is "very ruinous and desolate," his first care, after ordering the placing of the victuals and munition, shall be how the two regiments may be well lodged, and also the horsemen, and the horses provided for, that they may lie dry. After this, he is presently to seek to gather the corn of the enemy, and straw for the horses, and to make provision of wood, before the hardness of winter come on, and while the companies are strong and fit to labour.

"We shall not need to put you in mind to have regard to the government of Her Majesty's people committed to your charge; howbeit, because of late time we have found that, by negligence or corruption of the Captains, the soldiers sent over thither are dismissed and suffered to return again, or get away by stealth, you shall give warning to the Masters of those ships that shall transport you thither, that, after the soldiers be landed, they do take no soldier into any of their ships, upon pain to be severely punished at their return hither, and the loss of all their freight. And the soldier that shall convey himself into any of the said ships, with intent to

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run away, unless he be so weakened with his sickness as he is unable to serve, to suffer death as he ought to do. And if any soldier shall happen to die, or be slain, you shall not admit above six Irish in a band, but signify your defects hither, which shall in convenient time be supplied."

Is to seek every opportunity and means to annoy the enemy, that he may understand of what use the placing of that garrison shall be, to distress him, and to assure those that will live in obedience.

Is to give full advertisements to the Lord General, the Lords Justices, and the Governor of Connaught, and to act with them. To take special care in respect to any overtures of, or parleys with, the rebels. To give rewards for intelligences and espials. The good carriage of the Captains and the soldiers towards the Irish, who shall continue in, or return to, their obedience, will induce others to offer themselves unto him. Is, therefore, to observe such orders as the Earl Marshal has set down to that end. Can dispose of the pinnaces employed on the north coast, as he shall have occasion. Pay of the men; footmen, 3s. per week; horsemen, 18*d.* per diem.

"You shall use all your means to know the factions and partialities of Ulster, which are very many; for divers of the rebels' followers are kept but by strong hand; which known, you shall instruct yourself the better whom to trust, and which are fittest to be employed one against another. And if you can surprise the castle of Sir John O'Dogherty, or recover him by treaty from thence, you shall have good relief both for your horse and foot, and a port and passage to send to and fro, for anything that you shall want." Sir John O'Dogherty may be drawn easily from O'Donnell; so may Hugh Duff M'Donnell, and M'Swyne Ne Doe. Amongst those ill-affected to Tyrone are Sir Arthur "O'Devile" [sic; ? O'Neill], the nation of the "Slaturt," the sept of the "Donnolos," and Harry Oge M'Harry M'Shane. To be very circumspect in the granting of protections to the rebels, "considering the treacherous dealing of most of them of late that have sought protections to serve their turns, and after revolted again to their rebellious actions." Protections to be granted only for a short time, and the same to be advertised to the State.—1598, August 17. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 80-83. *Copy.* pp. 6.

August 17.
Dublin.

24. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to the Privy Council. "It may please your most honourable Lordships. Albeit we have now joined with the rest of this Council in a letter to your Lordships, signifying the most woeful and grievous accident of the Marshal's death, and defeating of that army, yet, fearing greatly lest that blame might be imputed unto us, which we have not deserved, we have made most humbly bold, in our own discharge, to trouble your Lordships with these few lines in private from ourselves.

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" We hope your Lordships do well remember how absolutely Her Most Excellent Majesty hath left the managing of all the martial affairs in this realm to the Earl of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant General, and we limited only to the administration of civil justice, not having to deal with so much as the distribution of the treasure sent. Nevertheless, as by all former despatches your Lordships might perceive, we have not failed to bend our whole study in assisting his Lordship from time to time, and at all times, with our best advice, in any of his affairs concerning Her Majesty's service. And touching the victualling of the fort at Blackwater, it is well known to all this table, upon consultation had thereof, how much against our advice and minds the same was undertaken. We alleged the difficulties to perform it, the charge and exceeding trouble that it would be, both to the soldier and miserable country, and lastly the great peril and imminent danger which it would bring the whole realm unto (if it were undertaken, and the army defeated), as now it hath done; yielding our opinion that it were more convenient, and far more safe, rather to quit that fort, which might have been done with good conditions, being of little worth in respect of other places, and easy to be built again with good conveniency, and three or four days' stay of the army, whensoever they should proceed northward; and, therefore, to defend the Pale, being the heart, and in a manner all that is now left of the whole body, until Her Majesty's resolution had been understood here, for a full and thorough prosecution of these wars, which hitherto had been so exceeding chargeable unto Her Highness. This we urged with such vehemency as was offensive to some. Howbeit, all the reasons and persuasions, which we could use, would not draw his Lordship and the Marshal from their intended purpose to victual it; which being so determined by him who had the disposing of those causes absolutely in his own hand, and no power in us to alter it, we then wished, and urged much, that his Lordship would himself undertake that service, being of so great importance; and then alleged two reasons, which did especiall[y] move us so to advise his Lordship. The first was, that we knew, if his Lordship would go himself in person, he should be accompanied with the most part of the nobility and their followers, with many other gentlemen voluntary attendants, whereby he should be a far better and greater army than otherwise he could set out with the Marshal. The other was, that if it came to that extremity, which now (alas) it hath done, we thought the great rebel would have had more reverence and regard to his Lordship's person, place, and calling, than (we were sure) he would have to the Marshal, against whom he bare a deadly hatred. Yet his Lordship, being either unwilling or unable to endure that troublesome journey, answered us that himself could not be spared from the service in Leinster, which he would attend. And having so resolved, laid that other service upon the Marshal, who sped unfortunately therein, to the loss of his own life and [of] a great part of that army, except the horsemen, whereof as we under-

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stand none perished, the distress of the rest now environed by the rebel at Armagh, and apparent peril of this whole State.

“The Lord Lieutenant, returning then to Kilkenny, hath there and thereabouts remained ever since, as yet he doth, the Leinster rebels being nevertheless exceedingly increased, and daily burning, preying, and spoiling the country, having already possessed themselves of all the Queen’s County, called Leix, some three or four castles at the most excepted, which cannot long hold out. There they possess the lands so dearly bought by Her Majesty and her predecessors, and do even in peaceable manner enjoy the goods, and cut down and gather the corn of the ancient English gentlemen of that county, to the great discomfort of all our nation remaining in this wretched country. The like stir have they already begun in Offally, called the King’s County, and the like end, in all likelihood, will they make there, the rabble of them being now by this disaster so encouraged and increased, as they do even what they list without controlment. A great part of the county of Kildare they have already spoiled and burned, and daily advertisements we have of their entrance into the county of Dublin, and of their purpose, even this day as we understand, to make head even towards this city, to which, God knoweth, they may make an easy approach; yet have we, to encounter their coming, set out this present morning the number of six or seven hundred, of citizens and others, to impeach their purposed approach. This (and worse than we have said) is the state of Leinster. For Connaught, how much this blow hath weakened it, and strengthened the rebels of that Province, your Lordships may conceive: and Munster not free from infection very likely to burst out; and this is now the state of this poor and most miserable land.

“Thus much in effect have we, in divers our former private letters, foretold and signified to your Lordships, and this do we now again, in discharge of our most bounden duties, declare to your Lordships. We have no means left in us to help ourselves and the remnant of Her Majesty’s poor subjects here; only this, we beseech Almighty God so to stir up the heart of our gracious Sovereign, Her most sacred Majesty, as yet at length (and almost too late), she will behold our miseries with the eyes of compassion, think upon a present course touching the form of this government, and speedily undertake a royal and thorough prosecution against these vile ungrateful rebels; otherwise, shall not we be able, for our parts, to render any other account to Her Highness than that her realm is lost. We have in all haste by two several messengers acquainted the Lord Lieutenant with this calamity, desiring his speedy repair hither, with such forces as he may make and conveniently spare, at whose coming we will use all our best means for the bringing of the rest of the army now remaining in Ulster, which we think will be very weak.”—Dublin, 1598, August 17. *Endorsed under the address:—*“Haste, haste, haste, post haste,

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Delivered to the sea on Friday, at 10 of the clock in the forenoon, the 18 of August. AD. DUBLIN, C." *Signed.* pp. 3.

August 17.
Dublin.

25. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. Have this day received his letter of the 7th instant, asking why the increased pay of the horsemen should be further continued. This question more properly belongs to the Lord Lieutenant General, but, in his absence, they answer that, although the augmentation was granted to begin in November last, yet the same was deferred until the beginning of May following, because in those times they had taken much allowance of the country. So many horsemen, too, have been discharged that the increase of 6*d.* *per diem* has been very little, or no, charge to Her Majesty; neither have they received in their lendings from the beginning, but at the rate of 12*d.*, yet do they expect the rest in their half-year's reckonings, according to promise. "And to the plenty, wherewith it is said that God hath blessed this country since that time, we must thankfully acknowledge the same at God's hands. But we assure your Honour that, if the rebels hold on that course in burning of all corn wheresoever they come, as hither[to] they have done, our dearth and misery is like to be far greater than ever yet we have seen it." The horseman may make shift with the 12*d.* *per diem* in summer, but it is impossible for him to do so in winter, except by taking the spoil of the country, as formerly they have done. Will be ready to follow Her Majesty's directions in this matter. Desire to understand her pleasure concerning the entertainment of broken companies of horsemen, whom commonly they find to be best furnished.—Dublin, 1598, August 17. *Signed.* pp. 2.

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26. "An advice concerning the service of Lough Foyle, by Philip Williams." States that the forces of Sir Samuel Bagenall, if once planted and settled, are very sufficient to harry all Tyrone and Tyrconnell. But, as he will probably find great difficulty and danger in landing, and greater in settling, if the Archtraitor bend all his forces against the expedition, as undoubtedly he will, "as against the very gate set open to his ruin," recommends that the Lord Lieutenant General, "and Mr. Marshal," be directed to make head with all their forces (reserving some for the guard of the Pale) towards the Blackwater, and that Sir Conyers Clifford be directed to enter Tyrconnell by Ballyshannon; and both some few days before the time for Sir Samuel Bagenall's arrival, so that the traitor, being sundry ways distracted, Sir Samuel may land and settle with the less, or haply no, impeachment. If this falls out, is persuaded that M'Swyne Ne Doe, Sir John O'Dogherty, Sir Arthur O'Neill (son to the late Sir Tirlogh Lynagh O'Neill), and Harry M'Shane, will join with him. It were not amiss that a pinnace went with Sir Samuel, ready to be put in at Dublin or Carlingford, to give notice of his passage. If Williams shows in this matter a needless case, prays that it may be held for duty and not presumption.—1598, August 17. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

August 18.

27. The Earl of Ormonde to Queen Elizabeth. "The traitor Kilkenny. Tyrone having sent forces to several parts of Leinster, to assist the

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traitors there, and stir rebellion in Munster; it was concluded by the Lords Justices, the Council, and myself, upon a motion and offer made by the Marshal, that he, with a force of 4,000 foot and upwards, and 320 horse by poll, should go to relieve the fort of Blackwater, and myself, with the few companies that were spared, to prosecute the traitors in Leinster (of which Province your Majesty in your letters, and the Lords of your Highness's Council there, commanded me to have special care). In which prosecution, some of the chief traitors among them, with divers of their followers, were put to the sword; others also that were entering into rebellion in Munster were staid by me; and being now ready to make a road against Donnell Spainagh, I received (to my exceeding grief) several letters from the Lords Justices and others, of the Marshal's ill-success, happened (as it is informed) for want of good directions. The particulars of all which (for avoiding your Majesty's trouble), I have sent to the Lords of your Highness's Council, to be made known to your Majesty. Most humbly praying your Highness that it may stand with your princely pleasure (for the safety of your realm, which is hereby greatly endangered), to send greater forces with all speed, with victuals, munition, and other necessaries, to suppress the pride of those malicious and unnatural traitors, whom God of His goodness speedily confound, and bless your Majesty with a long, most happy and victorious reign, to the comfort of me, and all other your faithful subjects."—Kilkenny, 1598, August 18. Signed. p. 1.

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Kilkenny.

28. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. When ready to make a road upon Donnell Spainagh and other rebels in East Leinster, he received news of the Marshal's ill-success. Is thereby stayed, and will now bend all his endeavours for the defence of the realm. This will be the better effected, if the forces for Lough Foyle are appointed to land at Dublin. Holds it necessary that they be advertised of this loss with all speed, lest by their landing at Lough Foyle without knowledge thereof, they take any sudden harm. Begs for a further supply of forces under expert men. The probable ill effects of this "accident" in Leinster and Munster.—Kilkenny, 1598, August 18. Signed. Endorsed:—"Received the 25th." p. 1. Incloses,

28. 1. *The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Council to the Earl of Ormonde.* "Even now Captain Montague and Captain Malbie are returned hither from Armagh, who have assured us that the army, being resisted beyond Armagh, hath received a loss, which we are grieved to write to your Lordship in particular; and for the rest that are reserved, they are in Armagh, and, as Montague saith, their refuge is to remain there for eight or nine days at the furthest, having victuals to serve for that time, and no longer. And for anything we can now perceive or gather, the rebels will out of hand invade the Pale, and consequently go near to overthrow the whole kingdom, unless some speedy means be used to prevent the same." Beg Ormonde to repair speedily to Dublin.—Dublin, 1598, August 16.

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[*Postscript.*].—"The Marshal is slain, and about thirteen Captains, as appeareth by the enclosed schedule, and of the horsemen, as Captain Montague affirmeth, few were slain, but many ran away, and of the whole number (God be thanked) there are eight score safely come into the Pale. The footmen that are reserved from this public calamity, and are now in Armagh, are about 1,500, as Montague reporteth; a lamentable matter to have them lost, if by any means they may be saved. We pray your Lordship with all speed to signify this accident to the Lord President of Munster." Signed. p. 1.

Sir Henry Wallop appends a note, signifying the arrival of 12,000*l.* from England; also that he is to send a man to Chester to receive 3,000*l.*, being forwarded to Lough Foyle or Carrickfergus for the 2,000 men sent to the former place. Sir Samuel Bagenall and Charles Egerton appointed chief and second Colonels of the force. Signed. p. 1.

"A note of the Captains slain." [Nearly the same as in No. 19 above. Captain Cosby is put down as "slain or taken." Captain Burke is not mentioned, nor are William Paule and Mr. Constable. James Harrington is down as "slain." It is stated in this note, "the colours of all these Captains lost, or the most part."] p. 1.

28. II. Captain Charles Montague to the Earl of Ormonde. "Upon Monday last our army marched from Armagh towards the Blackwater. We left the direct way, and marched on the right hand of the pace [pass]. We no sooner removed out of our quarter, but the enemy fell in fight with us on all parts. Our foot was divided into six regiments. The first entered their trenches, and passed them, but, being laid hard to, they turned and fell to run, and so were put all to the sword with small resistance. The second, advancing themselves in like sort, were all slain. The battle was all in rout, but, with great resolution of the vanguard of the horse, were brought off, not without much loss. The rear was rescued by the rear of the horse, and so recovered Armagh. I have sent your Lordship herein a note of all the Captains slain; of soldiers I assure myself not less than 2,000, with many officers.

"The Captains finding themselves no way able to return, for that the enemy fell round about their quarter with all their force, resolved that, if I would adventure with all the horse in the night to break through them, and so, if I could, to pass to the Newry, then they had such a proportion of victuals as would keep them eight days. In which time they hope your Lordship will make some speedy expedition to fetch them off; or else O'Donnell and Maguire, being also in want of victuals, would return home; and then they would see if they could pass away in one night to the Newry. I thought my life well adventured to save so many, attempted it, and came away with some seven score horse, with very little loss, though they continually followed me, and, at my passing out of the camp, gave me a great volley of shot. They have very small store of munition, and their Irish run continually to the rebels. I much fear they will betray them, for I was no sooner gone, but I might

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hear them in very hot skirmish in their quarter. *Less I could not but signify to your Lordship in brief, leaving the particulars till I may attend your Lordship myself.*—Dublin, 1598, August 16. Signed. p. 1.

Appended are two lists of the Captains slain or taken. "Coronell," or Captain, Cosby is set down as "prisoner;" Captain Bankes, alias Lawghton, "slain;" Mr. James Harrington, "slain;" and Captain Rattleyf [Ratcliff] and Mr. Constable as "taken prisoners at Dundalk;" Captain Burke is not mentioned.

28. III. Lieutenant William Taaffe to H. Shee. "Mr. Steward, notwithstanding that my Lord Lieutenant may be advertised by others of our ill-success this northern journey, yet for that I saw the same, I thought good to write to you thereof, not presuming to send unto his Honour.

"On Monday last, the Marshal set forward from Armagh, a mile on the right hand side of the common highway, in which my Lord Burgh passed to the Blackwater; and, on either side of us, the enemy shot at us continually, until our vanguard possessed the trench, which the enemy made for our stay, and passed forward to a sconce made upon the top of the hill beyond the same; where they remained a pretty while, and skirmish being hotly entertained upon our rear, the enemy on horse and foot charg[ed] our companies, and beat them back to the trench again, where they were for the more part all slain, and their several colours taken by the enemy. The Marshal was then coming from the rear of the army, and charged down with the battle of our army, and our horses which were in the vanguard; and in his going down he was slain with a shot through his forehead. After whose death, we that were on horseback found no going where the rebels stood, by reason of a main bog, and nevertheless our battle of foot went thither, where they lost the most part of their shot, and some Captains, and came by force of the enemy again, at what time the wheel of our saker, the great piece, being broken, leaving the same behind, we made our retreat unto the Abbey of Armagh, and rested there till night. And finding our weakness to come from thence the next day, we concluded that the foot companies should lie there, having victuals for some while, and we came ourselves that were of horse hither.

"And now, Mr. Steward, if you will have my opinion in the cause of our loss, I protest it was only for the great distance that was betwixt us in our march; for, when the vanguard was charged, they were within sight of our battle, and yet not rescued until they were overthrown. Withal in the same time we had a firkin or two of powder, that went a fire in the battle, which spoiled many of them, and disordered others. And withal our great piece did us much hurt, staying our march at every twelve score end. We lost eighteen Captains, of which Mr. Mulmorey [O'Reilly] is one, who in presence of many tried his loyalty and valour. And so, God save me, so did the rest of the Captains, as much as might be done in so ill a ground, being wood and bog on either side of our march unto the trench. The enemy had numbers of shot. We understand

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of the other side to have lost some three hundred, beside Art M'Baron's two sons, Magennis's son, and two of their leaders; and we lost above a thousand soldiers. And seeing there are so many Captains lost, I thought fit to pray you to be a mean to my Lord Lieutenant that I may have one of their charges, assuring myself that very few will be suitors for the like; the greatest in numbers of their soldiers that escaped, is not twelve men to any one company; wherein I trust you will deal carefully, for which I will rest thankful unto yourself. And I would understand my Lord's pleasure herein by this bearer, to the end I may erect some soldiers against his Honour's coming down, for they will be hardly gotten now, unless men have friends of their own that will follow him, as partly I have; yet their armours and making up will cost a great deal of money. I refer that matter to your discretion, and will look for present answer by the bearer. If my Lord Lieutenant will grant me any company, procure me Captain Henshawe's, who hath ten Englishmen left. If you would know the names of those that are slain of the Captains, I remember these many, Pettit, Street, Turner the 'great,' Leigh, Evans, Hawes, Elsdon, Fortescue, Henshawe, Brookes, and Ratcliff: taken prisoners, Cosby, Burke, Bethell, and many others slain. And thus heartily commending me to yourself, and all in general, not forgetting my cousin Taaffe, Mr. Butler, Watt, and Harry Seix [? Sykes], I take leave, the 16 of August, 1598." Copy. pp. 2.

August 18.
Kilkenny.

29. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges receipt of his letter, and of that of the Lords Justices. Both unpleasant, the one for the loss of his "honourable and dear friend" Burghley, the other for the accident happened to the Marshal and the companies under his command. Leaves the declaration of the state of things to his servant and secretary the bearer.—Kilkenny, 1598, August 18. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"By his secretary, Mr. Sherwood." p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

August 20.
Waterford.

30. Paul Strange, Mayor of Waterford, to the Privy Council. The 19th instant, a Scottish ship, freighted by Waterford merchants, which departed from Cales [Cadiz] in Andalusia five weeks before, arrived in Waterford. The company, being examined for news from Spain, tell that, a fortnight before they departed, twenty-five great ships set forth to sea from the bay of Cadiz, some said for the Indies, others said for Ferrol, but the certainty was not known. Moreover, a merchant of Waterford, who has a suit in Spain for certain goods there taken from him, sent in the said ship, to a friend of his, a printed pamphlet of the late conclusions of peace passed betwixt the Kings of France and Spain and the Duke of Savoy. Incloses the same (*wanting*). Earnestly beseeches their Honours, in this doubtful time of wicked and dangerous rebellion, to take special care of Waterford.—Waterford, 1598, August 20. *Signed.* p. 1.

August 21.
Greenwich.

31. The Lord High Admiral [Howard of Effingham] and Sir Robert Cecil to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of

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Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. "Her Majesty hath seen, by your letters of the 17th of this month, the particulars of the disaster which hath happened in Ireland, in the enterprise for victualling the Blackwater. Wherein, as Her Majesty's sense of dishonour doth greatly touch her, to receive such a blow by so vile a rebel, so yet is her care so great for the remain of her people, as she hath presently given order to send to Carlingford, under good leaders and Captains, two thousand men, for whose arrival she requireth that you give order that they may be provisionally accommodated as well as may be, being forced to go before their mass of victuals, which followeth them from hence; lest they should linger too long for it, when the service should require it. For which purpose they are required with all speed to repair thither, and to be employed as you shall direct them, upon such circumstances as shall have fallen out since your advertisement hither; from whence we cannot so properly direct in particular anything, but as to the place most indifferent, either to strengthen the Pale, or to join with your Lordship the Lord General in succouring the remain of the army, these numbers being sent thither, which were destined for Lough Foyle." Are now fully occupied in "despatching" to sundry places. Refer to their next letter. One hundred horse will also be sent with the above foot, if they can embark so soon.—Greenwich, 1598, August 21. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 84, 84^b. *Copy.* p. 1.

[August 23. 32. "Instructions for Sir Samuel Bagenall the second time, upon
Greenwich.] the defeat given to the Marshal near Armagh."

Her Majesty has altered her determination for the sending of his men to Lough Foyle for this present, and now purposes that they shall go to Carlingford. Colonel Egerton is ordered to carry his 1,400 men from Plymouth, first to Lambay near Dublin, and, if he there receive not any other direction, then to Carlingford. Bagenall is also to go from Chester with the men ready there to Lambay, and thence, unless otherwise ordered, to Carlingford. There he is to notify his arrival to the Government, and to bestow his soldiers, until he receive further directions, in Carlingford, Dundalk, and Newry. Although the soldiers are not sent to Lough Foyle, Bagenall is to be chief Colonel, so long as they continue altogether in service.—[Greenwich, 1598, August 23.] *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 83–84. *Copy.* pp. 2.

[August 23.] 33. "Schedule of the counties from whence 2,000 men were levied for Ireland, upon the defeat of the Marshal with Her Majesty's troops near Armagh."—[1598, August 23.] *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 84. *Copy.* p. 1.

August 23. 34. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde,
Dublin, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. "Since our last despatch, we have used sundry means, by espial and otherwise, to discover the manner of the late disaster near Armagh, and the estate of the residue of the companies remaining of that defeat, and retreated into the Church of Armagh, as we have formerly written to your Lordships. By which course we have received many intelli-

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gences from several parts, but, for that they contained both varieties and uncertainties, we could not settle any good ground of advertisements to your Lordships, till this day that Captain Fer[di]nando Kingsmill and Captain George Kingsmill, being both actors in the service, returned hither, assuring us that all the companies remaining of that defeat were safely returned to the Newry, with bag and baggage, and their colours displayed, and are there remaining, awaiting some good opportunity to be drawn from thence to their former places of garrison. Those two Captains being present in the action, we have willed them to set down faithfully their observation of the whole proceedings, together with all meet circumstances in their knowledge, for the explanation of the whole service; which collection, digested and subscribed by them, we have sent herewith to your Lordships, until we have a more full information from Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield, Lieutenant Colonel, and Captain Cuney, Serjeant-Major, of those companies, who are now at the Newry, and have not as yet written anything to us of this matter.

"We find by the two Kingsmills that, at the departing of the companies from Armagh, it was agreed that they should march directly to Dundalk, but they, for some respects known to themselves, breaking that agreement, took their way immediately to the Newry, from whence it will be very hazardous for them to come to Dundalk by land, having to pass through a dangerous strait between the Newry and Dundalk, called the Moyerie, which we hear Tyrone hath manned to impeach their passage, taking, as it seemeth, his occasion, in that they went to the Newry at first, and not to Dundalk according the agreement. But we are now in consideration how to fetch them from the Newry, either by land through the Moyerie, which will be very dangerous, if that strait be manned by the traitor Tyrone, as we hear it is; or else by sea from Carlingford, by the help of such shipping as we may provide here, which though it may be thought not fully honourable, for that heretofore, it hath not been usual, yet, for that the companies are pestered with sundry hurt men, who are not able to march by land with the army, and that they have much baggage, which otherwise they cannot carry, being utterly destitute of garrans and all portage over land, we doubt that this necessity may drive us to fetch them off by sea, if with their preservation and safety we find that they cannot pass through the Moyerie. And yet, in either of these choices, we know there will be great difficulty. We have written to them to leave a sufficient guard in the Newry before their coming from thence, and in the meanwhile, I, the Lord Lieutenant, will give order to send from hence to Dundalk a company of foot, to reinforce that garrison, if from the Newry no other companies be sent thither aforehand.

"Touching the manner of this service near Armagh, and the numbers of our side that fell therein (which we find are not so many as were given out at first), together with the remain (which, God be thanked, are more than was reported to us by Captain Montague), we humbly refer your Lordships to this report now sent of the two Kingsmills, whom Tyrone detained with himself as pledges for

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the safe return of such as he sent with the companies from Armagh; and by their report your Lordships may see in what sort the fort of the Blackwater was delivered up, and that distressed garrison preserved, which hath been the cause of all this disaster. Such further matter as we shall gather, either from Sir Thomas Wingfield, or the Serjeant-Major, or otherwise, tending to a more certainty or particularity of this conflict, your Lordships shall receive from time to time, as the same shall come to our hands."

Beg for supplies of men and victuals. Of the last 12,000*l.*, which arrived on the 15th instant, there was paid in England, by warrant of their Lordships, 3,400*l.*, to several merchants and others, of whom it was borrowed by the Council in Dublin. Of the 8,600*l.* remaining, they have paid 700*l.* for money borrowed since. How the former 12,000*l.*, the 3,400*l.* borrowed as above, and 91*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*, remaining of the 700*l.* lastly borrowed, have been disposed of, will appear by the books already sent to the late Lord Treasurer. Will send a certificate of the issuing of what is left. Beg for a further supply of money.—Dublin, 1598, August 23. *Signed.* pp. 3.

[*Postscript.*]"—“Since the signing of this letter, we received advertisement from Sir Thomas Wingfield that the companies that came from Armagh are come safely to Dundalk over the Moyerie, without any impediment of the enemies.” The Lord Lieutenant-General is now preparing to draw to the borders, to take order for disposing of them. He hopes the loss will not fall out so great as was reported, for he understands by one Marmaduke, Lieutenant of the Marshal's horse company, who was in the fight, that the number slain is a good deal under a thousand men. *Inclose,*

34. 1. “*The declaration of the Captains Ferdinando and George Kingsmill to certain questions demanded of them touching the late service.*”

“First, how marched the army from Armagh towards the Blackwater?”

“*The said Captains say the army marched in six regiments; the vanguard, led by Colonel Piercy, seconded by the Marshal's regiment; the battle, led by Colonel Cosby, and seconded by Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield's regiment; the rear of all, led by Captain Cuney's regiment, and seconded by Captain Billing's regiment.*”

“How far from Armagh began the fight?”

“*Within half a mile we entered into skirmish, and coming within the danger of a bog and wood, where they played on us on all sides, which was maintained to the trenches, being two miles from Armagh.*”

“What was the reason the vanguard was not seconded, being possessed of the trenches?”

“*Captain George Kingsmill, who was in the point, saith, that the Marshal's regiment who was to second the point, was in distance so far off, and hotly fought withal, that they could by no means come up to second them, whereby the whole regiment was defeated, and all the Captains slain, Colonel Piercy and Captain George Kingsmill only excepted, who, by a stand made by the horse, recovered their second.*”

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“What did the broken regiment, when you came to the second ?

“*Captain George Kingsmill saith they joined with the Marshal's regiment, their seconds, and put themselves in order, and marched again to the trenches, which they won the second time, and, for want of seconding by the battle, was defeated as the first.*

“What was the reason the battle came not up ?

“*They say that the saker being bogged stayed the battle so long, and the enemies gathered so about them in such multitudes, as that they could not both second the vanguard and save the ordnance ; yet Colonel Cosby, having the vanguard of the battle, advanced with his regiment [marginal note :—‘ A little before Cosby went up, the Marshal was slain, and two barrels of powder blown up in the battle, which spoiled many men and disordered the battle. ’], for the safeguard of those that were broken, with whom he joining, and the rear of the battle remaining with the saker, for want of seconding his regiment was lost with the rest of the vanguard, and Cosby himself taken prisoner. The rear of the battle maintained fight for the saker, which could not be recovered, by reason it was bogged, and the oxen killed that drew it. Upon which accident, and the former defeatment, Sir Thomas Wingfield, Chief Commander, the Marshal being dead, commanded the retreat to Armagh [marginal note :—‘ There was likewise fired in the rear two barrels of powder, to the great hurt and dismay of the army, and the animating of the enemy, as appeared by their cry at the sight thereof ’], and Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill, who was in Captain Cuny, [the] Serjeant-Major's regiment, in the vanguard of the rear, saith that they were so hotly fought withal by the force of O'Donnell, Maguire, and James M'Sorley ; their horse and foot, that in an hour and a half they could not march a quarter of a mile forward, by which means they never understood in the rear of the killing of the Marshal, nor of the defeating of the former regiments, until they came up to fetch off the rear of the battle, with whom they joined, and, leaving the saker bogged, and not to be recovered, they marched with the assistance of the horse, all together to Armagh, where we fortified, and kept the place, until the Earl offered composition upon the conditions following :—First, that we should quit the Blackwater, leaving there the colours, drums, and munition, the Captains having left them only their rapiers and hacknies, and that, being delivered, the whole army, with those men of the Blackwater, should march away from Armagh with all their carriage and hurt men to the Newry or Dundalk ; for performance whereof pledges were put in on both sides ; for the army, the two Captains, Ferdinando and George Kingsmill, and, on Tyrone's part, two of the Hugans, the men of most estimation in his country ; which of each part was accordingly performed, and, the army being come to the Newry, where yet it remaineth, the two Captains were sent to Dundalk, who are now repaired hither, and do make this report.*

“How many do you think of the soldiers did run away to the enemy ?

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"By the report of all the officers, there run away no less than 300 of the mere Irish, being Ulster and Connaught men, and two Englishmen of the new supplies, who the next morning called to their fellows, and told them the Earl would give them 20s. a piece for imprest, if they would serve him. And for all the rest of the new supplies, we think that the better half of them is lost, for many of them were slain without making any resistance.

"What strength think you the army to be of now ?

"We can give no certain report thereof, but, by the certificate made of them at Armagh, they appeared to be above 2,000.

"How many were the enemies in number, as you think ?

"We cannot report any certainty thereof, but, by view and estimation, they seemed to be about five or six thousand shot, and Richard Weston hath reported, and saith he will depose, that before our coming they were mustered 8,000.

"What is the reason, as you have heard, that Tyrone offered such composition to the army.

"Being pledges for the performance of the conditions before specified, the Earl gave forth that he was at five hundred pounds' charge by the day in keeping his forces together to attend our army, and that he supposed we had a month or six weeks' victual, in which time he knew (as he said) that forces would land in Lough Foyle, and therefore he thought it better to save that charge, to gain the fort of the Blackwater, and to bend himself to hinder the landing of our forces in Lough Foyle, than by lying by us, with so great charge, to hazard so many inconveniences as he feared he might otherwise fall into." Signed. pp. 3½.

August 24.
Dublin.

35. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "I understand by Sir Geoffrey Fenton that you wrote to him I was ill dealt with by some I trust here with my letters or secrets. I have known many other[s] abused by such as they have trusted, and do think I may be so, though I hardly believe it ; for that I have ever used to be careful of my letters received from my friends, or of anything committed by them to my trust." Desires to hear further particulars from Sir Robert, and will feel greatly beholden to him for the same. Will not let him be known as the informer unless he please.—Dublin, 1598, August 24. *Holograph.* p. ½.

August 24.
Dublin.

36. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although I know the joint letters written to the Lords there, from the Lords Justices, myself, and the Council here, of the late accident happened to the Marshal in the North, will come to your hands, yet the loss of our side being since delivered to me by several men, as appeareth in the enclosed notes, I thought fit to send the same to you. Whereby it appeareth that our loss, God be thanked, is not all so great in the slaughter of the men, as was first reported, though too great and shameful as it is. Our new men, sent over for supplies, never offered to fight, but, as their leaders say, came away most cowardly, casting from them their armours and weapon (*sic*) as soon as the rebels charged them. I find, by examining this matter, that want of good direction was the cause of their

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overthrow, for the army were put to six bodies, and marched so far asunder, as the one of them could not come in time to second nor help the other; whereof I often warned the Marshal to take special care, before he went hence. In the midst of this fight, there were two or three barrels of powder put a fire in the battle, which blew up, and hurt divers of our men; wherewith the traitors were encouraged, and our men dismayed. It is very necessary, upon the sending over of forces, to send trained men that have seen some service, considering that they come to be presently employed, and can have no long time to be disciplined here. Few or none of the new supplies brought back their arms, so as the proportion of munition to be sent hither had need to be the greater. I wish the leaders of those that shall come were men of experience in service, whereof, I doubt not, you will have that consideration that is fit." Sends copy of a letter from the Constable of Dungarvan.—Dublin, 1598, August 24. *Signed.* p. 1. *Incloses,*

36. I. *Declaration by Marmaduke Whitechurch, Lieutenant of the Marshal's troop of horse, and John Lee, Secretary to the Marshal.* "On Wednesday, the 16th of this present, we being at the Newry, the Chaunter of Armagh came thither; which when we understood of, we went unto him to entreat him, if he could, to use some means for the obtaining of leave from the Archtraitor Tyrone, to bring the dead corpse of the Marshal, Sir Henry Bagenall, from Armagh (where it then was), unto the Newry; which the Chaunter promised us he would do his best to perform, and said unto us that he would go himself unto Tyrone about it. Then we demanded of him what news he had heard from Tyrone's camp, concerning the number of the army that was slain, and the number that were likewise slain of the rebels. To which he answered, that he had news from Tyrone's camp by some of his own people that came from thence, that they did report amongst themselves, how they had killed 600 of Her Majesty's army, and that there was killed of their own men but six score; whereof the Chaunter said the chiefest were two of Art M'Baron's sons, two of O'Cahan's sons, M'Kennan's son of the Trough, and a son of Donnell M'Sorley's son." Can deliver no more touching this matter.—1598, August 24. *Copy.* p. 1.

36. II. *List of Captains and Officers slain "in the journey to the Blackwater."* Captain Cosby is put down as "taken prisoner."

The General [Sir Henry Bagenall], Captains Street, Pettit, Henshaue, Fortescue ["Foskewe"], Evans, Turner, Leigh, Morgan, Elsdon, Radcliff, Mulmorey O'Reilly, Romney, Laughton, and Bethell.

The lieutenants of the General [i.e., of his foot-band], Lord Delvin, Sir Henry Norreys, Captains Street, Ferdinando Kingsmill, Parker, Leigh, and Colonel Percy; also Lieutenant Massye.

The ensigns of the General, Colonel Percy, Sir George Bouchier, Captain Turner, and Captain Eustace.

Colours lost of the companies of the General, Colonel Percy, Sir George Bouchier, Captains Eustace, Pettit, Fortescue, Evans, Leigh, Morgan, Elsdon, and Laughton.

Men hurt, 363; men slain, 855. p. 1.

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36. III. *Christopher Cheverell, Constable of Dungarvon, to the Earl of Ormonde. Has news from Youghal of the arrival of the Spaniards in the west part of Ireland. Desires his Lordship's warrant to the keeper of the Store at Waterford, for ten muskets, "with their furnitures," and half a hundredweight of powder, for the better defence of the castle. Asks for a stronger guard therein, "the town being altogether unfurnished both of men and munition, and lying dangerously upon the seaside, if any invasion be upon this coast."*—Castle of Dungarvon, 1598, August 21. *Copy. p. ½.*
- August 24. 37. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the issue of divers sums of money. [*See close of No. 34 above.*]
Dublin. The defeat near Armagh. Tyrone's reasons for yielding to the coming away of the troops from that place. [*See close of the Kingsmills' report, No. 34. 1.*] Begs again for his revocation, and that he may not be condemned upon the untrue suggestions of his malicious adversaries, until his answer be heard.—Dublin, 1598 August 24. *Signed. Endorsed:—"Received the 29th." pp. 2.*
- August 25. 38. Thomas Fletcher, Mayor of Chester, to the Privy Council.
Chester. Packets from their Lordships forwarded by him. Arrival of 600 foot and 30 horse for Lough Foyle. Will hasten them away with all convenient speed, as all things are ready for their transportation.—Chester, 1598, August 25. *Signed. p. ½.*
- August 25. 39. James Ware to Sir Robert Cecil. The scarcity of oats. Sir
Chester. Samuel Bagenall is not yet come. Only 30 horse with their riders came yesterday. The 600 foot will be viewed on the morrow. The horse will not be mustered until there are fifty. Concerning the stay of shipping. Oats to serve the horse "on seaboard" are provided by the Mayor.—Chester, 1598, August 25. *Signed. p. 1.*
- August 26. 40. "A list of the army remaining in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught." Against the 1,860 for Munster and Leinster is the note, "these companies are not above 1,200 men, and most part of them mere Irish." Against the 1,200 for Connaught, it is noted, "three hundred of these were sent to the Marshal, and the remain is not above 600, whereof the greater part are Irish." *Endorsed:—"1598, August 26." Not signed, but the endorsement states that the list was presented by Mr. Sherwood, the Earl of Ormonde's secretary. p. 1.*
- August 27. 41. Minute for the levying of men to be sent into Ireland.
Endorsed:—1598, August 27. p. 1.
- August 27. 42. Another minute for the same. *Endorsed:—1598, August 27. p. 1.*
- August 28. 43. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. "So soon as I
Kilmallock. received intelligence of the late disaster happened to the Marshal and the army under his conduct, supposing that the traitors in Leinster would make incursions into this Province, I sent out warrants to warn all the noblemen and gentlemen, both English

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and Irish, to meet here upon the frontiers with their forces; and also required of the cities and towns such aid as I thought them able to yield; with which my hope and purpose was to make such resistance, as for a time they should not be able much to annoy us. But being assembled, I do find in all sorts such weakness, and unwillingness to do Her Majesty service, or work their own defence, as that I have no cause to hope of any good success against the traitors, if they shall invade us, or to continue this Province in quiet estate, unless your Honour do procure from Her Majesty some succours and relief. The Province is now, in respect of their wealth, in reasonable good ease, but such as are dutifully disposed (of which kind, of the Irish especially, there are very few), are grown in this long peace secure, and are become unfit and altogether unfurnished for the war; and whether it be safe to supply them with arms, and to train them to the use thereof, the experience of other parts of this kingdom may give good cause to doubt. But if your Honour will be pleased to procure to be sent hither some companies of foot and horse, the cities, towns, and country, who (*sic*) being now so unable and unwilling to work their own defence, may justly be enforced to yield them meat and drink, without any charge to Her Majesty; which forces will not only assure this Province, but also either all or most part of them, may be employed into Connaught, Leinster, or Ulster, as occasion requires, and other decayed bands sent to be refreshed here in their places.

"There is yearly sent into this Province writs to warn the general hosting, or rising out; under colour whereof the Irish Lords and gentlemen take occasion to furnish themselves with horse and armour, and also to maintain their usurped Irish Captainry, and to extort upon their freeholders, tenants, and neighbours, to their intolerable grief, yielding nevertheless no kind of furtherance to Her Majesty's service; from which burden if the country might be freed, I doubt not but that they would willingly yield Her Majesty yearly, as much as the composition, already agreed upon, doth amount unto.

"I am daily importuned by the inhabitants of the Province to work some means whereby they may be furnished with weapon[s], which, without your Honour's allowance, I forbear to do, thinking it (under reformation) far more convenient that they be compelled to contribute to the maintenance of soldiers, than that they be made soldiers themselves."

The only soldiers in pay in Munster are the 100 foot of his own band, 12 horsemen of the Provost Marshal's, and thirty horsemen, for whom he is allowed but 6½*d.* a day. Prays that, if he may not have the 18*d.* *per diem* given to all other horse, he may at least have 12*d.* *per diem*, to maintain them serviceably. Scarcity of munition in Munster.—Kilmallock, 1598, August 28. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"Received at Nonsuch, 17 September." pp. 2.

August 28.

Athlone.

44. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. "Until yesterday that I received a letter from Sir Calisthenes Brooke, I knew no certainty either of himself, or what had truly befallen the army. He writes that himself is hurt in his side, but without danger of his

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life, his brother shamed [with] Captain Ratcliffe and most of the gentlemen that went with him from me; whereof in my opinion there was great loss. Sir Calisthenes had engaged himself unto my Lord Lieutenant, before he saw me after his landing, to take the charge of the horse in this unfortunate journey, whereupon, to accompany him, that being so far engaged I might not dissuade, I gave leave to all those other gentlemen, and all have run the fortune before mentioned.

"The enemy are since in great pride, the subjects and soldiers much discouraged, so as, to save the kingdom, force must be sent into the North, where the pride of this rebellion is principally fostered. There is no place so fit as to Lough Foyle, where, if Her Majesty make her army masters of the field, the danger is again saved; but in my opinion this might be done with speed. To particularise what number, your Honour I trust will pardon me; for that which I may think sufficient will haply not be thought so. The matter being so weighty, I dare not alone give my opinion, knowing in myself it will be opposed ['aposed'] by many." The favours he owes to Sir Robert.—Athlone, 1598, August 28. *Holograph. Endorsed*:—"Received at Nonsuch, 22 September." p. 1.

August 29. 45. James Goold ["Golde"], Second Justice of Munster, to Sir Kilmallock. Robert Cecil. "The state of Ireland is miserable. There is no other likelihood but that this winter you shall have all Ireland, except the towns, in general rebellion, unless there come present force and sufficient, as well to be placed in Munster to keep them without (*sic*) joining with the Earl traitor, as also to be employed in Ulster and Connaught." Leaves this to Sir Robert's consideration. Touching his suit for the seignory of Tarbert, depends on Sir Robert's favour therein at his leisure.—Kilmallock, 1598, August 29. *Holograph. Endorsed*:—"Received at Nonsuch, 17 September." *Seal.* p. 1.

August 30. 46. The causes that moved Edmond Stanton to come into England. He is agent from all the rest of his sept and surname to make offer of their service to Her Majesty. M^cWilliam Eughter, by his violence and overmuch power, has made them rebels against their wills. They are "an English race, that came in with the Conquest, and had a Baron for their chief." He possessed the barony of Carra ["Keara"], co. Mayo. Another cause of their revolt has been that some officers of Her Majesty's have been "too much delighted with the pleasantness and profit of the soil of the said barony," and have therefore sought the lives of many of the Stantons, which has made them seek to live in other places of Ireland. Not having amongst themselves "so complete a man as might rule them, or keep them in their dutiful or loyal course of life, and answer for their innocency, when they are oppressed," they have all with one consent chosen for their chief Captain, Thomas Stanton, of Wolverton, co. Warwick. Their petitions for the said Captain. That he may have 100 footmen and 25 horsemen

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in Her Majesty's pay during the war, "and two boats to scour the loughs or fresh pools, which are called Lough Carra and Lough Mask, in the which pools there are many islands that the rebels do now possess, which they purpose to beat them out of, being their chiefest rescue and strength." That he may have the Abbey of Cong for his garrison place, and the Stantonons will also deliver him the chief house of their name, called the Castle of Carra. That he may have power by commission to protect the Stantonons; and that they may have Her Majesty's free pardon under the Great Seal, "upon these conditions, that, before they depart from the enemy, they shall draw good blood of capital or chief rebels, that are now or shall be in open action at the time of their departure from the enemy, whereby they shall make themselves substantial and strong enemies unto the rebels from whom they shall depart." The number of the sept, now dispersed through all parts of Ireland, is "two hundred principal gentlemen, besides three or four hundred of the said name that are followers unto those principal men, and divers other surnames that do depend upon the Stantonons which are now in action, and will turn the points of their swords, in company with the said Stantonons, in the face of the enemies, according unto the former conditions of the said Stantonons." Lastly, for his victualling and setting down in garrison in the Abbey of Cong, which is broken down by M^cWilliam Eughter, the Captain will not need to charge Her Majesty with victualling or fortifying, otherwise than with convenient numbers of pickaxes, shovels, spades, &c., and two months' pay beforehand to make provision of victuals, and ever afterward monthly or quarterly pay, to keep his credit with his victuallers. *Endorsed*:—1598, August 30. *No signature. One sheet.*

- August 31. 47. "A letter from Her Majesty, to the Lords Justices of Ireland
Greenwich. and the rest of the Council, for Sir Richard Bingham to be Marshal," with the same allowances as were granted to the late Sir Henry Bagenall.—Greenwich, 1598, August 31. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 85^b, 86. *Copy. pp. 1½.*
- August 31. 48. Another copy of the same.—Greenwich, 1598, August 31.
p. 1.
- August 31. 49. Another copy of the same.—Greenwich, 1598, August 31.
pp. 1½.
- August 31. 50. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener
Greenwich. and the Council. Her Majesty has converted the numbers destined for Lough Foyle to Dublin. Doubts not but by this time Sir Samuel Bagenall is arrived with his troops. Two thousand more men have been levied. The men in Armagh having been saved, the sending of these 2,000 would be an insupportable charge, unless the Irish are diminished. Certificate desired of the numbers in pay in Ireland, especially how many English there are. If these 2,000 may be used to put English into Irishmen's places, Her Majesty will doubtless make all haste with them. Thinks no further

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matter will be resolved until they write. They have received lately no small supplies of money and victuals. Allen is despatched with good store of powder and munition. The victualling given to Sir Samuel Bagenall's men. "Her Majesty commands me especially to require your Lordships to order the horse companies in better sort than as they are, to lay them by twelve, and twenty, and less, where they do no good, it being better known to your Lordships than to us how many are paid, how bad they are, and what good horse well-used would do." At present Her Majesty knows not whether her army be weak or strong by any access, for she never hears but once in half a year any certificate of musters. "Surely we must have declarations oftener sent over, although exact certificates require more time."—Greenwich, 1598, August 31. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 84^b, 85. *Copy.* pp. 1½.

[August 31.] 51. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. Authorising them to make a grant to Phelim M'Hugh of his country, for such rents and reservations as they think meet to impose.—[1598, August 31.] *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 86. *Copy.* p. ½.

[August.] 52. A list of Captains preferred by Sir Richard Bingham. Fourteen in number.—[1598, August.] p. ½.

[August.] 53. List similar to the preceding.—[1598, August.] p. ½.

[August.] 54. A note of certain pledges of the rebels. Two of the Quins in the Castle of Dublin; these, by direction out of England, were appointed to be delivered for my Lord of Trimletston's son. Three of O'Rourke's pledges of several septs remaining at Athlone in the custody of Sir Conyers Clifford. "I assure myself that any two of those pledges will ransom Captain Radcliffe, if there be any direction had for it."—[1598, August.] p. ½.

August. 55. "Some errors to be reformed in the government of Ireland," with marginal notes by Sir Robert Cecil.

"1. Because by protections traitors have been nourished and increased, great combinations wrought, the country oppressed, and the kingdom endangered, many of the protectees having been put into bands, and some whole bands of them as Her Majesty's waged soldiers [*marginal note*:—'a great error'], which against the appointed times of service be intelligencers to the traitors, and in time of service have turned their backs, and banded their force against their Captains, as it hath been of late often found; and because, neither in England nor in any well governed country, the name of a protection, in such nature as it is used in Ireland, is known; therefore, upon such and other apparent inconveniencies, it is meet that henceforth no protections be granted to any person, unless to some special man, upon judgment of a special intention and assurance of service for Her Majesty, and in that case not exceeding ten or twenty days, and, if it be not effected, the same to continue no longer, nor to be renewed to that person any more [*marginal note*:—'this is also reasonable'].

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"2. That, after a pardon once granted to any that is or shall be in actual rebellion, if he fall again into the like offence, no pardon be granted the second time [*marginal note* :—'reason'], unless it be upon special service first performed, and that to be inserted in such his pardon as the ground and consideration thereof, except Her Majesty's pleasure be especially signified to the contrary. And, if any be, or shall be, committed to prison for being or adhering to traitors in actual rebellion, that they be delivered according to the laws of the realm, and not otherwise, and not pardoned without Her Majesty's immediate warrant in that behalf, if trial thereof may be had.

"3. That, forasmuch as 2,000 soldiers are now sent for supplies, and 2,000 soldiers more and 100 horse ready to embark for Lough Foyle, that (*sic*) a continual prosecution be had without stay, that Her Majesty may every month be certified of the success of the service, and that they timely foresee and certify the causes that may stay prosecution, that the defects may from time to time be supplied [*no marginal note to this paragraph*].

"4. And whereas pledges be sometimes taken for the loyalty of the suspected or faulty offender, if any enter into rebellion after such pledges delivered, that then exemplary punishment by death of the pledge be had, be they of full years or under; otherwise the taking of pledges giveth no assurance to Her Majesty, nor restraint to the malefactor [*marginal note* :—'this is most necessary'].

"5. Considering that Her Majesty hath been, and is, at a very great charge for the wars, and the poorer sort have relieved the soldiers in coming and going in journeys and expeditions, and little aid of force have (*sic*) yet been yielded by the better sort of the country, and all done hath been only performed by Her Majesty's army in pay; now the lords, knights, and gentlemen are to be commanded upon their duties of allegiance in person, with convenient numbers of horse and foot well appointed, such as they shall be able to make by the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant from time to time, during the wars to attend the commandment (in Her Majesty's service) of the Lord Lieutenant, and that presently they be dealt withal what everyone will find, and the same to certify hither, together with the names of such, and their qualities, as shall be defective and backward in this service, tending so much to the overthrow of the traitor, their own private good, and the assurance of the kingdom [*marginal note* :—'this hath been often directed, and no answer returned but this, that the lords are able to do no more than they do'].

"6. And whereas the traitor, Donnell Spainagh, being now in action of rebellion with three or four hundred of his followers in the county of Wexford, and greatly annoying those parts, being of all the realm first planted with English, and living in the obedience of Her Majesty's laws, did of late offer to the Lord Lieutenant to come in, and to have his cause there heard touching title of land, because the title he pretendeth concerneth some of that board, the Seneschal of Wexford, and many others, if he be

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not in case to have a speedy overthrow, then, if he may be drawn to submit himself to have his cause heard now, and shall bring in his company to do any service, or to disperse themselves under the chief of their several septs, and seek to live in obedience of laws, he and they may presently have pardon; and, though his demands presented at the Council Table there were unreasonable, yet he may perhaps, if he may be persuaded to come hither, be brought to more reasonable conformity, and the better means left to prosecute the rest, many companies being now laid near about him, which attend no other service [*no marginal note to this paragraph*].

"7. Although it be much noted that pardons are too easily got and commonly granted there, yet it were not amiss, in the heat of a prosecution presently to be made, after some service performed upon them and terror given, which Her Majesty daily hearkeneth for, to make a general proclamation in English and Irish that such of the Province of Leinster, county of Meath, and of the Provinces of Munster and Connaught, as be now in actual rebellion, shall be pardoned, if they come in, within twenty days next after the same proclamation, and shall commit no act in the mean time after the publishing of the proclamation, if they may otherwise with safety come in; if not, then Her Majesty's pleasure to be expressed in the same proclamation that none shall be pardoned in such case after that time, without special desert, which desert shall be set down [as] the consideration of the pardon; which being feigned, then the pardon to be void [*marginal note* :—'this article is repugnant to the former'].

"8. And whereas five pair of English stockings are appointed yearly for every soldier at 2s. 8d. the pair, amounting yearly to 13s. 4d.; and five pair of shoes at 2s. 4d. the pair, amounting to 11s. 8d., and a cap at 3s., being, in total, 28s.; the soldiers may have three pair of Irish brogues for the price of one pair of shoes, viz., at 9d. the pair of brogues; and for every pair of English stockings two pair of Irish freize stockings, viz., at 16d. the pair; which will be far better for them, in the opinion of such as are well acquainted with the country, than the now apparel. And so, out of the same, at the same charge Her Majesty giveth allowance for, an Irish mantle, which costeth but five shillings, will be gained to him in the charge, and be his bed in the night, and a great comfort for him in sickness and health; for the mantle being never so wet, will presently with a little shaking and wringing be presently dry; for want of which the soldiers lying abroad, marching, and keeping watch and ward in cold and wet in the winter time, die in the Irish ague and in flux most pitifully. Therefore it were very meet that present consideration were had hereof against the winter, otherwise it is very like, and so it hath fallen out in experience, that the third part of the English soldiers will die lying abroad the first winter [*marginal note* :—'our difficulty in this article is, that by this means the English shall become in apparel barbarous: which hath hitherto been avoided'].

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"9. Whereas the traitors are relieved from time to time with powder and munition, much whereof is thought to be carried hence, that a proclamation be made, both in England and Ireland, that no man whatsoever, for one year next following, and after, until Her Majesty's pleasure be known to the contrary, transport into Ireland, any powder or munition whatsoever, upon pain of forfeiture of the ship, which shall so transport the same, and upon pain of fine and imprisonment at the Queen's pleasure; but [that] all powder to be issued for any necessary affairs in Ireland be uttered and delivered by the Master of the Ordnance in that realm, by direction of the Lord Justice and Council, or by two of them at the least, and that for services and to persons known, and that a special book of remembrance be kept thereof [*marginal note* :—'this article is worthy consideration']].

"10. And, forasmuch as the Captains there have often complained before the Council at Dublin, that the cause of loss of their soldiers in skirmish hath been, that the soldier hath been charged, by reason of the defalcation and want of some of his provant clothes, to pay for his powder and munition, which is a principal cause that they take not out that proportion of powder in times of service as is requisite; and, for that a continual prosecution is now required, and thereby there will grow an extraordinary expense of munition, and so an extraordinary charge to the soldier; therefore, it were likewise convenient that the Lord Justice and Lord Lieutenant were required and authorised to have due consideration thereof, according to their own discretion, by concordation (*sic*) or otherwise. For late experience hath showed that the soldier hath been so sparing therein, by reason of the great charge, that it hath both endangered the army and many particular forces, and lost opportune service which might have been performed, as, in the late exploit by the Lord General against the traitors near Dublin, the 13 of June last, appeared, where at the first encounter they wanted powder, and the Lord Lieutenant commanded them notwithstanding to keep it secret, and so the same was one of the causes why the service was lost, and our forces thrust into inevitable danger, if it had been known to the traitors [*marginal note* :—'this matter hath been long spoken of, but if a liberty be given to allow that surplusage by concordatum, there must be a good temperate hand, or else great sums will pass by concordatum, when no other limitation than discretion is a warrant']].

"Because it is also found by like experience that the soldier, either coming out of England furnished, or from any journey or expedition, well armed out of the store here, to any city or place, oftentimes doth sell away, and sometimes doth pledge, his arms, and so against any sudden service is utterly unprovided; and whereas the Captains and under officers take barrells of powder and other munition upon pretence to use the same in present service, and so many times sell, pledge, or otherwise exchange or shift away the same, whereby it often falleth out that the munition sent from hence is gone before any service attempted or performed, to Her Majesty's exceeding great prejudice, the neglect of service, and

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strengthening the traitors therewith; therefore it would much further Her Highness's service, if the buying or shifting of any such munition were prohibited, upon discharge of the Captain or officer so offending, and upon punishment to be inflicted as well upon the buyer as the shifter. And, for the better discovery of these mischiefs, the Commissaries, in their musters touching the defects in the soldiers, and all other good ways and means for the knowledge of the truth of this abuse in the Captain and the soldier, would be used, that the name of the soldier, and under whose conduct, and the name of the Captain and shifter, and the thing shifted, might be known, that restitution, if possible, may be [*'were' is also inserted here in error*] had, and severe punishment yielded to the offenders accordingly. And it would much further this purpose, if the Master of the Ordnance there were required every two months to give a note to the Lord Lieutenant what munition is issued, that his Lordship may thereupon require an account of the Captains and inferior officers, from time to time, how the same is disposed, and so search out all misdemeanours, whereby Her Majesty or her service may be defrauded or hindered, and so every quarter of the year to certify hither what is done therein" [*marginal note:—"it is strange that this cannot be done without direction from hence."*]
Endorsed:—1598, August. pp. 3½.

[August.] 56. "The opinion of Colonel Billings and the Captains of that regiment, who are now at Dublin, whose names to the same are underwritten," concerning the defeat at the Blackwater.

"It was concluded by the Council of War, the day before we marched towards [*'tords'*] Blackwater, that the six regiments should march in single bodies, till such time as they saw each other engaged, and then to join in three bodies for each other's relief, if they found the ground answerable. The day of our fight, were first commanded Captain Lee [*Leigh*] and Captain Turner, with a party of men, to lead the forlorn hope; the proceedings whereof, and the seconding of them, we commend to the report of Sir Richard Percy and the commanders of the Marshal's regiment. And to the seconding of those two regiments, to the report of Captain Cosby, who had the van of the battle, and to Sir Thomas Wingfield, who was to join with him. The van of the rear Captain Cuny, being Serjeant-Major, had; and the rear of all had Captain Billings. So the other regiments marching, the Serjeant-Major's regiment and the rear marched in one body to the ford; and, at the ford, the Serjeant-Major's regiment took the van of the rear, being his place. The rear no sooner recovered the hill beyond the ford towards Blackwater, but the enemy charged us with horse and foot, to the number of two thousand foot and four hundred horse, having long entertained skirmish, and by reason of the great number of the enemy's shot and horse coming so near and fast upon us, we were forced four or five several times to charge with our colours in the head of the pikes, by reason our shot was so beaten, and our new men bringing the rest in confusion; being thus in fight, our regiment could not gain a butt's length in three-quarters

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of an hour. The which the horsemen of the rear and the Serjeant-Major's regiment can witness, who came to second us; which when the enemy seeing, quitted us (*sic*). And then both regiments made towards the bog, where being near upon the entrance of the bog, the Serjeant-Major's regiment drew off the right hand, and the rear directly over the bog. And being no sooner come over, but the Serjeant-Major gave me, Captain Billings, direction to retreat and make good the ford. And in our retreat we guarded the dead corpse of the Marshal, and Sir Calisthenes Brooke, being hurt, and the most of the hurt men, besides the three pieces of ordnance and the remainder of the munition. So, being come near the ford, we saw the enemy, both horse and foot, with the colours flying which was taken from the vanguard of all, minding to make good the ford before us. Then we, first having attained the ford, made it good. Then Smythe, one of the corporals of the field, came to me, Captain Billings, in the hearing of Captain Hawess, with direction to make good a hill betwixt Armagh and the ford, till such time as the rest came up. The which was performed, and, in our retreat towards the hill, the enemies horse coming to act betwixt us and Armagh, we shot off the biggest of the three pieces of ordnance, which made the enemy to stand. So leaving this our knowledgements (*sic*) for that day's service under our hands, to which we will be sworn and pawn our lives, commending the same to your Lordships' judgments to censure according to our deserts, (*Signed*) ANTHONY HAWYS, RICH. BILLINGS, E. FETEPLACE.—[1598, August.] *One sheet.*

Sept. 4.
Dublin.

57. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Privy Council. Acknowledge their letters of the 21st August. Give thanks for the diversion of the forces designed for Lough Foyle, and for the promise of greater succours. Beg for the hastening away of the relief. Meanwhile have given order for a boat to attend for those forces about the island Linnaboy, with a letter to Sir Samuel Bagenall, or any other in charge of them, to bring them immediately to Dublin harbour. Forbear to address any to Carlisle, for neither have they means to victual them there, nor can they be of any use for the service against the rebels of Ulster, who are now so strong. Have done this in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, who departed yesterday towards Leix, to take order for the victualling of the fort of Maryborough. Have sent him copies of their Lordships' said letters.

"Upon consideration had of the army lately returned from Armagh, and the deficiency of the companies remaining of that defeat, we have thought it most expedient, for the safety of the service and easing of Her Majesty's purse, to convert those broken companies, whose Captains were slain, to fill up other bands that were deficient; to the end to make them strong with soldiers already trained, and thereby to stop the entertaining of new Irish, which, but by this course, we could not have done. And yet we are of opinion that the remain of those broken companies, being

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turned into other bands, will not suffice to supply them, specially the late reduced bands, of which we have formerly written to your Lordships, and some of the old companies, of both which doth consist in effect the greatest part of the strength of the army. Besides, if we should not have taken this course, but have given way to have those defeated bands made up with new Irish, and put over to new Captains, it could not but have proved very dangerous, by the increasing of so many of the Irish into Her Majesty's pay, whom it would be hard to discharge out of pay in an after time, when God should send peace to this land; an inconvenience which we have long foreseen, and upon this occasion, if it should not have been met withal, it could not but rise to a further danger, and far greater charge to Her Majesty. [*Sir Robert Cecil has written on the margin:—*'They are to be commended for this rare caution, for it seemeth that we never thought of that inconvenience to retain Irish, or at least we have not written twenty times, but nineteen letters, I think, of that point.']. Besides, your Lordships, by your late letter of the 13th of July last, have given us an honourable caution in this matter, namely, that as the Irish die or disband, no more should be inserted, but that, upon future lacks, notice should be given thereof to England, that new supplies may be sent. Wherein it pleaseth your Lordships to take feeling of the apparent inconveniences, which we here see at eye, by making the bands unserviceable, being filled up with Irish. Lastly, if we should have suffered these broken bands to be made up with Irish, it would little or nothing have strengthened the army, for that so many of the Irish as should by this means have been entertained in Her Majesty's pay, would have diminished so much of the strength of the country, for that by their ordinary tenures they are bound to the defence thereof, which they cannot answer as they ought, being otherwise employed under Captains in Her Majesty's 'solde'; and so by this means the ordinary forces of the country would be much weakened, and Her Majesty's army greatly endangered, by such a multitude of Irish, rather doubtful than to be trusted. And yet in the end, when they shall come to be discharged out of pay, they will be apt instruments to run to any Robin Hood that will entertain them, to make new stirs and alterations in the kingdom. We have acquainted the Lord Lieutenant General with this order, and the reasons whereupon we grounded it, who we hope will yield thereunto, though we found him inclined to raise up these broken bands with Irish, and had already appointed some Captains of this country birth for the same; humbly praying your Lordships to vouchsafe to countenance our doings in this point, if any opposition shall be made; the rather because that we have done was to stop apparent inconveniencies, and prevent future dangers. We understand that, as well these broken companies, as the rest that came from Armagh, are in very weak case, both in body, by reason of sickness and hurts, and also most weak in arms and weapons, of which they are utterly destitute, having lost them in the defeat, as affirmed. In which respect we pray your Lordships to send us, out of hand, a large proportion of arms and weapons, not only to

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furnish these, but also to serve the rest of the army, who are in great want thereof, and specially of swords, morions, and culivers."

Beg for a supply of victuals for the 2,000 men who are now to come. There are no victuals in the store, nor elsewhere to be had, but for ready money. To lay the men upon the country, without giving them lendings to make their own provision, would increase the murmur of the people, which is already too great against the soldier. Pray also for a speedy supply of victuals to serve the whole army this winter, as the necessities of the soldiers are not to be remedied in Ireland, by reason of the universal poverty of the country in all kinds of victuals.

"It may be that some dislike may grow upon a letter we thought to send to Tyrone, upon the first report of the accident at Armagh. And though at that time we had some reason to hold that course, yet upon better deliberation we revoked the letter, and would not suffer it to be sent, having this device at the first, that the letter should be but a colour to send to see the state of the companies, with direction that, if there were any possibility to fetch off those companies, the letter should not be delivered, which was accordingly performed, and we have at this present the letter in our hands; which is true, upon our credit." — Dublin, 1598, September 4. *Signed. pp. 2.*

Sept. 6.
Dublin.

58. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Council to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Edward Bennet, servant to Mr. John Frances, the post at Chester, delivered the Privy Council's letters on the 3rd instant, having used good expedition. Recommend him for a reward, as he was paid nothing in Dublin, though they paid the bark that carried him back to Chester.—Dublin, 1598, September 6. *Signed. p. 1.*

Sept. 6.
Dublin.

59. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to Sir Robert Cecil. The enclosed declaration (*wanting*) on the disaster at Armagh, the withdrawing of the companies from the Blackwater fort, and other circumstances depending upon those occasions, was delivered to the Council "even now" by Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield, commanding there in chief, after the Marshal was slain. Ask Sir Robert to impart the same to the Privy Council, as the most perfect report they can get touching those matters.—Dublin, 1598, September 6. *Signed. p. 1.*

Sept. 8.
Chester.

60. Thomas Fletcher, Mayor of Chester, to the Privy Council. Has received their letters of September 1, touching the taking up of certain shipping for the transportation of 25 horse and 200 foot, allowed to Sir Richard Bingham for Her Majesty's service in Ireland, and preparing victuals to serve them by sea, as also to diet them at 3*d.* a meal. Will act accordingly, but it does not appear where the men are appointed to land, nor how many days' victuals he is to provide. Desires further direction therein, as also touching the dieting at 3*d.* a meal, which will not satisfy the victuallers.

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All the companies of horse and men now arrived at Chester are ready at the waterside for embarking into Ireland, well shipped and victualled, expecting daily wind for their passage thither. Mr. Ware departed to the waterside and Liverpool, to oversee the same service.

Recommends the bearer, Edward Bennet, for his diligence in delivering the late letters of the Privy Council in Dublin. He was driven back three several times to Holyhead, where he had hired a boat for the passage.—Chester, 1598, September 8. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 10.

61. "A schedule of the levy of 1,000 soldiers, sent into Ireland for the filling up of the decayed bands, when Sir Richard Bingham went Marshal into Ireland." The following note is appended:—"No Captains appointed for these men. Sir Richard Bingham had the Norfolk men [200] committed to his charge, as his own company."—1598, September 10. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 88. *Copy.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Sept. 11.

[? London.] 62. Sir John Dowdall to Sir Robert Cecil. Her Majesty had speeches with him concerning Duncannon, and told him that he should hold it as formerly. In duty he could not but accept of it, and do his utmost for the defence thereof.

"The ability of the place, and of myself, I have made known. The half ploughland is to be remembered. It were good if payment might be made from Ross and Waterford, or otherwise at your Honour's pleasures." Prays that upon Sunday next he may receive the necessary letters and warrants, and so take his journey speedily into Cornwall, there to be shipped.—[? London], 1598, September 11. *Signed.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

[Sept. 11.]

63. Memorandum for Sir Robert Cecil touching the ward necessary for Duncannon. Warrant to the Lord Warden of the Stannaries of Devon and Cornwall, for thirty tinnars, to receive *8d. per diem*. The Captain to receive *3s. 4d. per diem* (he "was never able to bear the moiety of his charges"); the Lieutenant *1s. 6d.*; and a cannoneer, *12d.* Thiinks it very reasonable that these soldiers should be paid quarterly, out of such impost or rent as the city of Waterford owes to the Queen, "for that the way to Dublin is long, and not passable without strong convoy." Victuals for the ward.—[1598, September 11.] *Signed by Sir John Dowdall.* p. 1.

Sept. 12.

Greenwich.

64. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. "Having been moved by divers letters from yourselves, amongst other your lacks to supply that Council with some principal persons of experience and judgment, because you found yourselves unprovided of such as were able either to advise or execute in so many actions of importance, as by the several rebellions in that kingdom were necessary, we are pleased to make choice of our servant Richard Bingham, Knight, whom we have also appointed to be Marshal of that realm, to repair thither for the better furtherance of our service; of whose experience and sufficiency every way, because it

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is so well known to yourselves, we need say now no more than this, that he doth return with our favour and gracious opinion, of which we do require you to take notice, and to use him and hear him lovingly and friendly, in all things concerning our service. Wherein we know that you, our cousin of Ormonde, our Lieutenant, will find great ease and contentment every way, it being neither fit nor possible that you should spend your body in all services at all times; and yet we must plainly tell you that we did much mislike (seeing this late action was undertaken) that you did not above all other things attend it, thereby to have directed and countenanced the same. For it was strange to us, when almost the whole forces of our kingdom were drawn to head, and a main blow like to be stroken for our honour against the capital rebel, that you, whose person would have better daunted the traitors, and would have carried with it another manner of reputation, and strength of the nobility of the kingdom, should employ yourself in an action of less importance, and leave that to so mean a conduction. And therefore, whosoever of our Council should dissuade you from that course, lacked both judgment and affection to our service and did that which is repugnant to the writings of divers of the best and greatest of them in that kingdom. With which particularity we will not now trouble ourselves further, because we are so uncertainly informed of the circumstances of that action; only this we may not hide, that it doth not a little trouble us to find so hard effects of all things from thence, considering the notable supplies of men, treasure, and victuals, more plentifully sent than ever heretofore; wherein, although we do not deny but many things concur to make that State more difficult to be recovered than in former time, yet is there no person, be he never of so vulgar judgment, but doth plainly see notorious errors in that Government. Amongst which we have observed this proceeding for one, upon divers certificates, that, when there was (*sic*) great importunities for lacks of pay for the common soldier, occasioned by contrariety of winds, which kept back the treasure, we did never find that any one of the principal officers did ever forbear taking up their own allowance aforehand, in as plentiful manner as ever they did, a matter wherein they showed small consideration of the necessity of the time, when they were sure that at the next treasure they might be holpen. And for the numbers there maintained, we have great cause to be displeased with this great abuse, from which hath ensued notorious mischiefs, by the Captains entertaining of Irish, only to cover their frauds, and to make gain by licensing English to depart, whereby not only the places which ought to be defended by them are wasted and spoiled in their absence, but also at all times of service they are ready to turn our own arms against our own armies; as hath lately fallen out in this late accident at the Blackwater; wherein we may not pass over this foul error to our dishonour, when you of our Council framed such a letter to the traitor, after the defeat, as never was read the like, either in form or substance, for baseness, being such as we persuade ourself, if you shall peruse it again, when you are yourselves, that you will be ashamed of your own

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absurdities, and grieved that any fear or rashness should ever make you authors of an action so much to your Sovereign's dishonour, and to the increasing of the traitor's insolency. For other things past, we have well observed, that all the journeys and attempts upon the North have had these successes, that not only our armies have come back with loss, or doing nothing, but in their absence, other parts of our kingdom have been left to be spoiled and wasted by the rebels; and though the universality of the rebellion may be used as a reason of the mischief, yet it is almost a miracle that, with the charges of an army of eight or nine thousand men, the provincial rebels of Leinster and Wexford, and other places, should not be mastered, though the capital rebels have not there been reduced, a matter cried out on by all that either write or come out of Ireland, so as there can be no more token of ill carriage of all things, than where no one thing is reformed. With these things we cannot forbear to charge you in generalities, to the end that you may examine all particulars curiously, and attend the reformation. For the present we think fit only to prescribe you this much, that with all such forces as you have, and shall have by the late increase of those that were appointed for Lough Foyle, you see all our frontier towns strengthened and provided to defend themselves, especially those that are maritime in all places, because you can well consider that those must be staples of victuals, and retreat for such forces as shall be sent at any time to his prosecution. In the mean time you shall follow the wars of Leinster, which is in the heart of our kingdom, this winter, to the end that those inward provinces of the realm may be freed; and, above all things, seeing you have these late supplies of 4,000 men (when the last of Lough Foyle shall be arrived), and that your own books did certify so great numbers in pay before those supplies, that you do use all convenient means to clear our army of the Irish, and so to order it, as for this winter it may be reduced to a list of eight thousand; which numbers, as in all men's opinions they are more than ever were seen needful there, so if we shall pay them, and not have them, we think yourselves will imagine that we shall have no small cause to be offended, having often written hereof, without any answer returned what is done in it. Further also, yourselves well know that, though some soldiers may run from the army to the rebel, it being upon the same continent (which are not many), yet all the rest must return by sea, which is not easy, if such good orders were taken as should be, that no soldier were suffered to embark in any our port towns, without good warrant for their passage."

[*Postscript.*].—"Since the writing of this letter, we have understood that your letter, which we heard from you was sent to the traitor by you, hath since been stayed by accident; whereof, for our own honour, we are very glad, though for yourselves, the former purpose still deserves the same imputation."—Greenwich, 1598, September 12. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 86-87^b. *Copy.* pp. 3.

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Sept. 12. Dublin. 65. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Is much comforted that Sir Robert has undertaken to move his suit to be freed from his place of charge. Presses for the speedy dispatch of the same.—Dublin, 1598, September 12. *Signed.* p. 1.
- Sept. 13. Dublin. 66. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The 600 foot, lately embarked at Chester, have arrived, but Sir Samuel Bagenall is not yet come. Part of the 100 horse is also landed. Marvels the remnant of the horse and foot are not come, “considering how long the wind hath hung favourable for them, which I may well note to your Honour to be a particular blessing of God, inasmuch as it is contrary to all former observation that an easterly wind hath continued so long in this time of the year. If they knew the necessity we have of them here, they would not defer their coming, but upon great occasion; for, at this instant, Tyrone with all his forces is come up to the borders of the Pale, where he lieth very strong, to break upon the subjects at his pleasure; against whom we have thrust up the chief strength we have, as well of the army as of the country forces; yet it is far insufficient to impeach his incursions, for that most of the companies that came from Armagh are unarmed and not weaponed, and they are not yet free from the fear they took in the late disaster at Armagh. Your Honour may judge how hard it will be upon a sudden to put courage and heart into men so lately beaten, specially being naked of armour and weapons and travailed with all other discomforts, which follow men distressed, as, chiefly, want of money and victuals, of which two comforts here is none.”
The Lord Lieutenant is this day to draw to the borders, to make as good defence as he can. Knows he cannot continue as long as is requisite, for want of those means. Begs that the promised men, with money and victuals, may be speedily sent; also some other commanders of good understanding in the wars, “of which this service hath great want, as oftentimes I have remembered to your Honour.”
Till a Deputy be sent over to take the whole administration of the government, the confusions will but increase, and the honour and safety of the service be still hindered. Whosoever from Ireland advertise the contrary, Sir Geoffrey has good reason to say, *non sunt amici Caesaris*. Has no leisure to write more, as the bearer, Captain Malbie, stays till he has written this. The Lord Lieutenant has victualled the fort of Maryborough. He was fought with both going and coming, but prevailed against the rebels.—Dublin, 1598, September 13. *Signed.* *Endorsed*:—“Received at Nonsuch, by Captain Malbie, the 23rd, at night.” *Seal.* p. 1.
- Sept. 14. Dublin. 67. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. Concerning the delay in sending them the warrant for passing to Phelim M’Feagh M’Hugh O’Byrne the lands of his father. Phelim’s importunity in the matter. Gave him a *custodiam* of the lands, under the Exchequer Seal. Understand the warrant is stayed through some conceit of Sir Robert Napper. Marvel at this,

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as he knows "what a perilous rebel this Phelim hath been, and what mischief and spoil he may commit even to the gates of Dublin"; besides the dishonour that will grow thereby to Her Majesty's service, which they cannot prevent, the great rebel and his adherents having kindled so many fires in other places of this kingdom. Sir Robert Napper had no direction from the Council to yield any opinion contrary to their former letter, which he signed with them. Very earnestly beseech the Privy Council to haste away the said warrant, otherwise Phelim will break out, and do them more hurt and dishonour than any other "adherent rebel" in the realm. "Yet, whensoever Her Majesty may be pleased to make a thorough prosecution against them all, we know the sincerity of his life will not be such, but that occasions enough may be taken to make him taste of one cup with the rest."—Dublin, 1598, September 14. *Signed. pp. 2.*

After the letter is a note, signed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, stating that the 600 men from Chester turn out, upon muster, to number only 545. The officer in charge of the horse states that there are but eighty horses and 68 men. Sir Samuel Bagenall is not yet come, nor any of the companies from the west of England. "Those that are come are raw men, utterly untrained." The Council pray that the Privy Council will support their late order for preventing of Irish companies. Such an order is agreeable to Her Majesty's directions, which they have hitherto held inviolable. *p. 1.*

An endorsement on the letter states:—"This warrant was sent over by Sherwood, the Earl of Ormonde's secretary, the 13th of this month.

Sept. 15.
Ratoath.

68. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "I received your letter at my being now in Dublin, dated the first of September, and do most heartily thank you for naming the man to me, that was thought to deal badly with me in disclosing the matter touching M'Mahon and Maguire, and (I may say) others, for so it was, who promised me to serve Her Majesty and forsake Tyrone. What may be informed of my man for being Popish, may perhaps be true, but I assure you I think him much wronged in saying he did hinder the service by disclosing anything committed to his trust. This Shea ['she'], my secretary, hath served me long, and, as I think, honestly. He hath been my steward many a year, and truly I never found that he disclosed any matter committed to his trust; yet will I, hereafter, hearken to his dealings.

"The Lords Justices might have written more advisedly, than to say the whole army was overthrown. Truly it might have been so, if God had not letted it, for their disorder was such as the like hath not been among men of any understanding, dividing the army into six bodies, marching so far asunder, as one of them could not second nor help the other, till those in the vanguard were overthrown. Sure the devil bewitched them, that none of them did prevent this gross error. Sir, for that I understand the Lords Justices, wrote over to you after this disaster, that it was not their act to send the Marshal, but that it was a plot set down between

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him and me, I have thought good, for proof of the contrary, to send you the inclosed notes, which I pray you make known to Her Majesty in my discharge.”—Ratoath, 1598, September 15.

[*Postscript.*]—“This bearer was with the Marshal when he was slain; who can tell you how ill our companies were placed, not being able to come to help one another. I pray you afford him your honourable favour.” *Endorsed*:—“By Captain Malbie.” “Received at Nonsuch, the 23rd, at night.” *Holograph.* pp. 1½. *Incloses,*

68. I. “*Certain brief notes set down in answer of that, wherein I have heard your Lordships to have been informed, as concerning the victualling of the Blackwater fort, that it should be my only act, and the plot thereof of my laying down.*”

The first motion for the victualling of the fort was made by the Marshal, in his letters to the Lords Justices and Council. These were transmitted to Ormonde, urging him to see to the victualling of the Blackwater, as appears by the Council's letters of July 6. At the same time he received like letters from the Marshal. At his coming to Dublin, the matter was renewed by the Lords Justices and Council, and, after long debating, a letter was sent to the Marshal, to be conveyed to Captain Williams, instructing him to make his composition with good conditions. Ormonde signed this letter with the others. Captain Williams, since his coming from the Blackwater, said he might have made his composition when he listed, “in far more honourable sort than it was yielded up.” Upon the Marshal's offer to undertake the matter with 40 companies, and such horse as might be raised, he was sent for by the Council. The Marshal's desire to go was very great, and his sending greatly solicited by some. The Marshal had under his command 3,901 foot and above 300 horse. The letters for the expedition were signed at the Council Board, and all means for the same laid down in full Council. No speech passed between Ormonde and the Marshal, for the latter's going to the Blackwater, save at the Council Board. The Marshal was dispatched away by the Lords Justices and Council after Ormonde had left Dublin.—[1598, September 15.] *Unsigned.* pp. 1½.

68. II. *Copy of the preceding.*—[1598, September 15.] pp. 1½.

Sept. 16.
Dublin.

69. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Privy Council. Refer to their letter of August 16, touching the victualling of the Blackwater fort, and how they urged the Earl of Ormonde to undertake it in person. Lest, by some contrary information, anything might be objected against the truth of that letter, they maintain what they then said. On the 23rd of June last, having sundry intelligences that Tyrone was preparing with all his forces to invade the borders of the Pale, at which time the rebels of Leinster were very busy, they gave liking that the Lord Lieutenant should make a commission to the late Marshal to lie upon the borders for defence of the subjects. The commission bears date June 23, when the victualling of the Blackwater was not in

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question, neither was that matter brought into deliberation till August 1. Before that, they were so far from thinking to attempt the victualling of the fort, not having forces sufficient, and the 2,000 lately sent for supplies having not then come, that on the 17th of "the same month," [*i.e.*, June,] they wrote letters jointly with the Lord Lieutenant to the Marshal, to send to the Captain of the Blackwater to make some honourable composition, if he found he could not hold the fort, till they were in case to relieve it, when the supplies came from England. But the Marshal afterwards brought back their letters, alleging in Council that it was over dishonourable to Her Majesty to have them sent, especially as he had good intelligences that the fort could still hold out, and that he had sent to thrust some beeves into it by stratagem, which in truth was not performed. The victualling of the Blackwater was debated in Council on August 1, when the Earl of Ormonde was present, and had sent for the Marshal from the borders without their knowledge. The fort was in the county of Tyrone, outside any county named in the commission of June 23.

"We hope we are free from blame, either by the inference of this commission, or by any other imputation, which justly may be strained against us, touching this matter of the Blackwater, wherein we humbly submit this our true defence to your Lordships' honourable countenance and favour, if any objections shall be made against us there; most humbly assuring your Lordships, upon our duties and credits, that we write not this by way of preoccupation, but only to satisfy your Lordships with our just and upright dealings; neither do we know any cause of private emulation or difference between us and the Lord Lieutenant, but all good correspondency and agreement, which for our parts we will labour to maintain, as a matter most requisite for the furtherance and honour of Her Majesty's weighty affairs, and though the time be universally distracted and broken in the body of this kingdom, yet we have hitherto holden an honourable unity and agreement in Council, and do hope to continue that course to the end, without separation."

Have received a letter from Charles Egerton, signifying that he, with the thirteen companies of foot embarked at Plymouth, was put into the haven of Youghal by contrary winds, and that he would make for Dublin, so soon as wind and weather served. Have given knowledge thereof to the Lord Lieutenant, who went yesterday to Navan, to take order for the defence of the borders. Do not hear as yet of Sir Samuel Bagenall nor of the remnant of the horse under his charge. Of the 2,000 foot there will want at least 150. With Egerton there came 1,300 men.—Dublin, 1598, September 16. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"Received at Nonsuch the 23rd." pp. 2.

Sept. 16.
Dublin.

70. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Right Honourable. You may see, by the general letter now sent, what an entrance is made to a division amongst the principal Commanders in this government, if it be not stopped in the beginning. The Lords Justices have got knowledge that the Lord Lieutenant seeketh in

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some sort to inculp them for the disaster at Armagh, and particularly that they were the cause that the Marshal was employed in that action, and not his Lordship, which they deny, and may truly defend the contrary, their Lordships, with some more of the Council, having advised the Lord Lieutenant, in a consultation holden for the matter of the Blackwater, to take that service upon him in person. But, by these differences, I see a preparation to a further division, dangerous for this State, if from Her Majesty it be not countermanded, assuring your Honour that the kingdom being rent and broken in every part of it, there remaineth nothing whole, saving the unity of the Council, which I see will fall by these variances in the heads, if out of hand it be not prevented. And therefore it may please your Honour to move Her Majesty that, by the next, a round and peremptory commandment may come in Her Majesty's name to us all, to surcease all private emulations, and particularly all further proceeding in this contention of the Blackwater, but that we should all bend our uttermost endeavours to recover this kingdom, that is almost gone, and rather to supply the general sore thereof, by good agreement one with another, than to make them bleed more, through our disjoining and differences. A letter to this end, dispatched in the beginning, would (I think) end the matter fully, or at least stay it till, with better opportunity, it might be further examined. I penned the general letter now sent, being so commanded by the Lords Justices, whom I might not disobey, but my advice in Council was that, seeing (I said) as Her Majesty was too much troubled already with the distractions of Ireland, so she could not but be deeply offended to see these disagreements amongst her Council, whose parts it is to keep the whole in unity, they would therefore forbear that course. Besides I alleged, that for their Lordships to contend by accusations and expostulations in a matter that already is past remedy, it could not but be thought to hold more of faction than of good pretence or ground of matter. For my part, I have subscribed the letter, for that, in so ruining a consent, it was not meet for me to dissent; yet I stand clear by the advice I gave, that the letter should be suppressed and not sent, which I humbly pray your Honour may serve for my defence; and so do leave your Honour to consider that there is dangerous fruit of this divided and double authority in the government, which still will break out to further mischief, till it shall please Her Majesty to settle the government in a Deputy's hand, which the longer it is deferred, the more are the dangers nourished." — Dublin, 1598, September 16. *Signed. Seal.*
Endorsed:—"Received at Nonsuch, the 23rd." p. 1.

Sept. 16.
 Dublin.

71. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. His grief at the loss of Burghley. His devotion to Sir Robert. Will, as instructed, send by the next packet, to be dispatched in four days' time, precise musters of the horse and foot now in Ireland, and transmit the same every second month, not by muster, but by way of declaration. Has undertaken to perform this with the aid of a proportionable number of commissaries. The garrisons are not accessible, "but by strong

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convoys, no, not within fifteen miles about Dublin." The Lords Justices' reluctance to employ commissaries, because of the extra charge. Has recourse to Sir Robert, as formerly to Burghley. Sir Ralph's former offer to supply commissaries without any charge to Her Majesty (the four principal ones only excepted), if he might have the allowance of one dead pay to himself, as the "preacher-general and surgeon-general of the army have one between them, out of every band. Through his commissaries, Her Majesty would every month be certified "infallibly" of the state of her forces, to the sparing of superfluous expense and the great advancement of her service. Burghley took good apprehension of Sir Ralph's offer, but his Lordship's illness, and "some new overthwarts" from Ireland, put Sir Ralph from all thought of these overturns, until the present necessity urged him to resume them. The soldiers should be restrained in their garrisons "from their usual spoil of the country, by ranging up and down the same; a course never erst holden nor dreamed of by any my predecessor, or other intruder in my place; whereof the gentlemen of the counties of Kildare, Dublin, and Meath, hath (*sic*) given honourable attestation unto the State, so far forth as that some of the better sort of them have affirmed that, if the like had been put in practice but three years past, it had saved those countries 40,000*l.* sterling."

Has been maliciously taxed with negligence or insufficiency. When he shall have relieved himself with one more year's exercise of the office, he will then for any proportionable recompense surrender the patent of it (which he holds for life) "to retire myself to a more quiet course, of less discontentment at least, in any other part of the world by land or sea to spend the small remainder of my aged life to do Her Majesty service, finding myself both in mind most willing, and in body as able (with the favour of the Almighty) to perform the same, as in any time I have been, within twenty years of my younger age." — Dublin, 1598, September 16. *Signed.* *Endorsed:* — "By Captain Malbie." pp. 2½.

Sept. 18.
Dublin.

72. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Received in the last packet from Sir Robert certain Scottish proclamations, but no direction how to employ them. Has taken a course whereby Tyrone and his confederates, with some others of the Irishry that are doubtful and ready to stagger, shall have a full knowledge of them, to the end that, seeing they have no further hope of the King of Scots or his aids, they may consider of some other way for themselves. Would not publish the proclamations openly, but employed certain instruments in the several Provinces of the realm, by whose ministry underhand they might come to the view of the traitors and other suspected Irishry. Instructed those instruments to give out that the proclamations came directly out of Scotland by way of Knockfergus, for if they knew they were sent from England they might suspect that they were sent by practice. Prays Sir Robert to send him ten or twelve more copies by the next, for many requisite places are as yet unfurnished, where good use might be

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made of the same. Yet understands by good advertisement that Scotland runs on still its wonted course of intelligence with Tyrone and O'Donnell. For even now he received advice from Tyrone's camp, that, about five days past, a letter came to Tyrone from Scotland "without name or hand subscribed to it," wherein was contained that Tyrone should maintain the war strongly, and that he should have more help than ever he had before; and the rest was referred to the credence of the bearer. This advertisement came to him from one very near to Tyrone, who hitherto has given very true intelligence touching Scottish practices.

Sir Samuel Bagenall is now come. He affirms he was stayed so long by reason of a great leak in his ship, which forced him to put into Holyhead to repair it. The 1,300 foot who had to put into Youghal have not yet come. Where Sir Geoffrey asked, in his letter of August 13, that the promised men might be hasted away with all speed, he meant the remain of Sir Samuel Bagenall's regiment [*i.e.*, from Chester], which is now come. Is bold to give notice of this, lest it might be thought he wrote for a further access of men. If the numbers they have already, and such as are appointed to come with Sir Richard Bingham, be well employed, he sees no necessity yet to charge England with more. — Dublin, 1598, September 18. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"Received at Nonsuch, 28 September." *p. 1.*

Sept. 20.
Nonsuch.

73. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Norreys. Her Majesty allows exceeding well his proceedings in Munster. She directed the Lords Justices that they should in any case send some foot and horse thither, so far as they could spare them. Doubts not that he will get more men, now that the supplies under Sir Samuel Bagenall have arrived. A letter shall be written to that end. Sir Thomas's own good husbanding of Her Majesty's charge will be acceptable in this time of so infinite expenses. Thinks his desire to have the pay of his horsemen increased reasonable, although it will be said that his horse, who lie still in an uneaten country, need not so much as others. Wishes Sir Thomas to write to the Council again, as he has done to Sir Robert, and with some other matters propound the point again, as a thing wherein he alone is in worse conditions than any other. Will not fail to further it, because he thinks it reasonable. "For your not arming the Irish too suddenly, I think you do in it advisedly; and for the matter to change the hosting to composition, I think, if the State there were made privy, it were not amiss that they should recommend it; only this will be the difficulty, that thereby Her Majesty shall free them from their attendance, when she would have them, which will derogate from her own greatness."—The Court at Nonsuch, 1598, September 20. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 88, 88^b. *Copy. p. 1.*

Sept. 20.

74. "A note how the 2,000 men, appointed to be sent into Ireland, were levied in the several counties following, with the names of their Captains, and particular numbers assigned to every of them."—1596, October.

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Similar list of another 2,000 men, with names of the ports of embarkation.—1598, June.

Similar list of the 2,000 men sent under Sir Samuel Bagenall. Among these were "certain numbers of soldiers that came out of the Low Countries, and were garrisoned at Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Falmouth."—1598, August.

Similar list of 1,000 men sent into Ireland for the filling up of the decayed bands, when Sir Richard Bingham went Marshal into Ireland.—1598, September 10.

Endorsed :—1598, September 20. *pp.* 3½.

Sept. 20.

75. "A conjectural estimate of Her Majesty's army in Ireland," distinguishing between English, Palemen, and "mere Irish." The gross numbers of the foot are given at 10,082: "whereof by estimate there might be lost at the defeat with the Marshal, and runaway, 1,300." It is added in the margin: "How many of them English or Irish is uncertain; if all English then so many the fewer remaining." The net total is thus 8,782, but it is said: "It is to be remembered that, since the certificate sent in the end of April, many are like to be decayed, which will abate this total." The gross numbers of the horse are given at 681, "whereof only English, 250."—1598, September 20. *p.* 1.

Sept. 22.

76. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. Her Majesty, being careful to satisfy all such things as they desire, has directed the Privy Council to give her, first, an account of the state of her forces in Ireland, according to the certificates thence. Are very uncertain how to proceed, having never received any perfect certificates from the Mustermaster, since his book sent in April last. Discrepancies between the returns for March and April. Small proportion of English soldiers. The Irish in the bands, "in all services of hazard, have quitted Her Majesty's service, and run to the enemy; which hath now of late, as, namely, in the months of July and August, moved Her Majesty to cause a further levy of 4,000 men to be sent thither to hers and her country's excessive charges." Desire that they "from time to time, that is, at the furthest, every two months," may be truly and certainly informed of the strength of Her Majesty's forces, and of the causes of the decays thereof, as any shall happen. The Mustermaster to be commanded accordingly, and that the certificates be like that received from him in April last.

Expect also to receive certificates of large sums in regard of the checks grown by reason of the great decay of the bands. It is "uncertain" for them to move Her Majesty to send over any treasure, considering the uncertainty of the numbers. Require the Treasurer to send them a perfect book or estimate what the monthly lendings and pay may arise unto, and, as any change may happen by diminution of any bands, so to reform the same. Concerning the pay of the horse bands. The 18*d.* *per diem*, given in a time of dearth, is not to be continued, but the pay is to be, as formerly, 12*d.* *per diem*, "which is a very large rate." Are perfectly informed

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(notwithstanding the same be otherwise written by some of the Council) that the harvest for many years past, in most parts of Ireland, was not more plentiful than it is at this present. If it should fail, much better were it for Her Majesty to supply them with provisions from England, than to give so chargeable a precedent as to raise the pay of her bands. The broken companies of horse, about which the Council in Ireland wrote, are to be reduced into bands. Ask for further particulars respecting them, and will then send fuller resolution as to the same. *Endorsed:—1598, September 22. Rough draft, corrected by Sir Robert Cecil. pp. 3.*

Sept. 23.
Dublin.

77. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Earl of Essex, Earl Marshal of England, and Sir Robert Cecil. Have received their Honours' letters written this month from the Court at Mitcham. Although they posted a copy thereof next morning to the Lord Lieutenant General no answer has yet been received. Being uncertain of his repair to Dublin, although he is either at Navan or Drogheda, they have thought it requisite to answer so far until his Lordship returns.

"To the first part thereof, that there should be some purpose in this realm of making a present cessation of arms with the traitor, we assure your Honours that we for our parts have been so far from any such purpose, or once speaking or minding thereof (considering how much hurt hath grown by the like courses heretofore), as we do greatly marvel how any such report should be raised; for we have been, and are still, of opinion with this of your Honours, that Her Majesty, by any such cessation of arms, should receive a greater wound to her honour than hath yet happened; and, therefore, as we for our parts do mind nothing less than any such cessation to be yielded unto or suffered, so do we most humbly and earnestly beseech your Honours to be a mean to Her Most Excellent Majesty for so speedy and real a prosecution, as is most needful to be taken in hand for the recovery of this her distressed kingdom.

"And to the other part of your Honours' letter, touching the carriage of those that commanded Her Majesty's forces in this last unhappy journey and retreat, we used the best means we could to sift out the truth thereof, and in a late despatch (which we perceive arrived not there before the writing of this letter of your Honours), did send unto your Lordships of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, a declaration of the carriage and proceeding of that journey, set down by Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield, who was Commander-in-chief of that army next after the Marshal, which, together with our former despatches, for Her Majesty's satisfaction and their Lordships', touching the beginning and proceeding of that journey (wherein we sent the several declarations of Captain Montague and both the Kingsmills), is as much as we can yet understand or advertise. But, as we are ourselves desirous to be better informed therein by any means that we may use, so we will not fail (according our bounden duty) to make report of what-

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soever else we shall discover, for Her Majesty's better satisfaction and your Honours'."

Forbear to answer Sir Robert's letter of August 31, brought to them by Leicester, touching the sending of a further supply of 2,000 men, because the Lord Lieutenant General has not yet returned, and the certificates of the several Commissaries are not brought in, by which they may understand the state of the army since the late defeat, and what numbers of them are English. They will answer the letter immediately after the Lord Lieutenant General's return. The 1,300 soldiers of Sir Samuel Bagenall's regiment, who came from Plymouth, are arrived at Waterford, but are not yet come to Dublin, by reason of a contrary wind.—Dublin, 1598, September 23. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Sept. 23.
Chester.

78. George Beverley to Sir William Knollys, Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household. Concerning the Cheshire cheese sent for the forces in Ireland. In the months of October and November, the gentlemen and farmers of the English Pale, and those parts near Dublin, make sale of their grain at reasonable rates. It is thought they will be forward in such sales this year, so far as they will be willing to have an agent to receive their money in England. Recommends bargaining with the inhabitants near Dublin for some portions of wheat to be laid up in store. This will abridge the chargeable provision of grain from England. "The cheese of this country is a victual apt and ready to be shipped to serve the soldiers in Ireland, and heretofore hath usually been provided in the winter season, to serve the soldiers for their victualling in Lent, when beef and other victual faileth." Little will be had then in Cheshire, because of the large provision now made by him and others, also from the quantities carried thence by Chester men and Irish merchants, "and the great quantities thereof daily bought up by the Londoners." Has considered a means of having a store reserved by the farmers and dairymen for Her Majesty's service.—Chester, 1598, September 23. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Sept. 24.
Nonsuch.

79. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. [*Copy, with slight alterations, of No. 76, dated there September 22, but here, from Nonsuch, 1598, September 24.*]—*Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 88^b–90. *Copy.* pp. 3.

Sept. 25.

80. Muster roll of thirty of Sir Richard Bingham's horse, taken at Chester the 25th of September 1598, before Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, Sir William Brereton, Henry Mainwaring, Esquire, and James Ware, Gent., Commissioners; giving the names of the riders, whether they had petronels or staves, and the colour, name, height, &c. of the horses. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 26.
Dublin.

81. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. Have this day received by Henry Sherwood, servant to the Lord Lieutenant General, four several letters, viz., two from Her Majesty of the 9th and 12th instant, and two from the Privy Council, both of the 12th instant. Have sent copies to the Lord Lieutenant, who is about Navan, and will answer immediately after his return.

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Reply, however, in the meantime to one point in Her Majesty's letter of the 12th instant, "which as we conceive may be meant to ourselves as well as to others," as to the principal officers not forbearing to take up their own allowance aforehand, when there was great lack of pay for the common soldier. It is well known to all the Council, and to the Treasurer in particular, that they have many times forborne to receive their said allowance, and have been content, most willingly, to lend the same for the soldiers' relief. Assure Sir Robert that their entertainment does not serve to bear the charge of the poor hospitality which in their office they maintain. Hope Sir Robert will take occasion to satisfy Her Majesty herein, and free them from the imputation. — Dublin, 1598, September 26. *Signed. Endorsed:*—"Received at Nonsuch, 2 Octobris." *pp.* 1½.

Sept. 26.
Mallow.

82. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his last to Sir Robert, written in Kilmallock, has divers times, because the traitors bordering upon Munster have made divers incursions and taken great spoils from them, importuned the Lord Justices and the Lord Lieutenant General for some supply of men and munition, but cannot as yet obtain any. Is now advertised that, the Lord General being in Ulster, and few or none left to prosecute the traitors in Leinster, they (taking the opportunity) are marching with their greatest force towards Munster, and are now ready to invade it. Such strength as the Province will yield he gathers, although without hope of being able to make any resistance, without some of Her Majesty's forces, which he will not procure in time, unless it be by Sir Robert's precise order. Hopes that no man of worth or ability will join with the traitors, so that he can contain the Province in good state, if in the beginning he may have any little help, and there be in Leinster such prosecution as is requisite. Asks again for some increase of pay for his horsemen, otherwise he will not be able to maintain them efficiently.—Mallow, 1598, September 26. *Signed. Endorsed:*—"Received at Nonsuch, 9 October." *p.* 1.

Sept. 26.
Chester.

83. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. Mustered thirty horses and men yesterday, as will appear by the certificate of the Commissioners. Has strained himself to prepare as many horse as he could. Prays that the rest of the money assigned for their levying may be delivered with all speed to his brother, so that the remainder of the horse may quickly come after.

This present day they embark, some at Chester, and the rest at Liverpool. Reminds Sir Robert about the coats for the foot.—Chester, 1598, September 26. *Signed. p.* 1.

Sept. 26.

84. Note under Sir Richard Bingham's hand of the victualling he had at sea for thirty horsemen.—1598, September 26. *p.* ½.

Sept. 27.
London.

85. Captain N. Dawtrey to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the offers made by the Stantons, who are not only willing to come in and be subjects, but so to come that it shall be with the utter

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overthrow of the traitor M'William Eughter. The bearer is the man who will be the mean to work it, and who will venture his life therein.

"My part in this is the plotting of it, but Captain Stanton, mentioned in the articles delivered, must be the actor, with the privity of Sir Conyers Clifford and his help, when the great blow shall be stricken against those rebels. The charge unto Her Majesty to do it is but a hundred footmen and five and twenty horsemen, which I reckon no charge, because that there is daily sending of men into Ireland under the conduct of such as cannot accomplish the like service, by reason that this will purge all that Province of Connaught of all rebellion, if it be secretly kept and well acted between Sir Conyers Clifford and Captain Stanton; as I doubt not but that it shall be well performed."

As to the form of doing this service, Captain Stanton is to go to Galway, thence suddenly to the Abbey of Cory, where he must begin to fortify. M'William will try to remove him. The Stantons are to give him good intelligence of M'William's purposes and force. This intelligence is to be imparted by the Captain to Sir Conyers Clifford, who is to draw secretly by night, and lie close to the said Abbey of Cory. When M'William draws near to disturb Captain Stanton's fortifying, Sir Conyers is to set upon him, as the Stantons in company with the traitors will do, and so cut M'William and all his followers in pieces.

It were fit that Captain Stanton should have his company all English, lest knowledge of the plot be found out by the rebels, and the Stantons be cut in pieces. He also desires to be joined with the Commissioners where he is to have his men, so that they may be men of fit occupations, contented to dwell in that country with him, as a colony to inhabit that soil.

The bearer, who is agent for the Stantons, is, although poor, cousin and next heir to Baron Stanton, as may appear by a deed of feoffment made by the last Baron to William Stanton, late deceased, who was an M.A. of Cambridge. This William made over all his estate of the barony of Carra to Captain Thomas Stanton, of Wolverton, in the county of Warwick, with a great trust that the said Captain would take upon the signory, and have great care of this young man his brother. This the Captain promised, if it were pleasing to Her Majesty and the Privy Council. All the sept of the Stantons expect the Captain's coming, with Her Majesty's favour and their pardons. They will put in good pledges that they will perform the services before laid down. Captain Stanton is "a very honest gentleman, and an expert Captain of that Irish service. Also he is a man well before the hand, out of debt, and one that needeth not to move himself from his quiet estate of living for want, but chiefly to do Her Majesty this excellent service (as I think) intended.

"To conclude, I cannot omit one thing very rare in that country men, which is, that this young man is a professor of the gospel of Christ. So is there many of that country, which is hard to find in other parts of Ireland.

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"He is very desirous to understand of Her Majesty's pleasure herein, by reason that he would gladly reduce his blood into (*sic*) both these duties and religion. Besides, I ought to be careful thereof, as well for that I have a principal desire that this service might be brought to pass, as it is laid down, as for that the young man resteth here about it at my charge, and hath done so a long time." Is ready to attend Sir Robert on this or any other service.—London, 1598, September 27. *Holograph. pp. 4.*

Sept. 28.
Chester.

86. Sir William Brereton, Sir H. Cholmondeleigh, Sir Henry Mainwaring, and James Ware to the Privy Council. Concerning the muster of thirty of Sir Richard Bingham's horse on the 25th of September (*see* No. 80). Horses and men well furnished.—Chester, 1598, September 28. *Signed. p. 1.*

Sept. 29.
Chester.

87. Thomas Fletcher, Mayor of Chester, to the Privy Council. Sir Richard Bingham with thirty horse ready to embark, but stayed by contrary wind. The 200 foot, appointed to go with him into Ireland, arrived yesterday night without coats, and sundry of them very simply appparelled. Knows not through whose default, or how they are to be supplied. If the wind should serve for their passage, yet their want of coats and other apparel will occasion their longer stay in Chester.—Chester, 1598, September 29. *Signed. p. 1.*

Sept. 30.
Chester.

88. Sir William Brereton, Sir Henry Mainwaring, William Leversage, and James Ware, to the Privy Council. Have this day viewed the 200 soldiers that came out of Norfolk to be under the leading of Sir Richard Bingham. The men were very serviceable, only some few of them had their apparel much worn with their long march. All their officers were wanting, except Captain John Bingham, who is their lieutenant. Forty of the soldiers ran away before they arrived at Chester. Send herewith (*wanting*) a schedule of their names and the hundred from which they came. Ten of the runaways were supplied with sufficient men. Captain Bingham makes account to supply the remaining thirty, either before he leaves Chester, or upon his landing in Ireland, with such men as have heretofore been under Sir Richard. Have examined the soldiers how they were used by the way, because so many of them were wanting, and they all cleared the Captain, saying their usage was very good.—Chester, 1598, September 30. *Signed. Endorsed: Received at Nonsuch the 9th. p. 1.*

Sept. 30.

89. List of the men in Viscount Buttevant's wards at Buttevant, Anagh, Castle-Lyons, Barry Court, Robertstown, and Dungourney. These were "placed the last of September, 1598, and are to continue till my return out of England." *pp. 5.*

Sept.

90. "A brief declaration of the charge, issue, and remain of the proportion of artillery, arms, and munition, sent into Ireland with Sir Samuel Bagenall, Knight, for the intended service at Lough Foyle, in September, 1598, which proportion was put up in store in the Castle of Dublin, and since employed for other Her Majesty's

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services within the said realm." *Signed by Sir George Bouchier.*
Two sheets.

Oct. 2.
Dublin.

91. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. Their answer to Her Majesty's letters of September 12, and to their Lordships' letters of the same date, were delayed by the absence of Ormonde, who was defending the Pale against Tyrone, and returned only yesterday. Desire the Privy Council to acquaint Her Majesty with this reply, that she may know their just defence touching some private informations, injuriously grounded against them, either out of the general iniquity of the time, or growing from some particular emulation, "which we find to be over frequent here." Are inwardly grieved to see Her Majesty troubled to find so hard effects of all things in Ireland, seeing her great charges. The "many difficulties and cross events occurring by the infelicity of the time." Their comfort in the rare and excellent disposition of Her Majesty, and in the mediation of their Lordships.

With respect to the charge that, when there was great scarcity of money, none of the principal officers forbore taking up their allowances beforehand, declare that they, the Lords Justices and Lord Lieutenant General, have so forbore at times, the more to help the necessities of the army. At no time have they taken any part of their allowances beforehand, and good round sums are at this present owing to them.

With regard to the Captains' entertaining of Irish, "only to cover their frauds, and to make gain by giving license to the English," cannot deny but that there have been many notable offences committed that way, especially through the corruption of some captains and officers, who have suffered many of the Irish to creep into their companies in preceding governments, particularly through a permission of the late Lord Burgh, in order to strengthen his army for the expedition to the Blackwater. Have, according to Her Majesty's former directions, held a course to diminish the Irish numbers little by little, "though we could not thoroughly purge the army of them." Will still use their best means "to weed them out, or, at least, not to suffer them to rise to any further numbers."

"Concerning a letter conceived here immediately after the defeat at Armagh, but not sent to the traitor, we, the Lords Justices and Council, that were then here (I, the Lord Lieutenant, being absent), confess that, upon the present astonishment of the overthrow, and the engaging of the residue of the army in Armagh, in all appearance at the devotion of the rebel, and we not able, for want of force, to fetch them off by force, who if they had been cut off (*sic*), the state of the whole realm had been greatly perilled, [we] thought good to send up a pursuivant to them, of purpose to learn in what condition they stood, with other instructions what they could devise for their delivery. And, for that we knew how dangerous it was for the pursuivant to pass through so many barbarous rebels, not having something to show for his safety, we caused a letter to be devised, and endorsed to the traitor, charging

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the pursuivant that he should not deliver it otherwise than compelled by some great necessity, or else to bring it back again, which he did, without that the traitor either saw it, or knew of any such letter to be written. And therefore, inasmuch as the intention of the letter was rather to serve another turn than to be delivered to the traitor, we let it pass in a base style, agreeable to the purpose it was written for, being not a little grieved that, in a matter intended by us for the best, we should give Her Majesty cause to be offended with us, wherein we humbly pray your Lordships to be means for our restitution to Her Majesty's wonted grace and favour."

Touching the charge of the bad success of journeys into the north, and the spoiling of other parts of Ireland during such absence of the forces, declare that there has been no journey into the north during their time of government, save that to the Blackwater, wherein the Marshal was slain. Cannot deny but that, whilst the forces were absent on that journey, some castles in Leix were yielded to the enemy by the treachery of such as had them in charge, and some were evicted by the rebels, and some corn and cattle preyed. Are sorry for that alteration in Leix, being a country won from the O'Mores, and inhabited by a posterity of Englishmen. The Lord Lieutenant intends "to put for" the recovery of it, as soon as he has means of victuals and money for a thorough prosecution.

With respect to the strengthening of the frontier maritime towns, have hitherto been careful for their maintenance, and will still continue so. Have already assigned to every of them, viz., Knockfergus, Carlingford, Newry, and Dundalk, such competent forces as can be spared out of the army for their defence, and with the residue have supplied Munster with some companies of horse and foot. Connaught they cannot reinforce until the arrival of the supply promised to be sent with Sir Richard Bingham. "I, the Lord Lieutenant, with the remain of the army, will follow the wars of Leinster this winter, according Her Majesty's said direction, to see what may be done to free those inward parts of the realm, having first placed a force upon the borders of the north, to attend the northern rebels, and impeach their incursions." Send a list, containing the disposition of the forces in the several places before recited, with the names of the principal commanders. The Muster-master will shortly send a more absolute estate of the army. "As for our parts, we will do as much as in us lieth, to free the army of the Irish, and so to order it, as for this winter it may be reduced to a list of 8,000, and withal to provide, as near as we can, that the numbers shall consist of men extant and not in description, whereby Her Majesty shall not be abused, to pay for them, and not to have them. And for the runaway soldiers, as we have hitherto used as many means to meet with that abuse, as either by law or in discretion we could do, so we will still continue to hold as straight a hand therein as we can, though we find that all is too little, through the corruption of some Captains and officers, for which fault

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divers soldiers have been executed to death, and many shipmasters severely punished."

Concerning the 2,000 men sent to Ireland in June last, and the number of deficient. Certificate of the same sent last month to the Privy Council. "And where a great part of the said supply perished in the last defeat of Armagh (the certain number being not yet known), we have charged the Mustermaster to make a true book thereof, which is not as yet fully ready (as he saith), but by the next he hath promised it shall be sent."

The residue of Sir Samuel Bagenall's regiment, who had had to put in at Youghal and Waterford, are now come into Dublin harbour, together with their victuals and munition, with other provisions assigned to them there. To prevent running away, have not suffered them to come ashore, but intend this day to send them with their victuals by sea to Drogheda, where such portion of their provisions shall be stapled, as shall serve for the companies to be garrisoned at Kells and Ardee. The rest are to be transported by smaller vessels to Dundalk, the English ships that brought the victuals drawing too great water for that haven. Know not as yet how this regiment will hold out in the muster, for no exact view has been taken of them since they came to Ireland. The deficient in those sent by way of Chester. Of this remnant 140, being put into Cork, were stayed there by the Lord President for the better defence of Munster. Understand that that Province grows in some parts to a show of revolt. Tyrone, by his instruments, continues to practise stirs there, as they have several times advertised their Lordships.

Some reasonable proportion of corn and beeves might be levied in Munster for ready money, though not in such plenty as their Lordships are informed. Have no money to answer that turn, or for any other extraordinary use of service, all the treasure sent over since their government having been prescribed for the lendings to the soldiers. Pray for a particular proportion of treasure to make store of provisions. The charge for transportation from England will thus be avoided. If the money do not come by the beginning of November next, it will be too late to do any good. Have been specially careful in most of their despatches to set down, not only the general proportion of victuals that they wanted, but also the particular quantities of every kind, and an estimate subscribed by the Victualler. But, for the fuller information of their Lordships, have given license to the Victualler, or his deputy, to repair to the Privy Council.

The last Privy Seal of 12,000*l*. has been distributed for the lendings of April and May. Have used their credits to the uttermost, to borrow as much money as they could get, either of the townsmen of Dublin, or of the merchants of London or Waterford. This money they have employed to help the wants of the army. The Treasurer will send a docket in a few days, and also a book of the issuing of the last 12,000*l*. "In the meanwhile, for that we are now at a stay to raise any more money either by loan or otherwise in this kingdom, and that we have no means to answer the wants

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of the army, who do daily urge us with their necessities, to our great grief, we most humbly and earnestly desire your Lordships to haste away with all possible speed some round proportion of treasure, such as may suffice to repay the borrowed money, and relieve the soldiers, being now behind of their lendings for June, July, August, and September, and more; and, lastly, to answer extraordinaries, which cannot be avoided." The army is in such hard estate, for want of means, that either they must be forced to disband, or the Council be driven to suffer them to run upon the country, both which are dangerous and dishonourable. Are out of all hope to contain the soldier longer with words and promises.

Sir Richard Bingham, who, as they hear, came to Chester last week, is not yet arrived.—Dublin, 1598, October 2. *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond the 21st. pp. 7. *Inclose,*

91. I. "*Disposition of the forces upon the borders of Ulster, and for Leinster; 3 October, 1598,*" with names of the commanders. *Signed by the Earl of Ormonde.* pp. 3.

Oct. 2.
Dublin.

92. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The enclosed letter (*wanting*) was sent to the sea three or four days since, but by contrary winds was driven back again. Nothing has fallen out since the writing thereof, other than is set down in the general letter now sent. Prays for ten or twelve more copies of the Scottish proclamations. Finds he will make good use of them. They have begun to work well already in the minds of some of the Irish.—Dublin, 1598, October 2. *Signed.* p. ½.

Oct. 3.
Chester.

93. James Ware to Sir Robert Cecil. The view of thirty of Sir Richard Bingham's horse. Their muster-roll sent in last packet (*see* No. 80). View of his 200 foot, that came out of Norfolk. Sent schedule (*wanting*) of the names of forty runaways from them, and of the hundred from which they came. Has given copy of the muster-roll to Birkenshawe, who had gone to Neston. "The coats we have delivered to the soldiers to avoid their exclamations, for, when they saw other soldiers come in with their coats, and themselves without, they were ready to mutiny. I took the Lieutenant's hand for the whole number of coats, albeit he wanted thirty men. The other ten were supplied with sufficient men."

Seeing it is Sir Robert's pleasure that he shall stay at Chester to see the delivery of the 800 foot to Captain Stafford (who is not yet come, nor above half the soldiers), craves some directions what course he shall hold in receiving them from the conductors. Little assistance from the gentry of the country.

Sir Richard Bingham went down on September 26 to Neston to embark, but is not yet gone away.—Chester, 1598, October 3. *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received at Nonsuch the 9th. p. 1.

Oct. 4.
Dublin.

94. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Earl of Essex and Sir Robert Cecil. "Since the return hither of me, the Lord Lieutenant General, we have reviewed your Honours' letter written from the Court at Mitcham in September last, and according to your direction

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in the last part of that letter, that we should, for the saving of Her Majesty's honour and the justifying of ourselves, charge some person directly with the misgovernment of those that commanded her forces in this last unhappy journey to the Blackwater, we have laboured as curiously and exactly as we could to know the certainty thereof. And, for our better satisfaction, we had before us as many of the Captains and other officers of the field then in that journey, as were now here, whom we commanded to put down in writing, under their hands, their several declarations and knowledge of the carriage and proceeding of each regiment whereof that army did consist. And, albeit the variety and uncertainties of their said declarations be such, as we cannot find whereon to yield any certain opinion, nevertheless we have sent unto your Honours the foresaid declarations, which, together with the former sent thither in our late despatches, we humbly leave to your Honours' better consideration; and what further certainty we shall discover of that action hereafter, we will advertise your Honours thereof."—Dublin, 1598, October 4. *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond the 21st. p. 1. *Inclosure*,

94. I. *Declaration of Captains Richard Percy and William Devereux touching the defeat at Armagh.*

[*In margin*:—"Direction."}]—"To march in six regiments, and join in three bodies upon occasion.

[*In margin*:—"The default of the General's regiments for not seconding."}]—"The vanguard, which I commanded between the quarter and the trench, halted often for the second's coming up.

"On the top of a hill very near to the trench we made the longest stand, where we were entertained with a sharp skirmish from the woods lying between us and the trench.

"To avoid the advantage the enemy had, being in covert and we open, but especially to relieve our forlorn hope, which was engaged, falling down, to keep the enemy from offending our 'grose,' I drew down, relieved them, passed the wood and trench to a place of equal advantage, where, after our men were put in order, being scattered by the depth of the bogs, the height of the trench and straitness of the pass, we maintained skirmish till direction of retreat came from the General by Captain Malbie [*in margin*:—"Sir Henry Bagenall then General"].

"The enemy's strength in that place was 500 in sight, beside many more in the woods adjoining, as appeared plainly by their often relieving one another.

[*In margin*:—"Want of munition."}] "Our retreat was more in disorder than our going on, because our loose wings, having spent their powder coming in, gave way to the enemy, being both horse and foot, to charge us in the rear, which our new men quitted, and threw away their arms [*in margin*:—"Cowardice of our new men"]. Notwithstanding we passed those places of difficulty before mentioned, and attained a hill distant a culiver shot off, this side the trench, where we met Captain Evans' and [Captain] Cosby's regiments, who had likewise spent all their powder.

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[In margin:—"Our greatest loss"].—"At that time the store of powder blew up, which spoiled most of my regiment, lighting only upon them.

"In our going on we lost Captain Leigh and five or six private men. In the coming of Captain Street and (sic) about forty private men were slain.

"Whilst I was drawing my scattered men together to retire in order according to direction, Evans and Cosby drew down and forced some of my regiment, but then coming up, to join with them, being altogether without munition [in margin:—"E. and C. disobeying direction was the only cause of our general loss"], contrary to Sir Thomas Wingfield's commandment as is affirmed [in margin:—"Sir Henry Bagenall then dead"].

"This was their utter overthrow, and the loss of those of my regiment, which, unwillingly and contrary to my knowledge, went with them, among whom was (sic) Captain Turner and Captain Bankes.

"The said drawing down of Evans was the hazard of the whole army."—[1598, October 2.] Signed. pp. 2.

94. II. Declaration of Captains Humfry Willis, Lancelot Alford, and John Pooley, touching the defeat at Armagh.

"The regiment commanded by Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield was appointed by the General to maintain the rearguard of the battle, upon whom the greatest strength of the distressed army did rely; especially in that the chiefest horse of the enemy was bended against it, as finding that this regiment did only hinder them from cutting off the two rearguard regiments from the vanguard and the battle. For the regiments in the vanguard we can say nothing, only for the vanguard of the battle, which was commanded by Cosby. After the death of the General, Sir Thomas found it whole and unbroken; and, upon counsel taken, as Sir Thomas affirmeth, betwixt him and [the] Serjeant Major as touching the state of the army, which was even then in defeating, they concluded to make their retreat to Armagh, Sir Thomas riding to Cosby to demand if he could maintain the rear with honour, which he assured he both would and could. Upon this Sir Thomas sent direction to [the] Serjeant Major and Colonel Billings to make their retreat, he himself causing his regiment to quit the bog, the which he had so long maintained, and left it to Cosby.

"Cosby, having the rear, made his retreat, according to our judgments, in good order, and without danger. Yet in the end, contrary to his directions, and altogether unknown to us, gave on again upon the enemy, whereupon Sir Thomas was enforced to charge back again for the relief of Cosby, and by that means he brought his regiment in danger.

"Sir Thomas, finding this disorder committed by Cosby, rode presently to [the] Serjeant Major, to cause him to return for the safeguard also of Cosby; in which time Captain Pooley desired Captain Montague to chase until we might draw over our regiment to their relief; and what he saw he himself may declare. Only

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this we can affirm that his charge, with our seconding, saved five hundred men's lives, (besides divers colours,) which were then utterly broken, whom Sir Thomas placed in the regiment of [the] Serjeant Major, having as then the battle in our retreat.

"Two chief things thus finished, Sir Thomas took the rear, Captain Montague with his horsemen keeping the flank of our regiment, and so with little loss we brought our regiment whole and unbroken to Armagh."

Subjoined are "the names of such Captains as were in the regiment of Sir Thomas Wingfield, viz., Captain Willis, Lieutenant-Colonel; Captain Pooley; Captain Harvey; Captain Romney; and Captain Alford.—[1598, October 2.] Signed. pp. 2.

94. III. Declaration of Captain Parker touching the defeat at Armagh.

"He saith, according to his knowledge, that after the Marshal had set forward towards the Blackwater from the camp, which was a quarter of a mile beyond Armagh, the night before the overthrow, and that after the Marshal, which was General for that journey, had given order to the Colonels how all things should be, they set forwards about the hour of eight o'clock. He, being of the regiment of Colonel Cuny, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the same regiment, being the last and hindmost saving one, saith that he knoweth not the cause of the breaking of the vanguard, because he himself with the other regiment, which was in the rear of all, was still in hot fight; and so was the battle in like case, never knowing of the breaking, until he saw them coming with very much speed back, both with horse and foot, the Marshal being slain before they broke, as they said that came off; and so, where the fault is he knoweth not, but leaves it to the judgment of the Captains that were in the regiments before him, which might take better sight and view than he could."—[1598, October 2.] Signed. p. ½.

Oct. 4.
Dublin.

95. The Earl of Ormonde to the Earl of Essex and Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning their inquiry as to the report that there was a purpose in Ireland for making a present cessation of arms with the traitor Tyrone. How this was advertised, or by whom, Ormonde knows not, but, upon his honour and credit, he had not a thought of any such matter. This might plainly appear by his late spoiling, burning of the corn, and killing of the men, of Tyrone in Ferney and Clancarroll. "What others have done, I know not, for that they write many things without my privity.

"I never in my life heard anything more shamefully handled than the overthrow of the Marshal, considering the greatness of the army, and the numbers of commanders he had with him, who, I think, were all bewitched, and found not the grossness of their own error in marching so far asunder, as the one of them could not second the other, having no carriages to trouble them, but only their small field pieces as your Lordship may perceive by their examinations taken by the Lords Justices, myself, and the Council, which we have now sent in our joint letter unto your Lordships."

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At his return from victualling the fort of Leix, the 8th of August last, the Lords Justices sent him several advertisements, from the Bishop of Meath and others of the counties of Meath and Louth, certifying the Archtraitor's intent to make an incursion into the Pale, to the hill of Tara, to burn and spoil the same. Thereupon, with such forces as he could suddenly make, he drew to the borders of Meath and the county of Louth, and there remained, till the subjects thereabouts had gathered their harvest, and brought the same into castles and places of best defence. Then, after leaving the borders defended, as by a list now sent from the Council (*wanting*) may appear, he repaired to Dublin, to give order to Sir Samuel Bagenall to command the forces there in his absence, and to see the landing of such of his companies as were then in the harbour. Means presently to draw into Low Leinster and the borders of Munster, to prosecute the traitors there, "who have burned and spoiled the best part of my living, and practised to murder myself, which I hope I have now in some part prevented by executing of one John Liston, the principal actor, and a most notorious traitor, with others of his confederates. I lately caused the forces of the counties of Meath and Dublin to muster before me, and do not find them able to make any great numbers furnished with arms, fit either to offend the rebels or defend themselves; so as Her Majesty must only trust to her own strength. Now, upon my departure hence, I have not any means for the companies that are to go with me towards Leinster and Munster; neither can the Treasurer, as he saith, borrow any; nor had he any money to give the army contentment this six months past, but 12,000*l.*, which came to pay the lendings of April and May."—Dublin, 1598, October 4. *Signed.* *Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond 21 October. p. 1.

Oct. 4.
Kilmallock.

96. Sir Thomas Norreys, James Goold, and George Thornton, to the Privy Council. Having lately received divers intelligences of the preparation made by Onie O'More of Leix, and other traitors of Leinster, to invade Munster, have from time to time advertised the State at Dublin thereof, asking for some reasonable force, and also for a supply of powder and other munition. But their Honours, being otherwise troubled, have yielded neither the one nor the other. "And now those traitors, taking advantage of the Lord Lieutenant's long absence in the north and other places far distant, with all the forces heretofore appointed to prosecute them in Leinster, (finding no impediment,) are entered the borders of this Province with two thousand men, and have taken several castles and preys of cattle, intending (as we understand) to march forward and to possess themselves of Connello or Arlogh, and so of the whole country at their pleasures. Understanding of the late arrival of Captain Egerton at Waterford, we sent unto him for a small part of the forces under his charge, but his answer was, that he was otherwise directed. Captain Walter Proger, one of that regiment, was driven in at Youghal with a hundred and forty soldiers, to whom we likewise directed our letters to that effect, and he accordingly repaired unto us with that company, which, with the company

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of foot under the leading of me, the President, is all the force of Her Majesty that we have in these parts. We assembled all the noblemen, gentlemen, and others of this Province, with their forces, which we cannot raise to above a hundred horse, and three hundred kern, weakly armed, and accordingly minded; and of the undertakers not any to be accounted of. How unable we shall be with these to make any resistance against the whole force of these traitors, we humbly leave to your Honours' grave judgments. Nevertheless, our purpose is not to omit anything that may in reason be performed. Upon the first suspicion of these troubles, we took pledges of most of the better sort of the Province, and are in good hope that none of them will join with these traitors, unless they be permitted to prevail above expectation, yet are we well assured that many idle discontented young men are combined, and will adhere unto them; amongst which there is already joined with them one John FitzThomas Gerald, second son to Sir Thomas of Desmond, whose elder brother also absents himself from us. And one Piers Lacy, not long sithence sheriff of the county of Limerick, and a justice of the peace, is likewise partaker with them." Leave particulars to be given by the bearer. Pray that at least 2,000 foot be with all expedition sent over, with munition and victuals. These forces can afterwards be employed for Connaught, Leinster, or Ulster. "Till we be relieved with some strong force, we have no means to withstand anything that these traitors will attempt, and the longer our succours shall be deferred, the more shall the enemy prevail in his traitorous attempts, and the harder it will be to suppress it (*sic*), and will require either a general conquest, or a composition neither profitable nor honourable for Her Majesty."—Kilmallock, 1598, October 4. *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received the 24th at London. *pp.* 2.

Oct. 4.
Kilmallock.

97. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. The extremity whereto Munster is now subject might in the beginning have been prevented with much more facility than it can now. There are in the Province many hollow-hearted subjects, who for a time will expect the success [of the rebels]; and, if it fall out to their desire will run with the rest. Necessity for speedy succours. Knows that these increasing troubles cannot but greatly discontent Her Majesty. Flees to the favourable patronage of Sir Robert. "Here are many Englishmen, who having lost their goods, are fit and willing to serve" in the wars. Begs to have 100 foot added to the 100 he already has. Will get the men in that part, and furnish them at his own charge. They will be much fitter than so many to be sent from England. They can afterwards be employed in any other part of the realm. Craves the continuance of Sir Robert's favour, which he will do his uttermost to deserve.—Kilmallock, 1598, October 4. *Signed. p.* 1.

Oct. 5.
Chester.

98. James Ware to Sir Robert Cecil. "To avoid the charges of a post, I requested this bearer to bring these letters to your Honour, humbly praying the same to consider somewhat of his pains. Captain Stafford is not yet come, nor the London soldiers. Sir

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Richard Bingham is come up again from the water side, the wind not serving; but now it is turned fair again, if it hold; if not, he intends to go into Wales, there to stay for a wind."—Chester, 1598, October 5. *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received at Nonsuch the 9th. *p. ½.*

Oct. 6.
Kilmallock.

99. James Goold to Sir Robert Cecil. The traitors even now are assaulting "our late dissolved religious house," the Abbey of Onhy, whereof one Edmond Walsh is inheritor. Doubtless they will easily have it, and most of the castles in those parts. "The subtlety of the traitorous Earl of Tyrone is not perceived. He doth entertain the Lord Lieutenant in the north with dalliances, promises, and expectations of conformity, only to give these his ministers, traitors, safety to trouble us here. And I think to hear that O'Donnell is with other forces in Connaught, playing the like parts."

Sir Geoffrey Fenton may have seignories now "good cheap." Mr. Cuff has abandoned his. Knows none able to keep his seignory. Begg that his servant may be dispatched with his suit, or without it. His costs have been over 200*l.* sterling. One way or other he craves an end.—Kilmallock, 1598, October 6. *Holograph. p. 1.*

Oct. 8.
Dublin.

100. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Council to the Privy Council. Strongly recommend to their Lordships' favour the bearer, Sir Anthony Sentleger, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, who has received their license to repair to England for seven months, for the recovery of his health and the settling of his private estate there. His diligent and valuable services. Neither he nor Sir Robert Napper have received any of the 100*l.* per annum, conferred on them by Her Majesty out of her lands, for their better maintenance, "by reason of the continual troubles still growing in this kingdom." Sir Anthony has not, for three and a half years past, received one of the forty beeves yearly assigned to him towards his housekeeping.—Dublin, 1598, October 8. *Signed. pp. 2.*

Oct. 8.
Dublin.

101. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommends Sir Anthony Sentleger to his Honour.—Dublin, 1598, October 8. *Signed. p. 1.*

Oct. 8.
Dublin.

102. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Mr. Travers, Provost of the College lately erected near Dublin, being licensed to repair to England, accompanied with letters from the State touching that College and himself, has asked him also for a letter. Travers often recommended by Burghley. "I have known him these many years to be a man of great learning and judgment in his profession, wherein he hath profited much, as well in preaching the Gospel (wherein he hath taken continual pain), to the great comfort of this poor Church, as also by his discreet care in the ordering and virtuous governing of that College, and people of the same, whereof he had charge." Prays Sir Robert to favour him, "especially in his suits for the poor College."—Dublin, 1598, October 8. *Signed. p. 1.*

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Oct. 8.
Dublin.

103. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I thought I had been at an end to trouble you more with private causes, or for particular persons, for that I know how unseasonable that manner of writing is in this state of time. Nevertheless, by occasion of the sudden departure of this gentleman, Mr. Travers, Provost of our College here, I can do no less than to testify of him what I have seen in him here, which is, that he hath governed his ministry so wisely and learnedly during his stay here, as by the same he hath not only made the word fruitful in the hearts of many, but also hath added much to the credit and reverence of the Gospel amongst these backward people. And specially I have noted him always to proceed sincerely in a sound exposition of the word, not diverting at any time to contentions, whereby the hearers might be rather led into doubts than truly edified. And therefore, if it will please your Honour to be a mean that he may be again restored to his ministry there (which for the good of his country he much desireth), I think if he hold no other course than he did here, he will be found worthy of it; though rather I wish he might be returned hither, to go forward with the good beginning he hath made here for the well instructing of this people.

"He is also to solicit at Court a particular cause concerning our poor College, wherein, if your Honour shall yield him your furtherance, it will help to bear up that house, being now at point of falling to the ground. And, without Her Majesty's help, I see no means to hold it up here."—Dublin, 1598, October 8. *Signed. p. 1.*

Oct. [8].
Dublin.

104. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I understand of late that Tyrone hath seen one of the Scottish proclamations, but seemeth to make small reckoning of it, saying openly in his camp that, notwithstanding the proclamation, he hoped to have good store of powder out of Scotland, ere it were long; 'for,' said he, 'I know this proclamation will not stop other of my friends in Scotland to send me aid, though the King do fail me, and, if all Scotland will forsake me, I know I shall have Spain fast with me.' Thus much my intelligencer, who remains about Tyrone, hath signified unto me by message sent by a boy, for that he durst not write unto me lest his letter might be intercepted; which I thought good to transmit to your Honour, humbly desiring you to send me half a dozen more of proclamations, for that I see not but good use might be made of them here."

Recommends the bearer, Sir Anthony Sentleger, to the favour of Sir Robert. "If many other Her Majesty's Ministers, employed in office here, were of the like temperature, it would give no small furtherance to the recovering of this decayed estate, and repurging the government of sundry corruptions, which, but by changing some capital officers, will hardly be wrought out."—Dublin, 1598, October [8]. *Signed. p. 1.*

Oct. 9.
Nonsuch.

105. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices and Council. Has bestowed the wardship of Bartholomew Aylmer, Esquire, lately fallen unto her, upon Sir Gerard Aylmer, Knight, who lives in

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Ireland. Directs them to make forth all needful process to that end.
—Nonsuch, 1598, October 9. *Copy.* p. ½.

Oct. 9.
Drogheda.

106. Colonel Charles Egerton to the Privy Council. Received in Plymouth a copy of their letters touching the alteration of the journey for Lough Foyle. The original never came to his hands. On September 9 he, with the Captains and 1,300 soldiers, embarked at Plymouth, with the ships of munition and victuals, and set their course for Lambay. After labouring on the seas two days and three nights, striving with the north-east wind, on the third day they were constrained to "bear in with Youghal, saving one leeward ship, which was driven into the harbour of Cork, having on board Captain Progers and his 100 soldiers, and Captain Blaine's lieutenant with 40 of his soldiers. These men are yet stayed in Munster by the Lord President. On September 14 the fleet arrived at the passage in the harbour of Waterford, where, after they had remained eleven days through contrary winds, he received directions from the Lords Justices to repair by sea with the soldiers to Dublin. There they arrived on September 28, and received further directions to pass to the port of Drogheda, where they arrived on October 4. That day all the soldiers landed safely.

"But the ship called the *Reindeer*, of Saltash, being Admiral, wherein was of Her Majesty's fourteen barrels of powder, which I received of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and all my goods, money, and arms, was set upon the bar in a very calm fair day, and when, after the soldiers were landed forth of her, the marines brake open my trunks, chests, and hampers, and fell to the spoil of my goods, neglecting the safety of the ship; which, when the water was gone from her, she overwhelmed on the one side, and what goods the sailors left unpillaged was the next flood cast away with the ship. Only some part of my arms I got, spoiled with the salt water. Her Majesty's powder, with my money, being one hundred and four-score and nine pounds more, was lost and taken from me by the said sailors, with the consent of John Williams, master of the said ship, and Thomas Edwards, boatswain, who had shares of my goods. And when I sent the water-bailiff of Drogheda with warrant from the Lords Justices for their apprehension, they fled from the water-bailiff into a little pinnace of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, called the *Little John* of Plymouth, and put to the seas presently. Thus, having discovered unto your Honours the truth of the wilful loss of this ship, only for the spoil of my goods, I humbly cease from troubling your Honours any farther herein."

The poor warders of the Castle of Carrickfergus "are behind of their whole entertainment and victuals from the 26th of May last unto this present day." By reason of his late losses is not able to relieve their great extremity, neither can he, on petitioning the State, get either money or victuals for their comfort. Their "poverty is such as my Vice-Constable writeth unto me that either they must starve or quit the place." Prays that some speedy order may be taken for their present relief, otherwise the said castle is like

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to be greatly endangered.—Drogheda, 1598, October 9. *Holograph. Seal. Endorsed* :—Received 2 January at Whitehall. *pp.* 2.

Oct. 9.
Drogheda.

107. Colonel Charles Egerton to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his arrival in Ireland has been credibly informed that Captain Dawtrey has been “put by” the government of Carrickfergus. Begs that, unless Her Majesty has otherwise disposed of the place, he may be preferred thereunto. His long experience both of the good and bad disposition of the people in those parts. Extremity of the warders in Carrickfergus Castle. Finds few or none, within cities or without, so affected unto Her Majesty as in duty they ought. The castle is the only hold of importance Her Majesty has in Ulster.—Drogheda, 1598, October 9. *Holograph. Endorsed* :—Received 2 January at Whitehall. *p.* 1.

Oct. 11.

108. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. The Lady Burgh complains that she has sent her ministers over to Ireland twice, for the recovery of such goods and duties as appertained to the late Lord Burgh, but that she found her success unanswerable to expectation and to the directions of the Privy Council, especially with regard to the port-corn due to Lord Burgh. Has had the matter examined into. Lord Burgh took charge of the sword long before the harvest, and lived until after Michaelmas. “In regard whereof, as of the great charge he lived at, and the hard estate in which he left his wife and children by his so sudden and untimely death, we have thought good of our special grace, in relief of the poor lady, to let you know that we cannot allow in conscience or equity, but that all the port-corn due for that harvest should be presently answered unto her use, according to the price of the market at the time of our said Deputy’s death, or satisfaction for it. And, therefore, we require you to give her no further cause of complaint unto us in this matter, she being [a] widow much respected by us, and not in case to follow suits there, by sending over any her ministers to her charge and trouble.” *Endorsed* :—1598, October 11. *Draft. pp.* 2½.

Oct. 11.
Nonsuch.

109. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. “Upon advertisement of trouble like to arise in Munster (a Province much to be respected), it pleased Her Majesty to direct that some such troops as could be spared might be sent thither, both of foot and horse. Since which time great defections have appeared daily and so dangerously, as it is like to disturb the whole Province. Whereupon Her Majesty hath expressly commanded that in this beginning present order be taken to extinguish that flame, which hereafter will not be easily quenched, and that the Governor may be supplied presently in his lacks with some of these latter numbers. In all which things it seemeth that he hath written to you often, without receiving any satisfaction, which Her Majesty much misliketh, considering the nature of that Province, which is of so great consequence, full of good towns and havens both fit for the enemy, and so well onward toward an absolute

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quietness, if any care be had of it in time. It seemeth he hath only stayed one company there of such as landed at Youghal. It shall be therefore requisite to send him some little proportion, and that with all speed; and of your Lordships' order therein Her Majesty desireth present answer for her better satisfaction."—The Court at Nonsuch, 1598, October 11. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 90, 90^b. *Copy*. p. 1.

Oct. [11].

110. "A schedule of the 2,000 men levied for the Province of Munster in October 1598," giving numbers from each county, the names of the Captains, and the places of embarking in England and landing in Ireland. Note added that each Captain had an imprest of 25*l.*, and that three lasts of powder were sent with the men, with a proportion of match and lead.—1598, October [11]. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 90^b. *Copy*. [*See also No. 129 below.*] p. 1.

Oct. 11.
Chester.

111. Captain Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. Has, according to his directions, received the 800 soldiers at Chester, as may more plainly appear by the muster-rolls, which Mr. James Ware is to tender for Sir Robert's perusal. The wants of the men's apparel are such that, if they be not speedily relieved, many will march without shoes or stockings. "For I protest there was small care in setting of them forth; and, for [the] Buckinghamshire men, they are both the worst men and worst apparelled of all the 800. Some of the Londoners, and many of the rest, ill apparelled, and all London cassocks made of northern cloth, which by wet doth so much shrink, that they will this winter stand them in little stead." There shall be no time omitted for the speedy transportation of the men; meantime he will do his best to hold them together, and to command them without cause of complaint.—Chester, 1598, October 11. *Signed*. p. 1.

Oct. 12.

112. Memoranda concerning certain rebels of Munster [*a portion of some manuscript history*]. "In Munster, about the beginning of October, 1598, Piers Lacy, of the county of Limerick, a gentleman of good sort afore this rebellion, and so accounted of in his country [*in margin*:—'Piers Lacy a rebel'], a justice of [the] peace, Captain of 60 kern, and [who] had been High Sheriff, grew malcontented, went into open action, and after him in manner the whole country. He complained of Sir Thomas Norreys, the President of the Province, and of George Thornton, his own tenant. The 10th of August before, he, Gibbon M'Thomas, and Cadagh O'Magher, came to the Lord Lieutenant, [and] showed their griefs and wrongs offered them in Munster. He protected them, and stayed them for that time from rebellion. This Lacy had done good service, and had gotten letters in his favour for England. Sir Thomas Norreys, prying into him at Thornton's suit, stayed the course, [and] wrote to the Lords Justices that he might not be pardoned. The Earl of Ormonde wrote oft for his pardon, at length obtained it, [and] sent it to Lacy. Lacy answered the Earl that it came too late, that he was sworn to the rebels in Leix, and received the sacrament upon it, the which he would not break. When the Earl of Essex

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came to Limerick, Lacy made means to come in. Sir Thomas Norreys hindered the service, and told the Earl that he would shortly fetch him in by the ears. After he had practised with Onie M'Rory, Captain [Richard] Tyrrell, and the Leinster rebels, and drawn them into that Province, the fear of them was so great, blazed by the horseboys and spies of Ireland, the messengers of the devil, that the whole county of Limerick became mutinous.

"Next after, John of Desmond, second son to Sir Thomas of Desmond, brother to the late traitor, the Earl of that name, followed him. The Earl of Tyrone sent unto the Province [that], if James his brother would not be Earl of Desmond, they should choose this John, and take him for their Earl."

James FitzThomas, the elder son of the aforesaid knight, "burning with the fire of ambition, and desirous to climb to the title of an Earl, concealing in his bosom (as sparkles of fire covered with ashes) his discontentments," brake out, drew after him as many as he could, and from the traitors' camp (though formerly advised by the Lord Lieutenant to the contrary), wrote to the Earl of Ormonde, who was then at Kilmallock, as follows:—

"Right Honourable, I have received your letters, wherein your Honour doth specify that you think it very strange that I should go in action with these gentlemen of Leinster: It is so that I have ever at all times behaved myself dutifully, and as true a subject to Her Majesty as ever lay in me; and, as it is well known to your Honour, I have showed my willingness in service against my uncle and his adherents, whereby I have been partly a mean of his destruction. Before my uncle's decease, it may be remembered by your Lordship that I have been in England from my father, claiming title to his inheritance of the house of Desmond, which is manifestly known to be his right. Whereupon Her Majesty hath promised of her gracious favour to do me justice upon the decease of my uncle, who then was in action, and have (*sic*) allowed me a mark sterling *per diem* towards my maintenance, until Her Majesty's further pleasure were known; of which I received but one year's pay; and, ever since my uncle's decease, I could get no hearing concerning my inheritance of the Earldom of Desmond, but [? they] have bestowed the same upon divers undertakers, to disinherit me for ever, having all this while stayed myself in hope to be graciously considered by Her Majesty. Seeing no other remedy, and that I could get no indifferency, I will follow by all the means I can to maintain my right, trusting in the Almighty to further the same. My very good Lord, I have seen so many bad examples in seeking so many gentlemen's bloods, by false and sinister accusations cut off and executed to death, that the noblemen and chief gentlemen of this Province cannot think themselves assured of their lives, if they were contented to lose their lands and livings. As, for example, Redmond FitzGerald, upon the false information of a scurvy boy for safeguard of his life, was put to death, being a gentleman of good calling, being threescore years of age, and innocent of the crime charged withal. Donogh M'Creagh also was executed upon

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the false information of a villanous kern, who, within a sevensnight was put to death within your Lordship's liberty at Clonmel, who took upon his salvation [that] all that he said against the said Donogh was untrue, [and] that he was suborned by others. Of late, a poor cousin of yours, James FitzMorris, of Mochollapa, is so abominably dealt withal, upon the false information of an Englishman accusing him of murder, who never drew sword in anger all the days of his life, and is manifestly known that he never gave cause to be suspected of the like. Piers Lacy, who was an earnest servitor, and had the killing of Rory M'Morrogh, and the apprehension of Morrogh Oge, till he left him in the gaol of Limerick, and after all his services was driven for the safeguard of his life to be a fugitive. To be brief with your Lordship, Englishmen were not contented to have our lands and livings, but unmercifully to seek our lives by false and sinister means under colour of law; and, as for my part, I will prevent it as well as I may. Committing your Lordship to God, I end, from the camp at Carrigrowe, the 12th of October, 1598, your Honour's loving cousin, JAMES DESMOND."

A note follows:—All his grievances and allegations aforesaid are found unjust and untrue. The parties that were cut off were by due course of law tried, convicted, and executed. And this traitor James, proceeding in his malicious practices, wrote for aid and munition to the King of Spain, "the which letter (gentle reader) thou shalt find laid down in March following." This James and his brother combined with Tyrone, and swore unto him such faith and truth as is among traitors. He repented himself, and made means to come in to the Earl of Essex, but Sir Thomas Norreys withstood it, saying: "He is but a rascal; I will shortly subdue him with the forces which I have." *pp. 2.*

- Oct. 15. 113. "A note of the spoils committed, and of the towns burned, in the barony of Buttevant, by Onie O'Moore, James FitzThomas, Captain Tyrrell, and their associates, the 15th of October, 1598." *The endorsement states*:—"A book of some part of my spoil committed by the traitors." These losses of Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, amount to 54 towns burned (generally "altogether"), and the following:—Cows, 9,400; mares and garrans, 4,800; sheep and hogs, 58,800; and corn and household stuff to the value of 8,200*l.* *pp. 6.*

- Oct. 17. 114. The Lord Justice Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the suspicious carriage of Lapley and Cawell, who came to his Dublin. house, affirming that they were sent into Ireland by Sir Robert and by Sir Walter Raleigh, to perform a great service in the north. Alleged interview of Lapley with the Earl of Tyrone. Presumed Lapley and Cawell were practising a plot against the State. This has now fallen out, as may appear by a letter (*wanting*) from Lord Justice Loftus, himself, and Sir Henry Wallop.

Necessity for new commission for granting of wards, making of leases, suing forth of liveries, fines for alienation, &c. Desires to have the wardship of Thomas Aylmer, son and heir of Bartholomew

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Aylmer, of the Lyons, in the county of Kildare, lately deceased. Understands the wardship of one Tuite is granted to Lady Kildare, and that of one Eustace to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Begg again for his revocation. The troubled times.—Dublin, 1598, October 17. *Holograph. Unaddressed, but endorsed by Sir Robert's secretary.* pp. 3½.

Oct. 17. 115. "The service already done by Donnell O'Malley to Her Majesty, and the service to be done upon the Council's direction, as followeth."

Where Tyrone pretended to send redshanks into Munster, and appointed the said Donnell to be their leader, the latter has "cut off" that service, so that now Tyrone has none that can take that charge in hand, once the said Donnell and his men are from him.

The said Donnell and all the men he can procure are ready to execute private service upon the enemy presently, according to direction from the Council, or else to bide for better advantage, until forces go to the country.

He will take upon him to keep from the north both the Highland and Lowland succour of Scotland, if Her Majesty will build him two galleys in Wexford or Carrickfergus, the one of twenty-four oars, and the other of thirty; and he will desire no more for the said service than his one hundred and fifty; and he will put in his son as pledge

Then follow some requests of Donnell O'Malley and his brother. First, a general pardon for themselves, their men, and all such gentlemen of the Province of Connaught as they can procure to come to Her Majesty's service out of action, and that will help them in such present service as the Council will command them. Secondly, that they be given a reasonable time before paying for such spoils as they have taken in the wars. Thirdly, that in such lands as belong to them neither Burke nor Flaherty shall have to do with them, but such as Her Majesty appoints in office. Fourthly, one hundred and fifty men in Her Majesty's pay during occasion of service.

The Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell, about ten weeks past, sent message to Spain in a Scottish ship of Aberdeen. Means to employ himself in Her Majesty's service, as well within her realms, as beyond seas. Desires to know if he is to stay in the north for the return of the above message, and to certify what he can understand thereof; "or else, for the more perfectness of the learning of the secrecy of Spain touching them, when I leave this matter in execution, shall I go myself out of Scotland to the Court of Spain, that I may advertise your Honours in time, if any succour come, that it might be prevented"? pp. 2.

Oct. 21.
Dublin.

116. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have been so troubled with sickness ever sithence my arrival here, as I have yet been but one time with the Lords Justices and Council; so as for the present I cannot write much to your Honour of the state of

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things here, only I do perceive this rebellion spreadeth more and more, Munster being now disquieted very much, and some harm done to the undertakers, as doubtless, without a speedy and careful prevention, that Province will be in as great danger as the rest. My Lord Lieutenant is there joined with the President, but what is done in particular we do not yet hear, but hourly expect. Also it is feared that many more in other places will start out, being so encouraged by the rebels' strength, and our hard success still in every action, that without a very sufficient prosecution, here can be no hope to preserve the kingdom long."

Has not yet taken any account of Her Majesty's forces, but when once he has recovered his health, which is in good forwardness now, he will be able to advertise his opinion to Sir Robert. Meanwhile wishes that the companies of horse might be allowed the 18*d.* a day, "which is the least that can maintain them well." Is assured they will hardly have any good blow "at these naked and light rebels," until stronger in horsemen than they. Sees not how any band will be kept up, having so little an entertainment [as 12*d.* a day], "especially living in these civil parts, where we pay, by order from the State, at the least 18*d.* a day for finding a man and his horse." Cannot reap any benefit himself, but desires to do Her Majesty service, "wishing rather that Her Majesty maintained some serviceably, than all to be in a manner rags, in comparison of horsemen." In the case of small retinues, horse may be maintained on 12*d.* a day.—Dublin, 1598, October 21.

Oct. 21.
Youghal.

117. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. Upon his return from the north to Dublin, after some conference with the Lords Justices and Council and Sir Samuel Bagenall, whose regiment was left on the borders there to defend the Pale, he made his repair towards Leinster, to follow the prosecution of the traitors. There intelligence was brought to him that they were then burning and spoiling in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, especially on his lands, and thence were ready to make an incursion into Munster, to stir rebellion there. To prevent this, he marched with all the speed he could after them; but before his arrival, they had entered the county of Limerick, where (without any resistance made against them), they burnt and spoiled such as were undertakers. The Lord President had gone to his house at Mallow, but after Ormonde's repair to Kilmallock, and the sending of a convey of horsemen to him, came to that place. Thither, some three days after, came many of the noblemen and gentlemen of Munster, but with few or no forces, for that many of their followers were even then entered into rebellion, and the Irishry in general were combined with them. Notwithstanding, the Lord President (by Ormonde's advice long ago unto him) had taken pledges of most of the said noblemen and gentlemen for their loyalty. "So as (under your Lordships' reformation) I think it most fit and necessary that a sharp and speedy prosecution be used, to their extirpation by sword, fire, and famine, to the terror of all traitors hereafter." Prays that there be presently sent over further

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numbers of men, victuals, munition, and money, "for this extreme sore requires a sharp medicine, by which I trust in God there shall follow their utter destructions, as to others before them have happened, in the time of my last government in this Province." If Her Majesty purposes to make a short and speedy prosecution, thinks there cannot be fewer than 2,000 or 3,000 men sent over, with money, munition, and victuals, to be landed at Cork. Prays they may be trained men, as they are to be employed presently after landing. Meantime, has taken the best course he may for the defence of the most important towns in Munster. Disposition of divers companies. The people in Youghal are weak and unable to defend their town, by reason of the largeness of the walls. It is a place of great importance, so is forced, out of the few numbers he has with him (not above 700), to leave Captain George Flower's company with them, which makes the garrison 690 foot, and 92 horse.

"From Kilmallock I came that night to Moyallo [Mallow], where I found the town altogether forsaken of the inhabitants, and daily threatened to be burned by the traitors. From thence I went to Cork, where I took not only the best order I might for the defence of that city, but gave directions and warrants to some of the chiefest of Kinsale, and of best judgment, to take in and fortify so much thereof, as they might make it defensible, and themselves able to keep it, until by some of Her Majesty's forces they should be relieved. For that their walls are so spacious and decayed, and their houses for the most part built with clay and stone, that, without a strong garrison, it could not be well defended."

Purposes now with his small forces to go from Youghal to the prosecution of the traitors, who are burning and preying in Leinster. As occurrents shall fall out, will advertise their Lordships.

"I may not omit to acquaint your Lordships that, at my coming into this Province, I found that the greatest part of the undertakers had most shamefully quitted and forsaken their castles and houses of strength before even the traitors came near them, leaving all to their spoils, whereby they furnished themselves with the arms and other munition that before served against them, to Her Majesty's dishonour, and the increasing of the traitors' pride. A note of many of them that were so forsaken and lost I do here-inclosed send you [see No. 119. 1.], having given direction to the Lord President to see forthcoming the chiefest of them that so quitted their castles, to answer the same.

"I received a letter from James, son unto Sir Thomas, of Desmond, brother unto the late Earl attainted, now by the traitors called Earl of Desmond, in answer of mine; the copies of both which I do here-inclosed send you, whereby your Lordships may perceive his insolency, and purpose to persevere in his most wicked and traitorous attempts."

Has just received from the Council copies of several letters from their Lordships. Her Majesty's refusal to continue the increased pay to the horsemen, owing to the plentiful harvest. "Although it

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is most true that in many years (for so much as was sown) there hath not been more plenty, yet is the burning and spoiling of the subjects' corn by the traitors such, as the scarcity is like to be far greater than a long time it hath been; and, besides, their continual employments and travail is so exceeding great, that, with 12*d.* a day they are not able to keep themselves in sort to do Her Majesty that service as is required of them. Besides, the Captains all say, and have delivered their opinion to the State that, if their pay may not be increased, they must of force disband their men." Begs the Privy Council to be a mean for the increased pay of the horsemen. Leaves the more particular report of the state of Munster to the bearer, his servant.—Youghal, 1598, October 21. *Signed.* pp. 3. *Inclofes,*

117. I. *Names of certain castles and other places quitted by the undertakers in Munster.* In the county of Limerick are places left by the tenants of Sir Henry Oughtred, Sir William Courtney, Mr. Trenchard, Mr. Justice Gould, Mr. George Thornton, and Mr. Mainwaring; in the county of Cork, by the tenants of Sir Warham Sentleger, Mr. Becher, Mr. Hyde, and Sir Walter Raleigh; in the county of Kerry, by the tenants of Sir William Herbert, Mr. Williams, Mr. Nicholas Browne, and Sir Edward Dennis. "And generally all the English in Kerry have abandoned it."—1598, October [20]. *Unsigned.* pp. 1½.

117. II. *The Earl of Ormonde to James FitzThomas FitzGerald.* "It seemed to us most strange when we heard you were combined and joined with these Leinster traitors, lately repaired into Munster, considering how your father Sir Thomas always continued a dutiful subject, and did many good offices to further Her Majesty's service. From which course if you should digress, and now join with those unnatural traitors, we may think you very unwise, and that you bring upon yourself your own confusion, which is the end of all traitors, as by daily experience you have seen. Wherefore we will that you do presently make your repair unto us, wheresoever you shall hear of our being, to lay down your griefs and complaints, if you have any. And, if you stand in any doubt of yourself, these our letters shall be for you, and such as shall accompany you, in your coming and returning from us, your safety. And further, in your drawing near the place where we shall be, we will send safe conduct for you. Given at the camp of Gowlin, the 8th of October, 1598." [Postscript].—"We need not put you in mind of the late overthrow of the Earl, your uncle, who was plagued, with his partakers, by fire, sword, and famine; and be assured, if you proceed in any traitorous actions, you will have the like end. What Her Majesty's forces have done against the King of Spain, and are able to do against any other enemy, the world hath seen, to Her Highness's immortal fame. By which you may judge what she is able to do against you, or any other that shall become traitors." Copy. p. 1.

117. III. *James FitzThomas [FitzGerald; signing "James Desmond"] to the Earl of Ormonde.* [Duplicate of letter

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in No. 112 above.] *The camp at Carrigrowe, 1598, October 12. p. 1.*

Oct. 21.
Youghal.

118. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. The revolt in Munster. Cowardice of the undertakers. His speedy march from the north. The Munster rebels number above 3,000. Took order for the safe keeping of the marine towns. Begg for 2,000 or 3,000 trained men, with victual, munition, and money. Urges a sharp prosecution as when he served against Desmond. Daily spoils in the counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, and Tipperary.

"My Lord, your father, before his death, did signify unto me Her Majesty's pleasure to give head-money to such as would cut off any of the principal traitors in action, according to the quality of the rebel to be cut off; which warrant I pray you may be now renewed, hoping I may find some willing to take that service in hand." When any companies shall come over, begs that the naming of some of the Captains may be left to him, whereby he may prefer such as he has found to have deserved the same, having had hitherto small means to help them and others recommended to him. In all these seven months past, there came no money but for two months' lendings.—Youghal, 1598, October 21. *Signed. p. 1.*

Oct. 21.
Youghal.

119. The Earl of Ormonde to Queen Elizabeth. His proceedings to check the rebellion in Munster. Spoilings in Kilkenny and Tipperary. His relief of Kilmallock. "The Irishry in general have combined and joined together, and James, son to Sir Thomas of Desmond, nephew to the late traitor Desmond, whom they now call Earl of Desmond, and his brother John, with most of the followers of that house, are also entered into rebellion with him." Appeals for large supplies and for a sharp prosecution. The cowardice of the undertakers in leaving their castles and houses. Many subjects drawn thereby to the traitors. Sends some account of his recent proceedings, and copies of his letter to the so-called Earl of Desmond, and of the latter's answer thereto. Prays God ever to grant Her Majesty victory. Leaves one of his few companies at Youghal.—Youghal, 1598, October 21. *Holograph. pp. 2. Incloses,*

119. i. *Journal of the Earl of Ormonde's proceedings from 4–20 October, 1598.*

4th. *Disposition of certain companies. Goes from Dublin to Naas. 5th. From Naas to Carlow. 6th. Carlow to Kilkenny, and so to Kilmallock, without resting two days in one place. Helps Kilmallock. 11th. The Lord President of Munster, and divers noblemen and gentlemen of the Province arrive at Kilmallock; among them Lord Roche, Lord Barry, Edmond FitzGibbon, called the White Knight, and Cormac M'Dermott, of Muskerry. Their few forces; complaints as to them. Not permitted to buy weapons for their footmen. Lords Roche and Barry said they had not one pound of powder for defence of their castles, so Ormonde gave them a small quantity. The garrison left in Kilmallock. 14th. To Mallow, which the Lord President said could not hold out long, if*

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besieged. Found the place forsaken, except by a few who had put themselves into the Lord President's house. The enemy, hearing of his coming, took flight to woods and bog, and left their slaughtered beeves and other baggage behind them. M'Carthy Reogh came with some 60 foot and 20 horse, ill furnished. 17th. To Cork, where the townsmen undertook to defend themselves. His dealings with certain of the best of Kinsale. Pledges of M'Carthy Reogh and others. The company of Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill to lie at Youghal. 20th. From Cork to Youghal, where he viewed the muster of the town, and finding them weak, and that Captain Kingsmill was not yet come, left them, out of his few forces, Captain Flower and his band. "I find, generally, that the cities and corporate towns here (Waterford excepted) are very badly, or not at all, furnished with weapons and munition; neither did they fortify themselves, such was their negligence in this late time of peace; as, thinking they lived in all security, they never sought in time to prevent the mischief that might [arise], and now hath on the sudden arisen among them." Copy. pp. 1½.

119. II. *The Earl of Ormonde to James FitzThomas FitzGerald. [Duplicate of No. 117. II. above.]—The camp at Gowlin, 1598, October 8. Copy. p. 1.*

119. III. *James FitzThomas [FitzGerald; signing "James Desmond"] to the Earl of Ormonde.—[Copy of letter in No. 112 above.]—The camp at Carrigrowe, 1598, October 12. p. 1.*

Oct. 21.
Cork.

120. James Sarsfeld, Mayor of Cork, to the Privy Council. One Patrick Gallway FitzEdward, an Alderman of Cork, went about twelve months past to the Court, for certain private causes. He was also put in trust by the Corporation of the city to make suit to Her Majesty for payment of 220*l.*, due to the inhabitants of Cork for diet of soldiers. He had instructions to bestow such moneys as he should receive in that behalf, in powder and other munition, for the better defence of the city. Have lately had letters from him that he had received 100*l.* of the said payment, and that he had been deferred for the rest.

"And now that the Province of Munster is suddenly fallen into great disorder and disquietness, insomuch as most of the undertakers have, for fear of the rebels, forsaken their dwellings, and especially those of Kerry, who are in most miserable case, come to this city for their refuge, after being rifled and spoiled, man, woman, and child, of all their goods, yea of the very clothes from their backs, to the great grief of us, the poor inhabitants of this place, and of all other true and loyal subjects; and for that also divers of the said Province have most unnaturally revolted and taken part with the rebels of Leinster, contrary to their duties of allegiance; I have thought needful in these so dangerous times, for the more safety of this place, which hath ever held for Her Majesty and her noble progenitors, without any spot of disloyalty, and shall do to the uttermost of all our lives, most humbly to pray

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your honourable Lordships to be a mean to Her Most Excellent Majesty for payment of the said remain, due unto us, in corn, powder, and match, and for a last or two more of powder, for our better defence."—Cork, 1598, October 21. *Signed. p. 1.*

Oct. 22.
Dublin.

121. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. In recommendation of the bearer, Mr. [Nicholas] Weston, the late Mayor of Dublin. "I have spent almost forty years of my time here, yet, for affection to religion, great care in governing and safe-keeping this city for Her Majesty, willingness to entertain and well use Her Majesty's army at all times of their coming hither, and wonted readiness upon all occasions of want to lend large sums of money out of his own purse (notwithstanding his great losses sustained by sea), I have not seen his like in that place before him, nor (I think) shall not of any that cometh after him." Prays that Sir Robert may vouchsafe him favour in his suits in England, both for his own comfort, and for the encouragement of others succeeding him in office, to imitate his well-doing.—Dublin, 1598, October 22. *Signed. p. 1.*

Oct. 22.
Dublin.

122. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Right Honourable. This bearer, Mr. Weston, who was Mayor of this city the year last past, hath offered to the Lords Justices and Council a project consisting upon (*sic*) several points, and particularly it carrieth a great saving to Her Majesty's purse in the matter of the apparel for the soldiers, and no less comfort to the whole army, by the benefit of an hospital, promised by the project to be settled in this city, for the succour of hurt and sick soldiers. The further good intended by this plot, and the reasons and circumstances inducing the same, being at large set down in the project, and contrived altogether by Mr. Weston, appear at full in the narration of the plot, to the which it may please your Honour to give me leave to refer you, and to the discourse of Mr. Weston, who maketh his journey thither, chiefly to labour it, having brought with him a joint recommendation from the State here, who do hold his plot very worthy to be entertained and favoured, for the many good uses that may be made of it, for Her Majesty's profit and service. I assure myself it would have been long before any of this country would have digested (*sic*) such a course so beneficial for Her Majesty, if Mr. Weston had not done it. And this is but one of the fruits of many other good services done by him, both in his private and public calling, for the which he hath rather drawn envy and malice upon him, for standing so resolute for Her Majesty in many things in this time of troubles, than done himself any good; humbly assuring your Honour, of my knowledge, that in his late time of mayoralty, which was a time full of charges and troubles, he hath left many honourable examples of his well-doing, and specially in attending Her Majesty's affairs, such as I have not known to be done by any other officer in that place, these twenty years that I have served here. And it stood Her Majesty's causes in very good stead, to have a Mayor in this broken time so wholly addicted to her service, as, in respect to further that, he did not regard the murmur of his brethren, who, as

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they do greatly stomach him for the same, so he hath well deserved to be borne up and countenanced by the State here, and specially favoured by your Honours there, the better to enable him to proceed further in Her Majesty's service, as he hath begun, and to encourage others to do the like; of which sort this State hath great need, considering the backwardness that is in many, who ought to be more forward. He hath also some suits for repayment of money disbursed by him for cess of soldiers, and otherwise, by direction of the State, for the which he hath concordatums, and was promised payment upon the next treasure; and if he had not used good offices for the relief of the soldiers in that kind, there could not but have followed great inconveniences, which only by his means were stopped."—Dublin, 1598, October 22. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

Oct. [22].

123. Copy of "a plot for furnishing the provant apparel, by Nicholas Weston," then Mayor of Dublin, "and five others of the inhabitants of the said city, for the good of the soldier, and the great relief of the now decayed citizens."

Apparel for an officer. *For winter*:—A cassock lined with bays and trimmed with silk lace, at 18s. 6d.; a doublet of canvas with silk buttons and lined with white linen, at 12s.; two shirts and two bands to the same, 7s. 9d.; three pairs of neat's leather shoes, 5s. 3d.; three pairs of kersey stockings, at 2s. 2d. the pair, 6s. 6d.; a pair of "venitions" for winter, of cloth with silk lace, 12s. 6d.; a felt hat, coloured, with a band, 4s. 6d. Total, 3l. 7s. *For summer*:—Two shirts and two bands, at 7s. 9d.; two pairs of shoes, at 21d. the pair, 3s. 6d.; one pair of stockings, at 2s. 2d.; a felt hat and band, at 4s. 6d. Total, 17s. 11d.

Apparel for a common soldier. *For winter*:—A cassock of Kentish broadcloth, lined with satin, and trimmed with buttons and loops, 15s.; a doublet of canvas, with white linen lining, 10s.; a hat cap, coloured, at 2s. 6d.; two shirts of good linen cloth, 6s. 8d.; three pairs of neat's leather brogues, which will be warmer for the winter and more serviceable for the country, 5s.; three pairs of good white frieze stockings, which are more profitable and warmer for the winter season, 5s. 6d.; a pair of "venitions," with buttons and loops, lined with linen, 12s. Total, 2l. 13s. 8d. *For summer*:—Two shirts and two fallen bands of holland, 6s. 8d.; two pairs of neat's leather shoes, 3s. 4d.; one pair of kersey stockings, 22d.; a hat cap, coloured, 2s. 6d. Total, 14s. 4d.

There is to be saved to Her Majesty's coffers, according to the premisses laid down as aforesaid, in every officer's apparel, 19s. sterling per annum, and in every common soldier's apparel, 15s. 8d. sterling per annum. These sums, being defalked out of the rates now paid to Bromley and Babington, will grow to 780l. sterling in every 1,000 soldiers. By this saving there will be a mean for defalcation for munition, there not being any certain course yet set down to ease Her Majesty's great charge that way.

"Item further, the said inhabitants will not only perform the same, but will also, upon their own proper charges, find an hospital in the city or suburbs which shall contain fifty beds, and every bed shall

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receive two soldiers, which in the whole is an hundred, which hundred soldiers shall be sick and hurt soldiers.

“And also will be bound to find them sufficient victuals, with beds and bedclothes, together with six old women, that shall keep them clean, and shall wash their clothes, and make their meats. And also a chirurgion, that shall cure their hurts, that they shall receive in Her Majesty’s service. And the said hurt and sick soldiers shall be kept in the said hospital, till such time as they shall be able to go abroad, and shift for themselves for their better relief elsewhere, which charge will grow to a thousand pounds sterling per annum, or thereabouts, which will be no small encouragement and comfort unto the poor soldiers, who, for want of relief in their hurts and sicknesses, doth (*sic*) most lamentably starve and die under stalls in the streets, who otherwise might be fit to serve Her Majesty again, whereby others also would be encouraged more willingly to adventure their lives in Her Highness’s service.

“This hospital shall be maintained as aforesaid always, during such time as the said inhabitants shall provide the said provant apparel for the number of five thousand soldiers, at the price aforesaid; and if Her Highness shall keep in pay but two thousand five hundred soldiers, then we the said inhabitants will keep and maintain 25 beds, with two soldiers in every bed, which is fifty soldiers in manner and form aforesaid.

“And further, if Her Majesty shall have cause to keep in pay in the realm 7,500 soldiers, then we will, upon our own proper charge, diet within the city and suburbs, a thousand soldiers for one month in the year, so long as all the said number shall continue in pay, which will amount to 750*l.* sterling per annum, which will be clear saved to Her Majesty’s coffer.

“And further, if Her Majesty do keep in pay the number of 10,000 soldiers, then the said inhabitants will also increase their charge, in finding a thousand soldiers during forty days, which is the whole time of Lent, with good Newfoundland fish, and will deliver the said fish at their garrison places northward, which shall be fronted upon the sea; in which charge will be saved to Her Majesty’s coffer, per annum, 700*l.* sterling.”

The rates for supply of apparel to the soldiers, offered by the inhabitants of Dublin, are “better cheap” than those of Bromley and Babington, “and the said apparel shall be as good or better than such as now the soldiers receive at their hands.” The inhabitants will put in good security to Her Majesty, who will save one pound on every soldier. “Also such money as shall be received from Her Majesty for provision of the said apparel, shall be employed in the realm of England, except only the money for their frieze stockings and for shoes, and for making the apparel by the inhabitants of the said city, who being set on work by the making and providing the said apparel, shall be the better able, not only to yield the soldier such reasonable comfort as shall be charged upon them, but also the better maintain themselves and their families, who now by daily oppressions are constrained to forsake the city,

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and seek relief and living elsewhere, being by necessity urged thereunto."

The inhabitants beseech consideration of their proffer. They, by the heavy burdens and daily "impressions laid upon them," together with other losses they have sustained, will be utterly impoverished, if by this good means, with the Council's favour, they be not speedily relieved. They beg the Council to recommend them and their suit to the Privy Council.—[1598, October 22.] *Copy. pp. 2.*

Oct. 23.

Cork.

124. Sir Thomas Norreys to the Privy Council. The journey of the Earl of Ormonde to Kilmallock, Cork, and Youghal. Smallness of the forces for the defence of Munster. Ormonde discerned the sore to fester daily more and more, in such increasing sort that, unless some speedy means be used for suppression, it will hazard the whole state of the Province. Promise of reinforcements by Ormonde. Fears to expect them, as "the danger for them to travel is such, and, being come, they will be of small service to assure so many poor towns as daily expect their ruin, being now miserably subject to their violences, for that all the parts hereof join with their greatest means to assist the traitors, save only the county of Waterford; which hath raised them to such a strength, as it is not now easy to work here any defensive means against them, and much less to make any head to resist their attempts. What in my last I writ to your Lordships of Donogh M'Cormac, *alias* M'Donogh, is now plainly manifested, and such as are not yet joined with them (who are very few in number), do now daily massacre, rob, and spoil the poor English inhabiting here, and do still attend their own advantages to combine with them.

"I am myself with my retinue, and such few officers as attended this State, repaired hither, where I am constrained to live (through want of means to employ my service abroad), amongst an insufferable, disdainful, and insolent people, which were not meet to be borne with, had I means here to make them know the same; and where, notwithstanding, I must remain, until your Lordships shall be pleased to direct hither for our assistance such forces for the suppressing of this general rebellion, as in your grave wisdoms shall be thought meet."

Sends over the bearer, Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill, to inform their Lordships of the miserable state of Munster. If 2,000 foot and 100 horse be sent with expedition, doubts not but that a great many of those, who have not yet manifested themselves, may be stayed, and some others, who are not yet too deeply rooted in this rebellion, reclaimed. Begs that victuals, apparel, money, and munition may be sent with the above-mentioned forces. Also that he may have the bestowal of Captains on three or four of the companies, as many English gentlemen, who have formerly served, are remaining with him. Prays that his retinue may receive English and not Irish pay, and that to his foot-company of 100, there may be added 100 more. Has no means left, but his entertainment.—Cork, 1598,

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October 23. *Signed. Endorsed* :—Received 6 November at Richmond. pp. 2½.

Oct. 23.
Cork.

125. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. The miserable and almost desperate state of Munster. Finds in the cities and port towns such insolency and disobedience, that it cannot but be thought that they participate with the country in this general rebellion. If Her Majesty speedily sends some forces, doubts not in a short time to make the rebels know their errors, and to feel the weight thereof. Sends copy of a letter from one Oliver Stephenson. His requests in letter of this date to the Privy Council. Begs Sir Robert to further the same. The general troubles happened so near Michaelmas last that he could receive neither Her Majesty's revenue nor the composition of the Province, out of which he was wont to pay himself. Is void of means, unless he be assisted out of the treasure sent to Ireland.

Since writing thus far, has been advertised that the White Knight, Patrick Condon, John Barry (brother of Lord Barry), and David Roche (son of Lord Roche), have all been with the traitors, and have joined themselves with them. Those that remain will, for fear or love, do the like. Is hourly advertised of the most execrable mischiefs which they daily commit. Of the army with the Lord General brought to Cork, 200 (all Irish) have run to the enemy, and have taken with them of the Englishmen's arms, whereby the enemy is much strengthened.

Has received no munition as yet from Dublin. The want of it has been the loss of many castles.—Cork, 1598, October 23. *Signed. Endorsed* :—Received the 6 of November at Richmond. pp. 1½. *Incloses*,

125. I. Oliver Stephenson to Sir Thomas Norreys. The miserable estate of himself and his followers through "these wicked rebels." Narrow escape of his life. Summoned by James FitzThomas, the notorious traitor, to appear before him, as the rebel Ulick Wale laid claim to his lands. Has been forced by necessity to send his wife into FitzThomas's presence, to conclude some order for his safety, and has procured respite until next May. Hopes this poor shift of his will not be held an act of disloyalty, but rather for the safety of Her Majesty's true subjects. His great losses already by the rebels. Desires authority to parley with them, and he will give Sir Thomas all the information he gets. Cannot otherwise defend his right.—Dunmolyne, 1598, October 16. *Copy.* p. 1.

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Cork.

126. Sir Thomas Norreys, the Baron of Cork, and Captain George Thornton, to the Privy Council. Mr. John FitzEdmunds desires them to inform their Lordships of the continued loyalty of himself and his sons. Think it very meet to do this, and beg the Privy Council to comfort him with their favourable opinions.—Cork, 1598, October 26. *Signed. Endorsed* :—Received 6 November, at Richmond. p. 1.

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Oct. 26.

127. Information of William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, [to Sir Robert Cecil] concerning the state of that Province. "The most barbarous and fearful rebellion now raging" there. About October 5, some 3,000 rebels came into the county of Limerick, sent from the Archtraitor Tyrone, under the leading of John FitzThomas, second son of the late Sir Thomas of Desmond, elder brother to the last attainted Earl of Desmond, and of one Tyrrell, as is reported. Upon their coming into Munster, the said John was proclaimed Earl of Desmond. This done, "this rebellious rout" entered further into the county of Limerick, and burnt and spoiled most of the towns and villages there. On Saturday, October 7, James FitzThomas of Desmond, elder son of the said Sir Thomas, came to the traitors with sixteen horse and twenty foot, and the purpose of the traitors then was to create him Earl of Desmond at the hill of Balliagly. About this time the Lord President had assembled the forces of the Province to encounter them, but the most part of the followers of noblemen and gentlemen of Munster went to the enemy. Thus the Governor was unable, either to encounter the traitors, or to defend himself from imminent danger of his life, which was sought by secret treachery; and was forced to withdraw to his own house twelve miles off, whither the traitors threatened they would come and assault him on Tuesday, October 10. This they are thought to have performed, unless the coming of the Lord General interrupted their purpose.

"These combinations and revolts have effected many execrable murders and cruelties upon the English, as well in the county of Limerick, as in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and elsewhere; infants taken from the nurse's breast, and the brains dashed against the walls; the heart plucked out of the body of the husband in the view of the wife, who was forced to yield the use of her apron to wipe off the blood from the murderers' fingers; [an] English gentleman at midday in a town cruelly murdered, and his head cleft in divers pieces; divers sent into Youghal amongst the English, some with their throats cut, but not killed, some with their tongues cut out of their heads, others with their noses cut off; by view whereof the English might the more bitterly lament the misery of their countrymen, and fear the like to befall to themselves.

"Besides, the manifold spoils, thefts, and violences daily done unto the English, the sight and consideration of which miseries would force any Englishman to bleed in the common calamity of the English, who in manner all are utterly undone, and every one after the rate of his fortune doth smart exceedingly. And these execrable parts are performed by the Irish tenants and servants of the English; and those that but the last day were fed and nourished by the English, are now the thieves that violently before their faces take from them their corn, cattle, and other goods; and the party spoiled thinketh himself happy, if he escape without loss of life, or other shameful villainy to himself, his wife, or children; whereby it seemeth that it is a plot laid down by the traitors, that every Irish next inhabiting should kill and spoil his English neighbour.

"The most part of the castles, which were late in the possession of the English, are now in the hands of the Irish, so that there

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remaineth nothing in manner out of the rebels' command but the cities and walled towns, of whose fidelity there may be some doubt, because the Mayors and chief of the cities are open enemies to God's religion and Her Majesty's supremacy."

The above is followed by: "The causes that have begotten and bred this common calamity," which "seem to be"—

"1. First, and principally, the seminaries and Jesuits, lurking in every city and walled town of the Province, have stolen away the hearts of the Irish from Her Majesty.

"2. The Mayors of the said cities and towns, where the said seminaries and Jesuits are secretly maintained, are joined in the High Commission for causes ecclesiastical, by reason whereof they are not to be commanded to discover those enemies of God and Her Highness, and to present them before the rest of the said Commissioners, nor themselves to be censured by the said Commissioners for their open recusancy and disobedience, *quia inter pares non est potestas*.

"3. The trust and authority of oyer and terminer, nisi prius, and gaol delivery, is committed to such as are known recusants, who, in their public charges to the grand jury at general sessions, never deliver any one word in advancement of Her Highness's supremacy, or to the extenuating of foreign power, the want of the due knowledge whereof is the root of Irish rebellion.

"4. The slackness of the undertakers in not peopling of their seignories with English inhabitants hath wrought such weak means of defence against traitors and rebels, as the English are not able (in this or like raging tumult) to help one another.

"5. And where Her Majesty's forces, before four years now last past, have used to be cessed upon the charge of the country, in place whereof there hath been lately a composition yielded unto Her Highness, two great inconveniences (be it spoken under favour) do follow thereby; the one, a great loss unto Her Majesty and a weakening of the country in regard of maintenance of soldiers; the other, the traitor and rebel hath thereby opportunity to enrich himself, and gaineth liberty to enter into all traitorous parleys and conventicles. For, if the cess had continued without composition, then might great numbers of soldiers have had their maintenance upon the charge of the Irish, which (in like time of trouble as now is), would in short time save more to Her Majesty than double the value of the composition; besides that the forces would have been always ready, both to defend the English and to suppress the thief and rebel. And where, during the composition, the Irish are charged with a trifle in regard of the cess, they are thereby greatly enriched. And where by reason of the composition, English soldiers have not been cessed amongst them, these take their times at their pleasures to conspire and confederate, in conventicles and parleys, of matters hurtful to the State, which (if the English soldiers had continued cessed amongst them), they would soon have espied and prevented,

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and the Irish themselves, for fear, would have forborne to conspire, or put in practice, these treasons and rebellion." *Endorsed*:—1598, October 26. *Unsigned*. pp. 3½.

Oct. 28.
Cork.

128. Arthur Hyde to the Privy Council. The general revolt of the Irish in Munster, "traitorously robbing, burning, and murdering, all the English, men, women, and children." Beseeches the Privy Council to take knowledge of the particular outrages committed upon him by the rebels, with the manner of their sudden rising. "After the Ulster rebels had entered the Province, in the county of Limerick, the rebels of Munster, all the Province through, rose instantly before noon, and made spoil and prey, with fire and sword, upon all English subjects. At which time my wife, for safety of her life, with her children fled to Cork, most dangerously escaping their hands, being assisted with the help of the Lord Barry; in which morning the rebels took all such cattle, which were upon my lands, of mine and my English tenants. But my wife having left a ward in my castle for the defence of the same with all my goods therein, my goods were all preserved till the 19th of this month, on which day I landed from England at Youghal. On which day, also, in the morning, the new proclaimed Earl of Desmond, Derby M'Owen, son-in-law to the Lord Roche, now called Earl of Clancarty, Donogh M'Cormac, son-in-law to the White Knight, called M'Donogh of Doallo, and Piers Lacy, new made Seneschal of Imokilly, which are the chief of Munster rebels, together with Onie M'Rory O'Moraghe [O'More]," and others, "chief leaders and Captains of Ulster rebels, being in all of Munster and Ulster four thousand, came to the castle and assaulted it, and played against it with their shot, till the 22nd following; and, having burnt the town by it, with the houses and corn about it, and also burnt down the top of the castle, and also 'moymd' [maimed, or breached] the wall through, the warders, divers of them wounded, and all wearied out with watching and fighting, and having no possible means to be assisted by any of Her Majesty's forces, and the Lord General then being passing (*sic*) from them out of the Province, were compelled to yield the castle, upon Desmond's promise that they should depart with their lives, and the carrying away of their own wearing apparel; who, being passed but a mile from the castle toward Cork, were robbed, and stripped to their naked bodies, by the Lord Roche's tenants, but were not slain, as at their first taking it was bruited. The warders were eighteen." Rebels slain during the assault on the castle, which was rifled of all that was in it. Has not any thing left to sustain himself and family, or his English tenants. Prays that, upon the sending over of forces to Munster, he may have charge of a hundred men, with whom he will do his utmost against the rebels. Desires that the men may be Berkshire men, who will most willingly accept him as their leader. Trusts, if God send an end to the wars, to make the men willing to live and dwell with him on his seignory, to the further good service of Her Majesty.—Cork, 1598, October 28.—*Holograph*. *Endorsed*:—Received 6 November at Richmond. p. 1.

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Oct. 28. 129. "A note how the 2,000 men sent into the Province of Munster in Ireland are levied, with the names of the Captains and places of embarking," and disembarkation. "Memorandum, that there were two several letters written for the embarking of the men of Cornwall; one to the Mayor of Foy and certain gentlemen near adjoining; the other likewise to the Mayor of Padstow and certain other gentlemen. Both sent to Sir W. Raleigh, Her Majesty's Lieutenant of Cornwall, that he might use that letter which he should think most convenient, and give direction accordingly to his Deputy Lieutenants. These letters were as well for provision of victual for the passage, as for the shipping. The letters and the gentlemen's names are to be seen in the Council book; and this course was taken by advice of Sir W. Raleigh."—1598, October 28. [*This is a partial duplicate of No. 110 above, although the note at the close is different.*] p. 1.
- Oct. 29.
Richmond. 130. The Privy Council to Sir Thomas Norreys. No worse news could have been brought to them from Ireland than the entrance of the rebel forces into Munster, and the defection of the Irish people of that Province. Her Majesty is in good hope that he will be able to withstand them until succour comes. She has given order for 2,000 men to be transported to him, with as much speed as they can be levied. Give him notice beforehand, that he may have regard to their arrival, and presently employ them as he shall see cause. Although victuals are provided with them, hope that the rebels have not so spoiled, but that there is good help to be had in Munster. Desire to be certified what victual the country may afford, that they may the better provide. Will hasten over the best aid that can be given him.—The Court at Richmond, 1598, October 29. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 91. *Copy*. p. 1.
- Oct. 29. 131. Receipt by Florence M'Carthy for 100*l*. from Roger Hughten, by the assignation of Sir Robert Cecil.—1598, October 29. *Holograph*. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.
- Oct. 30.
Athlone. 132. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Trusts Sir Robert will conceive no negligence on his part, in not having written for a long time into England. Matters have fallen out so, since the overthrow of the Marshal, that there was no certain report to be made from Connaught. Hoped for supply from the State in Ireland to prevent any great change, and so addressed all his demands to them; "but such have been their businesses in other parts," that Connaught and the "meeting with" O'Donnell's mischievous plots have been let fall; so that some change is happiness. The particulars Sir Robert will see in a letter to the Privy Council [*see* No.], as also by a copy of a letter from Sir Conyers to the Council in Dublin (*wanting*). The overthrow of the Marshal "hath so puffed the minds of these fickle people, that all Ireland at this day" is in actual rebellion, or those who remain dutiful fear to be spoiled by the greater number. Acknowledges Sir Robert's favour with respect to the money he had laid out, and hopes that through

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him it will be repaid.—Athlone, 1598, October 30. *Holograph.*
p. 1.

Oct. 31.

133. "A true declaration of the state of the Province of Connaught, as it was the last of October, 1598, when the Lady Clifford departed from thence, which she humbly referreth to your honourable consideration."

"That the rebels have again set up M'William in the county of Mayo, and he is now at least 2,000 foot and 200 horse strong, and is daily increased by the Scots that come unto him; so as Tibbot Ne Longe is now constrained to live in a boat upon the water. And in Thomond, they have set up an O'Brien, whereby that country is now wholly revolted.

"That O'Donnell lately came into Connaught with 800 foot and 200 horse, and there took a prey of 4,000 cows from the O'Connors, Sir Conyers being so unfurnished of means, as he was unable to impeach them, and he hath but 120 English soldiers in the Province, the rest being Irish.

"That thereby the Province is greatly distressed, and Sir Conyers hath been enforced to engage his best means for the provision of six weeks' victuals, for the victualling of the soldiers in the Abbey of Boyle, Tulsk, and Roscommon, himself abiding in Her Majesty's castle of Athlone, and is before this time much distressed for want of victual, having received but one month's entertainment of six months' which is now due unto him and Her Majesty's army in Connaught, besides other great sums, which are still owing unto him for his entertainment.

"That present order may be taken for the speedy sending of a competent sum of money to Sir Conyers Clifford, for the supply of the present wants and necessary defence of the Province.

"That my Lord of Clanricarde hath offered, for 500*l.* in hand to be paid, to deliver 500 cows for the victualling of the army in Connaught, which is (as the time standeth) a very honourable offer." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"A memorial of my Lady Clifford." p. 1.

Oct. 31.

134. "A note of such letters as have been written for the despatch of the 2,000 men for Ireland; the 31 of October." p. 1.

Oct. 31.

Dublin.

135. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, Sir Richard Bingham, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. "Since our last despatch of the second of this month, albeit there hath not wanted occasions to advertise your Lordships of the miseries and distresses of this kingdom, which we see daily to decline from ill to worse, yet we have forborne till now to trouble your Lordships therein, awaiting to hear from the Lord Lieutenant and of his proceedings, pretending at his departure from hence, which is now a month past, to follow a prosecution against the rebels of Leinster, who were grown to great strength, and countenanced by the Arch-traitor Tyrone. And albeit at his Lordship's going from hence, he made us not acquainted with his intention to pass further into Munster, neither was there known to us any apparent cause for him

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to draw thither, but only that he would attend the affairs of Leinster, and to see what he could do to free these inner parts of the realm this winter, as was prescribed by Her Majesty, and the same by us signified in our last despatch to your Lordships, yet this day we received from his Lordship a letter, by which we find that, upon urgent matter of stirs and alterations newly begun in Munster, he drew thither with such forces as he had, and hath there continued ever since, as may appear by the copy of that letter, which we do herewith send to your Lordships. We are inwardly grieved with these great commotions in Munster, which the more sudden they are, so much are they more dangerous; the rather for that that Province, having hitherto made show to stand in reasonable good terms, it argueth that this sudden mutation hath a ground out of a confident expectation of the coming of Spaniards this winter, or the next spring; whereof we have had sundry intelligences, and have [seen] and do still see, many probabilities. Inasmuch as now it is apparent, that which hitherto hath been apprehended but by suspicion, namely, that the greater part of Munster is as deep in this wicked rebellion as any other Province of the realm, and that this rebellion is now thoroughly sorted to an Irish war, whose drifts and pretences are, to shake off all English government, and subtract the kingdom from Her Majesty, as much as in them lieth. Of this we have in some of our former letters written many cautionary advices to your Lordships, and now by the Lord Lieutenant's letter we see that he hath confirmed the same to your Lordships, having been there of late, an eye-witness of those alterations, and hath besought your Lordships of stronger means for the suppressing thereof; wherein, for our parts, we humbly wish that, inasmuch as Her Majesty now seeth this rebellion to be universal, and the whole body of the realm dangerously revolted, it will please your Lordships to move Her Highness to enter really and speedily into the breaking of it, seeing all deferring cannot but be most dangerous, when there is question of the hazard of the State; and, in discharge of our duty, we make bold to remember to your Lordships, that the readiest way to prevent the subversion of this State is, for Her Majesty to encounter this deep project of the rebels with a substantial force, thoroughly enabled and countenanced with victuals, money, and munition, and not, by protracting, to give way to the danger, and suffer things to grow desperate.

"And for Leinster, we are sorry to see the rebels go on daily increasing and prevailing, and little resistance made against them, and the Irishry in every country in effect revolted or underhand combined, awaiting but opportunity to show themselves. Inasmuch as we may safely assure your Lordships that this Province of Leinster, where resteth the little life that is left of the whole kingdom, is so universally infected with the treasons of Ulster, that we know no part free, neither is it known that the estate of this realm generally hath been in so great hazard within the memory of man, nor of long time before, as it is now. Wherein having understanding by private advertisements two or three days past of some great personages in Leinster that would break out, against whom we

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have some probabilities, even this day we are written to, as well by the Lord Lieutenant as others, that the Viscount Mountgarrett, a Butler by name, and by marriage allied to Tyrone, is entered into action, upon whom we cannot but think do depend many others, who will follow the same course. Upon which occasion, being sudden and extraordinary, the Lord Lieutenant hath this day sent to draw up to himself, being at Kilkenny, most of the companies which before he had settled here for defence of the borders, and to resist the incursions of the rebels; and has likewise written for the 800 supplies lately arrived, of which almost 200 were found deficient upon the musters; and for the 200 foot and 30 horse brought by me the Marshal; and hath likewise written to me to come to him to Kilkenny with these companies, to the end to confer with me for some course of prosecution of these Leinster rebels, a matter which we find to carry great danger and prejudice to the safety of these parts, lying open every way upon sundry enemies. And therefore we have this day by our letters advised his Lordship to consider more thoroughly of the importance of these parts, which contain in effect the best part of the English Pale, and not to leave so many subjects without the comfort of a competent defence. Nevertheless, upon hearing further from his Lordship, we will conform ourselves as shall be most convenient for Her Majesty's service. And for the Marshal, he is driven to stay here, for that we have no means, either of money or victuals, to send him away. And yet in remaining here, there will not want occasions to make good use of his service, for Feagh M'Hugh's sons, who refuse to come to sue for the grant of their country, according Her Majesty's gracious warrant, and all the other Irishry bordering upon the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Wexford, and Carlow, are preparing with great forces to break into the Pale, and we doubt not but they will be both more ready and better strengthened therein by this late defection of the Viscount Mountgarrett and some other upstart traitors of his confederacy. And we cannot but think that many dangerous projects formerly laid and intended against the surety of the realm by Tyrone, and deferred hitherto, will break out now that the Viscount hath showed himself, and the rebellion in Munster is put on foot. By this instance we humbly leave to your Lordships' consideration, how dangerous it is, and full of inconvenience, to have the Lord Lieutenant, in whom resteth the sole direction of the martial services, to remain so far off, and not to make his ordinary residence here, where is the principal seat of the kingdom, and from whence his Lordship may best manage all occasions of service that may occur; where his Lordship's far distance and absence, lying at Kilkenny, cannot but be prejudicial many ways to the course of the service; for preventing whereof, we have oftentimes advised his Lordship to settle his abode here, humbly desiring your Lordships, by your next, to remember the same unto him, which we doubt not will be most expedient every way for Her Majesty's affairs, his Lordship having had experience within these three or four days, of the intercepting of the packet sent from hence to him, wherein were sundry letters written from your Lord-

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ships for the present service, and now that the Viscount is out, the ways will be more shut up, for any intelligence to pass between his Lordship and us, so long as he continueth at Kilkenny, or thereabouts.

"The want of money so long time is the cause of many disorders in the service, for the army being behind of their lendings more than five months, it breedeth such discontentment in the soldiers, that we have much to do to contain them, and yet we cannot hold some of them from running to the rebels, seeking there to better their condition. And as by this running away Her Majesty's service is greatly dishonoured, and her army much weakened, so, for want of money to give lendings to the soldiers, they are driven to lie upon the country, a course which your Lordships may judge cannot but be licentious and full of insolencies, besides the murmur and grudge it worketh in the hearts of the people, when they see their goods havocked by the soldiers, whose part it is to defend them; which, amongst other grievances, we doubt will be the cause to make the more part of them break out. Therefore it may please your Lordships to procure out of hand a proportion of money to serve to clear this arrear of the lendings, and also to hold from henceforth a monthly or weekly course of lendings through the whole army, as is graciously assigned by Her Majesty's ordinances; by which course the country would rest greatly satisfied and preserved, and the soldier kept in good discipline, who now, for want of due pay to be made to him, taketh liberty to commit many outrages, such as we cannot remedy.

"There are also round sums of money due to the towns and country, part for dieting of soldiers, and part for beeves taken up to answer the service. Of which two wants we have often written to your Lordships in our former despatches, being thereunto pressed, as well by the poverty of the country as the importunity of sundry poor people "interested" therein, but as yet we have received no answer nor direction from your Lordships. And yet, to give them some comfort, as much as in us lieth, we have prescribed the Treasurer and the several paymasters, that such as bring in their tickets for dieting of soldiers shall receive payment upon the several companies to whom it is due, according the time of their lendings. And to others that have not yet brought in their tickets (to whom we have prefixed several days by proclamation) order is likewise taken to make stay of some portion of lendings out of every company, to answer the charges of their diet in the country."

Desire money to repay the 2,470*l.* they have borrowed, and to answer extraordinaries, which increase daily. The Treasurer has lately sent a certificate of the issue of the last treasure, and of all others before. The victualler has been despatched to their Lordships, whom they refer to his declarations. Pray them to return him with all speed. Have given order for a certificate to be made of the musters. Are driven, for necessity's sake, to make a kind of tolerance as yet of the Irish in the companies, but hope by time to reduce them, or wear them out altogether.

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“We are bold still to press your Lordships to have a serious care of this kingdom and the recovering of it, which we see to be so universally shaken with these overgrown rebellions, that we know none, or very few parts, whom (*sic*) we may trust for Her Majesty. And though, within the heart of the English Pale, there are some that stand firm in their duty, yet there are also many, who have their dwellings near the north and south borders, who do make way underhand with the rebels for their own safety, and are in that case no better than spies and guides to the traitors, both to set out their neighbours' goods, and also to give them knowledge of any attempts intended against them by Her Majesty's forces. And even the cities and port-towns of the Pale are not free from the treasonable practices of Tyrone, who did very lately employ some of his instruments to surprise this Her Majesty's Castle of Dublin, and to subvert this city, and consequently to commit to massacre and havoc all the English and their goods; which conspiracy was so far advanced, as it was very near the time of execution, which should have been performed by thirty resolute men, set on by twenty-nine priests lying in Dublin, and should have been assisted with 1,000 men of Tyrone's forces, besides the help of 1,000 more from the mountain rebels, had it not been happily discovered by one of the conspirators, who is reserved to have some recompense for his good service done therein, and some of the rest have been put to their trial according the course of law, and being condemned as traitors, have suffered death within these two days. The principal conspirators were, Lapley, Cawell, Shelton, Friar Nangle, Leynan, and Bethell, all of this country; of whom the three first are already put to death, and Leynan respited, as is said, to the end to be pardoned and recompensed. But touching Friar Nangle, being a chief plotter of the treason, we cannot as yet get him, and for Bethell, whom we could not light upon before yesterday, he is now to have the same proceeding that the rest had. This treason, as it was happily and in good time prevented, so we cannot but think that it will be further followed and seconded by the Archtraitor, either for the endangering of this place, or some other city or town in the realm, where he may get entrance for his treason, having for that purpose most subtle and devilish instruments, the Jesuits and priests, who swarm in great numbers in this land, and are too much favoured and countenanced in the cities and towns, where they are secretly lodged and covered, even by the best inhabitants. These are Tyrone's instruments, employed by him to seduce the cities and countries, who having besotted the people with their blind Popish religion, have a great way thereby to sway their hearts to enterprise any matter that may serve their turn. And so much are they respected and favoured, that, when the State maketh search for them, they are preserved and put out of the way, though sometimes we light upon some of them, but very rarely.”

By what they hear from Sir Conyers Clifford, can give no other reckoning of Connaught, than that the greatest part of it is already brought under the tyranny of O'Donnell and his faction. He is now possessed of the castle of Ballymote, which was delivered

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to him by the M'Donoghs. For the rest, as part of Clanricarde and Thomond, they are as yet kept in duty by some of Her Majesty's forces garrisoned in those countries. Think it will be all the Governor can do, to keep the towns of Galway, Roscommon, and Athlone, with some other few castles, until by a greater force he may be enabled to make head against the rebels. This cannot be till forces are sent out of England. Understand this day out of Connaught that Teig O'Brien, second brother of the Earl of Thomond, having drawn to him about seven or eight score loose men, is revolted from his duty, and has combined with Redmond Burke, the pretended competitor to the barony of Leitrim. They have a practice amongst themselves to create the said Teig, O'Brien. Understand, likewise, that O'Connor Sligo is arrived in Munster, and remains there with his wife, the Countess of Desmond. Could have wished he had stayed longer in England, "considering the general unsoundness of the Irishry here, and how apt they are to run one with another into disloyalty." If the advertisements be true about Teig O'Brien, it will greatly endanger that whole Province, for his credit and example will carry many others from their obedience; but having no other ground for his defection than the advertisement of a private man in Munster, they hope by their next to give their Lordships a better certainty thereof. The Treasurer sends herewith a particular note of the borrowed money (*wanting*).—Dublin, 1598, October 31. *Signed. pp. 6. Inclose,*

135. *I. The Earl of Ormonde to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. Stayed the sending of his despatches for three days, in case they might be intercepted. Hears this day that Mountgarrett has revolted. Will later on further certify their Lordships in answer to their last letters. Asks that the 800 men lately arrived in Dublin may be sent to him, under the command of Sir Richard Bingham. Has written to the latter to repair to him with his 200 foot and 50 horse. "I foretold of this matter" [the revolt of Viscount Mountgarrett] "long since, which now hath made itself apparent; and how he and his sons were enlarged out of the Castle of Dublin is best known to your Lordships."—Kilkenny, 1598, October 29. Copy. p. 1.*

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Cork.

136. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. His request for 100 more men to be added to his company of 100. Not doubting but that this would be thought reasonable, he has already gathered together, and continues upon his own charges, 100 very sufficient and able Englishmen, inhabitants of the country, who have been lately spoiled of all their wealth, apparel, and such furniture for the war as they had. Prays that, towards the furnishing of them, some reasonable contribution may be had from the country, in some meet place, where such a number of men should have been levied, and that the same be delivered to the bearer, Captain Kingsmill, who will provide the necessaries for them. Begs that his thirty horsemen may be made up to fifty, and that a like contribution may be had from the country for them. He will provide the men. Asks for an

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imprest of 100*l.*, out of his entertainment, to be delivered to the bearer.

Many have solicited him to move their Lordships for some charge of men to be bestowed upon them, but, as he was not acquainted with their experiences, he has forborne to satisfy them. Craves that special care may be had in the choice of fit and discreet Captains, "the general want whereof hath been a great hindrance to Her Majesty's services here." Will exercise like care with regard to any companies placed at his disposal.

Warmly recommends the bearer, Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill, his brother-in-law, who deserved well by his valour and endeavour in the late conflict at Armagh. Refers to him for particulars as to the state of the country.—Cork, 1598, October 31. *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond, 6 November. pp. 2.

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Athlone.

137. Sir Conyers Clifford to the Privy Council. "The time wherein I declared the recovery of this revolted Province is changed unto the contrary, and yet I trust, by your most honourable favours, by no error or negligence in me." Has fully advertised the Lords Justices and the Lord Lieutenant of the affairs of Connaught, "but such hath been their business in some places nigher themselves, as this Province hath been utterly let fall by them all." Upon the banishment of M'William, the cutting off of Con M'Dualtogh O'Connor, the recovery of O'Connor Don and M'Dermott, and the protestation and pledges of O'Rourke, Sir Conyers was of opinion that, with the help of these regained subjects, Her Majesty needed not to be charged with more than 1,200 foot and 120 horse, to recover Ballyshannon from O'Donnell, if Tyrone's forces were kept off; and that, after three months, 600 foot, with the commodity of that place, would be sufficient for a defensive war against O'Donnell, and to keep the Province in obedience. In answer, their Lordships referred him to the Lord Lieutenant, but, before the letters came to his hands, O'Rourke had again revolted. Is assured that it has been made an indiscretion in him, to have proceeded so far with O'Rourke, of whom the State in Ireland held no good opinion.

"But, to satisfy your most honourable Lordships with my proceedings briefly therein, the treating and concluding with O'Rourke was referred to me and such as were of the Council of this Province, wherewith both the Lords Justices and Lord Lieutenant were acquainted. Yet their Lordships, after all things were concluded, and that O'Rourke in person offered in this town of Athlone, where I dare write the greatest assembly of chieftains in Connaught that ever presented themselves to any magistrate of Her Majesty, sithence it pleased Her Highness to establish this government, were, and all made show of as great obedience as ever they did in the quietest time that hath been known, this being without the expectation of any; presently there were practices to draw Teig O'Rourke unto submission, which was a flat opposition to all the agreements between Brian O'Rourke and me. Which when Brian saw, he presently hearkened to the solicitations of the north, who, knowing what power he had to benefit Her Majesty's service,

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never left opportunities, and when they found this advantage of the differing proceedings between those in greater authority for Her Majesty than myself, they then offered to apprehend Teig O'Rourke, and to keep him in durance, if Brian would again join with them. And he, fearing the articles agreed upon between him and me would meet with crosses, in respect greater men undertook for Teig, he (*sic*) again joined with O'Donnell. To show your Lordships farther that the winning of Teig could in nothing avail Her Majesty's service in comparison of Brian, Teig is kept still a slave in durance by the northern men to flatter O'Rourke. And your Honours, I trust, conceive [that] they, knowing themselves best, know who is of most power to do them hurt or good."

Does not write to excuse himself, for he did nothing in the concluding with O'Rourke but by Her Majesty's authority, and agreeably to the proceedings with the State in Ireland. When he treated with O'Rourke, they all held the same course with Tyrone and all others combined in that undutiful rebellion. How matters have fallen out since elsewhere for the strengthening of this rebellion, their Lordships doubtless have heard at large. Sends copy of his letter of September 13 to the Lords Justices and the Lord Lieutenant, written after the overthrow of the Marshal, because then began the great change of all matters in Connaught. By this letter their Lordships will have full knowledge of the condition of the Province.

The war is now so general because of the strength of the Leinster rebels, who have lately wrought the evil-affected in Munster to declare themselves. Besides, the Leinster rebels daily seek to pass the Shannon, and so to enter Connaught, whereby they may either persuade or constrain the people thereof to a second combination. "And I do most humbly assure your Lordships that, if the safety of the kingdom stood upon it, I am not able, considering my means, to stop either the Ulster incursions, or the Leinster; which I have often and plainly written to the Lords Justices and Lord Lieutenant, but to this day without remedy. And, under correction, Her Majesty's service cannot proceed well, until the provincial officers, upon their errors, be reprov'd by the State here, finding just cause; and likewise, until the State, without any partiality, assist the provincial governors to take the fittest opportunities."

Begs that, when Her Majesty is pleased to prosecute this rebellion as great necessity now requires, the army for Connaught may be proportioned, according to both the power of the rebels within the Province, and the power of O'Donnell; and that the victual, treasure, munition, and apparel for such number be sent to Galway; and that the companies sent be compounded of old soldiers proportionably, if any come into Ireland. The recovering of Connaught will much avail the general service.

Is of opinion that "the possessing of Ballyshannon, which is a castle upon the Erne, will do Her Majesty especial service for the repressing of the north, and no place in this kingdom so much, Lough Foyle excepted. The reasons are many, but, in particular,

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that river [being] commanded by Her Majesty's army, O'Donnell, Maguire, O'Rourke, all those are subdued, besides the rest of this Province are cut off thereby from the northern succours, so as Her Majesty may command them to yield to anything, which in Her Majesty's name shall be required. I would presume to write what numbers might perform this service, if I knew how Tyrone, Leinster, and Munster, should be kept from me, and that I might only know that I dealt with O'Donnell, Maguire, and these provincial rebels."

Sends a copy of his letter of October 25 to the Lords Justices and the Lord Lieutenant, by which their Lordships will see how the Province then stood and still continues. Desires, for the defensive war this winter, an equal proportion of the army now in Ireland, "whereby I may keep the passage against the spring free into the north, which Province, under correction, will require to be thoroughly undertaken in the first season of this next spring."—Athlone, 1598, October 31. *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall, 21 November. pp. 3. *Incloses,*

137. i. *Minute by Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lords Justices, Lord Lieutenant, and the rest of the Council*: 1598, September 13.

The daily danger he stands in, that Connaught will be "sorted" to a general revolt, causes him to make these often despatches. Has made known the weakness of his companies, and also the purposes of O'Donnell by bringing in M^r William, working Clanricarde into rebellion, and drawing the Connors by force to join again with him. By these three ways, which he is unable to prevent, they will find that the Province will be wholly lost. On the first day of M^r William's coming with O'Donnell's whole force, Mayo and Sligo are entirely lost. This day Her Majesty is in possession of fifty or sixty castles, "and I have found, sithence I banished M^r William, [that] the worst boy I could send would bring the owner of any of these castles unto me, wheresoever I would appoint him, or cause them to deliver the possession of their castle to whomsoever I would assign them for the service of Her Majesty; which they are enforced unto by the goodness of their pledges, themselves yet standing but upon protection, but most willing to receive their pardon yet."

*If Clanricarde rise in rebellion, then the Kellys and others will join, and the county of Galway will be lost. This day it is so at his command that, if he appointed sessions to be holden in any part of the county, he knows not one man of whose appearance he can doubt. If Clanricarde and the rest of Galway are joined, they are so strong, and so linked by marriage with Thomond, that the latter will also join with them; it is a country that yields Her Majesty 500*l.* sterling per annum, and is in as great obedience as any part of Munster.*

A greater danger is with regard to the town of Galway, which in the interim between the absence of Sir John Norreys with his forces and the coming of Sir Conyers, was preyed by O'Donnell. This

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caused so great a famine, that the town was utterly dispeopled of her artificers and labourers, whom he sought by all means to ease and strengthen, whereby at this day they are grown into some relief of "cattle, which is the food, considering the wasteness of this Province by the long war, that both town and country must relieve themselves upon. And, if they should again lose their cattle, considering that my companies, such as remain, are Irish, and not to be trusted," the town would be in great danger of being lost.

Touching O'Connor Don and O'Connor Roe, there are joined with them in their peace O'Byrne, O'Hanly, O'Flanagan, and the M'Dermott. Holds the county of Roscommon by a ward of 20 at the Boyle, a ward of 8 at Tulsk, and a ward of 16 at Roscommon. Has caused the several septs to draw into Mannagh, and enforced them to lie within five miles of Athlone with all their cows (which number 4,000 or 5,000), so doubts not of their obedience, unless enforced by his weakness, and the forces which O'Rourke may at his pleasure bring upon them. If the O'Connors are enforced to join with O'Rourke, he and they together will make it a chargeable war to Her Majesty, before they be brought to the terms of obedience they now stand in. The Boyle, Tulsk, and Roscommon will be instantly lost : none of these is victualled for fourteen days.

"If M^r William take footing again, and join the county of Sligo with him, all who now stand in those places in good terms of obedience, as is set down before, must join with him ; for your Lordships and the rest well know that, neither for pledges nor oaths, nor any cause, this people will be held in obedience to lose their cattle," having no other food for their relief. If Galway and Thomond join, there will be a loss of revenue, a hazard of the principal town of Connaught, and a strengthening of the rebels now in action by at least 3,000 men. The number of Connaught men in the various bands in Ireland, who will return, if the Province revolts. Can make no account of the pledges he has taken, in respect of the multitudes, who deal by force and policy to bring Connaught into the general danger. If his companies be not strengthened with 600 English, and he receive not some moneys or victuals, for the defence at Sligo, then he desires to be excused to Her Majesty, to whom he must appeal for his discharge, protesting that he has omitted no consideration of anything to advance her service.

Need not repeat what numbers have been left him since Christmas last. Out of them the Lord Lieutenant, at his last journey, commanded 300 foot and 40 horse. The better half of the 300 never returned, and of the horse he lost 27 horses and hackneys. Has not been supplied with any of the English who came into Ireland. Before the above journey, the deficiencies in the 1,200 foot and 65 horse assigned to him, amounted to between 200 and 300. During the twenty months he has been in the Province, he has received but eight months' means, all manner of ways, saving the proportion of corn that came last out of England. Of that the greater part still remains, as Newcomen answers he has no moneys for the issuing

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thereof. If the resettling of the Province be considered any service for Her Majesty at this time, he desires the supplies he has asked for, whereby he hopes to prevent any great danger. "But until the northern men be otherwise dealt with (than I yet see), secret conspiracies and factions will dwell so in the minds of people both here and elsewhere, as I dare write neither Leinster nor this Province shall be brought to that reformation and obedience, which formerly they held. Besides, my Lords and the rest, if this Province should be thus lost, [and] O'Donnell and they joined together, they would find easier passage through this Province into Leinster, than Tyrone doth or can, whereby that Province, betwixt them both, shall want no disturbers."

Recommends the landing of 2,000 men in Lough Foyle, which will do Her Majesty more service than 4,000 in any other place in Ireland. Ballyshannon and Belleek should be attempted, and garrisons placed there this winter. These places being once gained, Connaught is Her Majesty's; O'Donnell and Maguire will be kept from joining with Tyrone; and by means of Lough Foyle, Ballyshannon, and Belleek, the whole north will be kept this winter from Leinster and Connaught; whereby, with good endeavours and sufficient forces, Her Majesty may have the war brought next spring wholly into Ulster. Will give particulars with what numbers Ballyshannon and Belleek may be taken and garrisoned, when he knows whether it is to be performed before Lough Foyle be possessed.—Athlone, 1598, September 13. Copy. pp. 3.

137. II. Minute by Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lords Justices, Lord Lieutenant, and the rest of the Council, 1598, October 25.

On O'Donnell's return into the county of Sligo, the ward of Ballymote put him in possession of the place. He presently intends to recover the Boyle, which Sir Conyers, for want of means, cannot relieve, and so accounts to be in great danger.

Until March, 1597, he accounted to Mr. Treasurer for the imposts of Galway, and the compositions of Clanrickarde and Thomond. Has received nothing since from Clanrickarde, by reason of the great burdens laid upon that country; from Thomond the composition from Michaelmas 1597 to Lady Day, 1598, was 246l. sterling, and during the whole past year [i.e., Michaelmas, 1597, to Michaelmas, 1598], the impost was 443l. 4s. sterling.

For these receipts he has been charged, never for less than four months, to provide for the companies with him, the diet of the Council, extraordinaries sometimes by service at sea, continual victualling of the wards until now, rewards for service, messengers, and in general all manner of ordinary and extraordinary charges (saving the weekly lendings and the fee of the justice and civil officer). At this day there is nigh six months' due to the companies, yet it has been spoken that he wanted no means, and that his numbers were equal to those of the rebels against him. How the moneys have been assigned their Lordships well know. His numbers never exceeded 1,600 or 1,700 foot and 100 horse, as the musters will show, and eleven of those companies were discharged

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since Christmas last. Enumerates the large forces of the rebels. M^r William's complete mastery of the county of Mayo. O'Donnell took pledges at his pleasure, but Sir Conyers wrought from him O'Connor Don and M'Dermott. The chiefest pledge of the latter O'Donnell hanged, and M'Dermott, seeing the weakness of Sir Conyers, joined O'Donnell again, rather than lose his wealth. The faction in the county of Mayo yet remains. Clanrickarde still stands by the Earl's great care and labour.

The state of Thomond. Fears Teig O'Brien will be the ring-leader of the revolt there, and that he, Redmond M^rShane, and others, will do their pleasures both in Clanrickarde and Thomond. They will want no force from Tyrone and O'Donnell. Knows no better means to prevent them than to lay 400 men at Myleek [Meelick], and 100 at Killaloe, which will keep their forces asunder, if the garrisons be there before they join, and with those garrisons all the boats of Athlone.

For a general defensive war against all other force and practices of the northern men, recommends the placing of 200 men at Galway, 200 at Athenry, 200 at Roscommon (to defend the poor inhabitants against O'Donnell), and the strengthening of the wards at the Boyle, Tulsk, and Roscommon, with 100 men. The last three places are of great importance, as they give passage through the heart of Connaught. One hundred more men are wanted in Mayo with Tibbott Ne Longe, and 200 in Athlone. The garrison of Roscommon requires 60 or 70 horse, and that at Athlone 40 or 50. The horse for Athlone will attend him in all places where the service shall most necessarily call him, and be used for safe-conduct either of munition or treasure sent there. For it is to be supposed that, upon the return of Tyrrell, there will be forces to stop any commodity, which that passage kept open would afford. For the victualling, the Earl of Clanrickarde will sell 500 beeves, the Bishop of Kildare 300, and the merchants of Limerick 300, "but none of these will deliver one cow without ready money." Has had to pay 20s. each for beeves which he took up; otherwise Connaught had been long since wholly joined again with O'Donnell. To assure their Lordships the better of this, he will, when Her Majesty pays the last lendings, make a public proclamation in the towns and country, that whosoever, for cess or beef, can demand one penny, shall presently receive the same, or he will be content to pay the fine of 1,000l., in default thereof. The benefit to the service of such a proclamation.

The force against which he must make a defensive war this winter. First, O'Donnell is now, with all his forces, drawn into Connaught, as far as Ballymote, and, by consent of Tyrone, has Maguire to assist him. Then there are O'Rourke, M^r William (lately brought again by O'Donnell into Mayo), M'Dermott, Redmond M^rShane Burke, those of Ormonde and M^rBrian Arra's country, the Omalaughlins, the Mageoghans, the O'Malleys, and septs of Leinster. The need of money and victuals. Nothing in Connaught has "hindered the service more than the taking of the poor people's

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cattle to relieve the army; which is a burden they will never bear and continue their loyalties." Arrival at Ballymore of the munition sent by their Lordships. Began some works for strengthening Athlone, foreseeing a likelihood of the great strength of the Leinster rebels. Asks for but 100l., and he will make Athlone defensible this winter against all the rebels of Ireland. With 100l. more in the spring, doubts not but to perfect it for continuance.

Desires money for victualling the wards of the Boyle, Tulsk, and Roscommon, "otherwise I protest, if the loss of the whole kingdom stood upon it, I am not able to do it; my estate and credit are both so far spent." Entreats that the state of the Province heretofore may not be compared with it now, whereby greater matters may be expected than it is in the power of any man to perform. "Such English and English-like" as were placed by Her Majesty's charge and other men's labours, were before his time again utterly dispersed, generally through the whole Province. Except in Thomond and Clanrickarde, the composition and revenue of the Irishry were also lost, the people being wholly in rebellion. O'Donnell was making strong incursions, and an army was still pursuing him, though it was weakly enabled to recover the people to Her Majesty. If any disaster happens in the Province, hopes the inconvenience thereof may not be remembered as his fault.—Athlone, 1598, October 25. Copy. pp. 4.

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138. "A discourse delivered by William Weever touching the proceedings of the rebels in Munster, and [their] creating an Earl of Desmond, in September and October, 1598."

Onie M'Rory Oge O'More and Captain Tyrrell, accompanied by 3,000 or 4,000 other traitors, as was reported, came to Monester-oone about Michaelmas, and encamped there two or three days. The Lord President [Sir Thomas Norreys], having advertisement thereof, raised the force of the country, to the number of 1,700 or 1,800 horse and foot, to Kilmallock, some nine or ten miles from Monester-oone, a report being given that the Friday following the Lord President would either give the rebels battle, or expel them [from] the country. That Friday, upon what occasion Weever knows not, the Lord President left Kilmallock in the afternoon for Cork, dismissing the rising out, whereupon they went every one to his own home, to shift for themselves as best they could. Whilst the Lord President was at Kilmallock, the rebels kept their camp, and did not commit any spoils, save the taking of some beeves. "But within two hours after the Lord President left Kilmallock, the rebels were advertised thereof, who divided themselves into several companies, and that night and all the next day, being the 7th of October, did kill, burn, prey, and spoil all the English inhabitants and their people, and none other, and the 7th of October encamped at Rathkeale, some 18 or 20 miles from Monester-oone, and there remained to the 9th, sending still some loose men abroad to execute their traitorous malice on the English, as aforesaid.

On the 8th, one Morris M'Thomas Oge revolted, and joined with Rory M'Shee and his sons, and the same day burned Maine, a manor

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of Sir Henry Oughtred's ["Outriddees"], and after went to the rebels' camp at Rathkeale. This manor Sir Henry left guarded, and himself with his lady went some three days before to Limerick; but the ward left the same empty, and stole away. Maine is fifteen miles from Limerick, and five miles from Rathkeale.

"The same day, in the evening, there came to Ballingarrie out of Ranelagh, Cahir M'Hugh, brother to the late Feagh M'Hugh, Thomas Butler, William M'Hubert, and Tirlogh M'Dermott, with some 160 men, and encamped there. Here the rebels expected the coming of James FitzThomas Desmond, to whom they had severally sent, that if he would not come and take the title of Earl of Desmond, and hold of O'Neill (for so they term the Earl of Tyrone), that then they would create his youngest brother Earl. Whereupon, the 10th of October, he came to them, accompanied with some twenty horsemen, the rebels being then uniting their forces betwixt Rathkeale and Ballingarrie, and accepted to hold the Earldom of Desmond, because O'Neill would have every man established in his own land, as it was before the English Government.

"Being thus assembled, they went altogether the same day to Farrintanckley, some half a mile from Ballingarrie, and there, in the view of this advertiser, did muster their whole force, every leader apart, he being taken prisoner by them at Ballingarrie aforesaid, and noting the same well, which is in manner following.

"The supposed Earl of Desmond, 60 horse.—John Desmond, his brother, 7 horse, 24 foot.—Onie M'Rory Oge, 80 foot.—Piers Lacy, 200 foot.—Captain Tyrrell, 100 foot.—Captain Kavanagh, 74 foot.—Captain Hackett, 80 foot.—Morris M'Thomas Oge and Rory M'Shee, 10 horse, 30 foot.—Sir Hugh Magennis's son, 120 foot.—Cahir M'Hugh, Thomas Butler, William M'Hubert, and Tirlogh M'Dermott, 160 foot.—Redmond Burke, 230 foot. Total, 1,175; being 77 horse and 1,098 foot. This muster being ended, and every man laden with spoils, they encamped the same night about two miles from Ballingarrie.

"The next day (11th), they went towards Kilmallock to have surprised the same; but, being come within two miles of the town, they were advertised that the Lord General and Lord President, with great forces, were come thither. Whereupon they made a stand to receive certain intelligence, and immediately espied the army coming towards them. Some of them desired to fight, but the greater number would not, saying that O'Neill had warned them to the contrary, unless it were to skirmish in straits and fastness; and so they retired into a strong wood, fleeing from Her Majesty's forces back some five miles from Kilmallock.

"This day (12th) they kept the fastness, and went towards Mallow, sending many espials out to bring advertisements what way the Lord General marched, who all that day kept betwixt them and Mallow, which being perceived by the rebels, they went into a very strong wood three miles westward of Mallow, and encamped there two nights, being weary in fleeing from Her Majesty's forces.

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"They resting themselves this day (13th), there came to the supposed Earl of Desmond, the two M'Donoghs, O'Galloghan, and other gentlemen of Munster, to the number of thirty horse and foot, who submitted themselves to the new Earl, and the same day returned to their dwellings. The 14th, hearing that the Lord General was returned to Kilkenny with the forces, they removed and went towards Kerry and Desmond, where they were friendly received, insomuch as the new Earl made proclamation that no spoils should be committed there, but every man to take meat and drink, and, for safeguard of those countries, the said Earl drew the rebels along the mountains, and encamped there two nights.

"The Earl, being thus possessed of those countries without any resistance, divided the forces into two parts, leaving behind him Redmond Burke and Sir Hugh Magennis's son with some 300 men, to commit what spoil they could in the county of Cork, and himself with the rest marched towards the Lord Roche[s] and the White Knight's countries, keeping still the mountains, taking castles, burning houses, and killing all the English that they could lay hands on. Only one English gentleman, who inhabited in those deserts (whose name he knoweth not), having an Irish priest with him, escaped in this manner. The priest saluted the new Earl, and said that the said gentleman and his family were Catholics, so as the Earl made proclamation that no man should do them any harm, and thus, being spoiled of all their goods, they passed with their lives and apparel to Cork.

"This day (16th) they assaulted a castle of Mr. Hyde's, called Carrig-en-Eadie, but losing one man and two horses and three men hurt by the ward, they left it, and that night encamped in a wood a mile off. The next day they returned to assault the said castle, where they lost nine men, amongst whom Shane M'Lisagh was one, a man much lamented of them. But the ward fearing their security (albeit they had good means to hold it out) yielded the castle to the new Earl, with condition to have their lives and apparel, which was granted. But as they were going towards Mallow, they were murdered by some of the rebels, as was said. Munition, arms, and much other spoil found in the castle, which was delivered to an Irishman who claimed it, and "who was willed to pray for O'Neill." The same day, one of Lord Roche's sons, with three horsemen, came to the new Earl, and had secret conference with him, and after some two hours' stay returned.

"The next day they assaulted a castle of the Lord Roche's, and with the loss of three men gained the same, but killed all the ward. This morning, as the rebels were at mass, the White Knight came to them with some forty horse and foot, which being ended, he came to the said new Earl, who embraced him. They had conference that day and the next, so proclamation was made that nothing should be spoiled in his country.

"This day (19th) Onie M'Rory Oge, Cahir M'Hugh, and those of Ranelagh, departed from the new Earl and returned with some 180

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men to their countries of Leix and Ranelagh; the rest of their company stayed with the said Earl. They spent some ten days in their return, and were friendly received in the Lord of Ossory's country, whom the Irish call M'Gilpatrick.

"Being in Leix, a messenger came to them from O'Neill, and said that the King of Spain had sent great store of money to his Lord, and that he was going for one White, that was born in Kilkenny (but then with the Desmond) to divide the same, whereat he rejoiced. But Onie M'Rory said that he would have no Spaniards come into Ireland; but, if the King would send them money, they would keep Ireland from the English. The same messenger reported, and so did the whole company, that there was a Primate lately come from the Pope (at once with the said Treasurer), who had brought a bull, pardoning all people both in town and country, that had held for Her Majesty, and would receive and acknowledge O'Neill for their King; and such as would not, to be excommunicate and reputed for heretics and dogs, and that it should be lawful to kill them; and how that shortly the Pope would send O'Neill a crown." *Endorsed*:—1598, October. *Unsigned*. pp. 3½.

[Oct.] 139. Memorandum as to apparel for the troops in Ireland. Savings on the winter and summer supplies.—1598 [October]. *Unsigned*. *Endorsed*:—1598. p. 1.

[Oct.] 140. *Portions of some manuscript history of the time.*

"In August, great consultation was had about victualling the fort at the Blackwater, and relieving the garrison there, greatly distressed for lack of victual. It was thought good that letters should be directed to Captain Thomas Williams, then chief commander of the fort, that he should parley with the Earl of Tyrone, and depart upon honourable conditions, the which then might easily have been concluded; the which letters were effected and signed by the Lords Justices, Lord Lieutenant, and Council. But the Lord Lieutenant had no sooner left Dublin, but the Lords Justices called back the letters, and wrote to the Lord Lieutenant (so did Sir Henry Bagenall also, the 8th of July (*sic*)) for his presence, and direction in any wise not to give over the fort, but, 'mawgur the berd' of the enemy, to victual the same; which advice turned to the great dishonour of the Englishry, and the loss of many a brave man's life. The Lord Lieutenant, upon the said letters, returned shortly after to Dublin, conferred with the Lords Justices and Council, mustered three thousand nine hundred and odd able men, well appointed, with victuals sufficient, and directed them towards the north, with commission granted to Sir Henry Bagenall, bearing date the 23rd of June 1598," [*here follows the text of the commission*], "the Lords Justices and Council well liking of the aforesaid grant and authority made to Sir Henry Bagenall. The which circumstances I do the rather more largely insert, because of the accidents which in this behalf befel, contrary to all their expectations, the which the reader hereafter shall be better acquainted withal. The Earl of Tyrone, understanding of these forces coming against him, called the chief of his country

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[and] laid before them all that might be with them and against them. Many he found with him, and many against his purpose; yet they, for fear of him, promised to yield and join with him. They made preparation, and marched to meet the Queen's forces. When Her Highness's forces were come within a mile and somewhat more of the fort, and that the garrison within the fort had descried the English colours, they threw up their caps for joy, hoping to have a better supper than the dinner they had that day. To be short, the enemy lay all at an advantage, suffering the forces to pass by, and set first upon the rearward, assaulting them very fiercely, which were withstood very valiantly by Captain John Parker and others of that regiment. Then the rest of the traitors set upon the vanguard, and every man lying in ambush played their parts. That which came to pass is a grief to the Englishry. Two barrels of powder by unfortunate means in the regiments of Her Highness's forces were set on fire, spoiling our own men; a great field piece, which cleared the way, lost in a bog; Sir Henry Bagenall, Knight, General of the said forces, by a bullet which pierced his skull, falling down for dead (*sic*). The whole army was discomfited. They fell to retire, and more perished in the retreat and trenches, which the enemy had made, than by force of arms; that day being Monday, and the 14th of August. Beside the general aforesaid, the Englishry lost Captain Moyle Moore O'Reilly, a gentleman of Irish birth, but a man (*sic*), and a most valiant soldier every way; Captain Henry Street; Captain Pettitt; Captain Morgan; Captain Matthew Evans; Captain Henshaw; Captain Bethell; Captain Thomas Leigh; Captain Henry Turner; Captain Fortescue; Captain Elsdon. Captain Rumney escaped the battle, went to a bush to ease himself, and there was knocked on the head. Captain Ratcliffe was taken by the enemy, but there died of his wounds. Captain Cosby [was] taken by the enemy. Captain Burke was killed. A young gentleman, one James Harrington, son and heir to Sir Henry Harrington, Knight, being not employed but voluntarily, going only to see the service, was there left for dead. There many a brave soldier, not by force of arms, but by misfortune and unskilful leading of new comers and unexperienced Captains, were (*sic*) cast away. The traitors and rebels like dogs lay dead in every bush. What then? The enemy triumphed, and after parley had with some of the English Captains, gave the army leave to depart, upon condition they should not go to the Newry, but straight to Dundalk. Contrary to this they went to the Newry, for, if they had gone to Dundalk (he having, according to his wonted treasons laid ambush for them), his determination was to cut them off every one. To be short, the fort upon good advertisement was yielded up by Captain Thomas Williams, and all to depart, leaving behind them the ordnance and munition. This was no sooner done, but horseboys and Irish cursitors carried it about the land, animated the enemy, and discouraged the true subject. Tidings hereof came to Her Majesty, who was mightily displeased. The Lords Justices and Council excused themselves, and signified that the victualling of

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the fort pretended was by the Lord Lieutenant General, without their privity. He cleared himself, and continued his honourable credit. Her Majesty, being wonderfully moved and sorry for the loss of her worthy subjects, wrote to the Lords Justices and Lord Lieutenant as followeth." [*Here follows the text of the letter. See under September 12, No. 64, above. To an early passage in the letter this writer adds a note, that it was the Lord Chancellor only who advised the Earl of Ormonde to give to Sir Henry Bagenall the command of the expedition to the Blackwater.*]

"Immediately upon the death of the Marshal of Ireland news came that the Lord Treasurer of England (the Lord Burghley) was dead. Ireland did not mourn for them; for the Marshal (said they) contended with the Earl of Tyrone, and was in some part a cause that he went into action, which bred great woe to the true subjects. The Lord Treasurer in England (said they) hindered the service of Ireland upon the information of some Captains that would not be out of entertainment, and persuaded the Queen's Majesty from time to time (as a good husband for her treasure) to send a handful of money and a handful of men; both which no sooner landed in Ireland, but melted away like hoar frost before the sun; and as the service continued, rebellion increased, and the true subjects went to wreck.

"Upon good deliberation, advice, and counsel had in England by Her Majesty, together with her most honourable Council, her pleasure and most gracious favour was signified unto Sir Samuel Bagenall, knight, that he should be employed for the service of Ireland. And this seemeth to be afore their intelligence in England of the former misfortune at the Blackwater; for the accident at Blackwater was the 14 of August, as the reader may gather before, and Her Highness's commission granted to Sir Samuel Bagenall beareth date as followeth, at Westminster, the 12th of August." [*Here follows the text of the commission; see under August 7, No. 12, above. The difference in date has probably arisen from the similarity between the written "x" and "v."*] "He received also instructions at Greenwich, the 17th of August, from the Lords of the Council, the which I need not insert [*see in August, No. 23, above*], for that the said commission and the whole formerly (*sic*) course, upon some accident, was by Her Majesty altered, as the Lords of the Council signified unto Sir Samuel Bagenall from Greenwich, the 23 of August, as followeth." [*Here follow the instructions; see in August, No. 32, above.*] "Sir Samuel Bagenall arrived at Dublin the 11th of September (and Colonel Egerton's regiment landed at Youghal in Munster), and took his directions and instructions all new again from the Lord Lieutenant General, with warrants of entries and entertainment to the Clerk of the Check, for him, the Captains of his regiment, officers and companies, to garrison themselves on the northern frontiers with this special caveat, that he should bend his course rather to a defensive war than to an offensive, unless it were with that advantage and care, that he stood always in safety of himself and the forces under him, and in that case to lose no opportunity. The Captains of that regiment were

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these: Captain Charles Egerton, second Colonel, Sir Urian Lee [Leigh], knight, chief commander of the horse company under the Colonel-General, Captain Francis Croftes, Captain Edward Trevor, Captain Edmond Leigh, Captain Francis Roe, Captain Ralph Bingley, Captain Geoffrey Dutton, Captain Walter Rogers, Captain John Burtall, Captain John Owen Tudor, Captain John Sidney, Captain Nicolas Panier [or Pamer], Captain Fulke Conway, Captain John Jesson, Captain Augustine Heath, Captain Edward Blayney, Captain Toby Carfield, [and] Captain Josias Bodley.

"Sir Richard Bingham, Knight, as by Her Majesty's letters formerly appeareth, bearing date the 12th day of September, was made Marshal of Ireland, and arrived at Dublin the 8th day of October, with 200 foot and 50 horse, to be directed in all his course by the Lord Lieutenant General; but, being often written for by the most honourable Lord Lieutenant, to be employed in present service, excused himself, partly with the let by sickness, and also that the Lords Justices stayed him. So commonly they did stay others, more for the safeguard of their private persons than the service of the Prince.

"In Munster, anno — (sic), Donnell M'Carty, a bastard of the Earl of Clancarr, grieved as he said that his father allotted him no maintenance, fell into open rebellion, preyed and spoiled many, and got many rogues to follow him. Sir Thomas Norreys, then Vice-President of the Province, protected him and procured him his pardon.

"Murtoogh Oge M'Shee, and his brothers Rory and Edmund, from the cradle inclined to mischief, as all that sept hath been, being oft apprehended and imprisoned, and having broken prisons (Murtoogh at Limerick, Rory at Kilkenny), after many favours went into open action, and in the end were cut off. Murtoogh was grieved (as he said) that he was oft protected, but could never get his pardon; that when the date of his protection was expired, he must pay money for the continuance of it to Sir Thomas Norreys from time to time; and that he was no longer able to feed him. This rebel was marked by nature; he had a stump arm; a desperate villain, and a skilful targeteer. He was taken in a wood, killing of porks and making provision to entertain the rebels of Leinster. Tyrrell the traitor and his company being brought to Cork, and arraigned, evidence was given against him that he had preyed, spoiled, and murdered about fourscore English families. Small resistance to the rebel, and small aid to the subject, did the President give. When any came to complain that he had lost his cows, 'Why' (saith he) 'must I keep thy cows?' In the end sentence was given upon this traitor, that he should have his arms and his thighs broken with a sledge, and hang in chains; so was he executed without the north gate of Cork. Anno 1597. Rory was killed by an Irish kern, and Edmund was killed by an Englishman at the spoil of Kilcolman. At this time David Lacy, with his brethren Piers, Ulick, and William, played the rebels. David, being once pardoned, was after killed in service. Piers was hanged at

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Limerick, Ulick and William were hanged at Kilkenny, by the commandment of the Earl of Ormonde; fair riddance of such rebels.

"October, 1598. In the beginning of October, the unfortunate news of rebellion in Munster, and the general combination of the Irishry throughout the land against the Englishry, came to Dublin; where the most honourable Earl of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant, understanding thereof, according to Her Majesty's direction formerly mentioned preparing himself for the service in Leinster for the winter following, and having appointed sufficient garrisons for the northern frontiers, directed his course through the Province of Leinster for Munster, to subdue the rebels there lately combined into open action. He took with him from Dublin, the 4 of October, these companies: Sir Henry Power, Knight, Captain of 200 foot; Captain Henry Sheffield, Sergeant-Major, leader of 100 foot; Captain Lawrence Esmond, 100 foot; Captain Thomas Lee, his company, 100 foot; Captain John Parker, 100 foot; Captain Richard Greame, 100 foot; Captain Henry Folliot, 100 foot; Captain William Warren's company, 100 foot; Captain William Eustace, 100 foot; Captain Edmund Tobyn, [and] Lieutenant — Eustace, of the Earl of Kildare's horse. The horsemen at his appointment met him, viz., Sir Walter Butler, Knight, with 50 horse; William Taaff, Lieutenant to Sir Henry Norreys, with 50 horse; [and] Captain John Butler, with 20 horse. When he came to Kilkenny (where he stayed but one night with the sweet lady, the Countess, his wife), he sent for the noblemen and gentlemen of the country to accompany him. And there came the Lord Power, the Lord of Dunboyne, with others. The Lord Lieutenant, understanding that Piers Lacy, a gentleman sometime of good sort in the county of Limerick, but then in open action against Her Highness, had drawn unto him the traitors of Leinster, Captain Tyrrell, Onie M'Rory, and others, and [that they] were ready to lay siege to Kilmallock, marched thither with all haste, and wrote unto the Lord President of Munster, and to the noblemen and gentlemen of Munster to meet him at Kilmallock with all the forces and strength they could make.

"The 11th of October, the Lord Lieutenant came to Kilmallock unlooked for. The rebels had determined to assault them, the town had warning thereof, and finding themselves weak (faint hearts and white livers had they, yea, and a number of false hearts) determined to yield up the town for the safeguard of their lives. But when the Lord Lieutenant's trumpet sounded, and that they understood it was the most noble Earl of Ormonde, they opened their gates [to] him, and for joy threw up their caps, signifying their lives and goods were saved.

"The Lord President of Munster, being sent for, durst not, no, not in the Province committed to his charge (as he said) travel without convoy and strong guard from the Lord Lieutenant (so he wrote unto him and such was the weak sight of that government), who satisfied his request. And so the Lord President came to him to Kilmallock, and the crew of the Englishry followed him saying, his 'cowardise' [cowardly] disposition was the cause of all

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their overthrow, the which, gentle reader, shall afterwards more at large appear.

"There came also to Kilmallock noblemen and gentlemen of Munster, as followeth: the Lord Roche, the Lord Barry, with others.

"At Kilmallock, news came to the Lord Lieutenant that Ormonde, Ossory, the county of Kilkenny, and all his country, was a burning, preying, and upon destroying (*sic*) by the rebels Donnell Spainagh, William M'Hubbert, [and] Phelim M'Hugh, and that the traitors in Munster determined to burn Mallow, where the Lord President dwelt. The Lord Lieutenant's answer was, that he would be revenged of them that spoiled his country upon his return, but then that he would have special care of the service in Munster. He left a strong garrison at Kilmallock, and marched towards Mallow, the traitor's camp being but three miles off them still as they marched. Afore he came thither, the rebels had burned Buttevant, a town of the Lord Barry's, and were within a mile of him, but he (leaving the foot companies behind) for all the swiftness of his horsemen could not overtake them. They took [to] the woods and bogs, and ran away. At Mallow he took order that the thatch of the houses should be pulled down and burned, to save the rebel a labour; for the whole town, being English, ran away, to their shame. Donnell, called there M'Carty Réogh, Lord of Carberry, met with him with threescore foot and twenty horse, ill furnished. The 17 of October he came to Cork, mustered the town, [and] viewed their strength. The townsmen, fearing a further burthen and charge to be imposed upon them, undertook to defend their town. The Lord Lieutenant dealt with the best of the inhabitants of Kinsale, and they in like sort undertook their defence. He came to Youghal the 20th day, mustered the town, found them weak, but great store of beef to be salted, which he commanded to be stayed for the army, and left them, for their defence, Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill and Captain George Flower with their companies. The Lord Lieutenant found generally that cities and corporate towns, few excepted, were very badly or not at all furnished with weapons and munition, neither did they fortify themselves (such was their negligence) in this late time of peace; as, thinking they lived in all security, they never sought to prevent the mischief that might [rise], and there on the sudden rose, among them.

"The misery of the Englishry was great. The wealthier sort, leaving their castles and dwelling-houses, and their victual and furniture, made haste into walled towns, where there was no enemy within ten miles. The meaner sort (the rebellion having overtaken them), were slain, man, woman, and child; and such as escaped came all naked to the towns, Their moan was great, the sight lamentable; the Lord Lieutenant was therewith much moved, and specially, seeing how shamefully the undertakers in general (very few, not past three or four, excepted) did forsake their castles and strong houses before any enemy entered the county of Limerick, which so animated the traitors in pride to go forwards, no resistance being made or one

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shot discharged out of any castle, as the very Irish churls, their tenants, and country people, took the spoil of their landlords, and ran to the enemy, furnished with the arms and munition which the undertakers had in their castles, to Her Highness's great dishonour and their own deserved shame and discredit for ever.

"In the county of Limerick these castles were forsaken, Meane, Pallice, Ballenwylly, of Sir Henry Ughtred, Knight, who together with his lady fled to Limerick, [having] left sixteen men in his house, who within two days ran away; Edward Fitton, Sheriff of the county, fled to England, and left Glanogher, his house, and lands to the rebels; Sir George Bouchier, having Richard Rowley for his tenant in Loughgirre, put in Ulick Browne, who by treachery gave all to the rebel; Newcastle, Glancuyn, and Portncard, of Sir William Courtney, Knight, who neglected his seignory, [and] put servants in trust that were careless of the defence; Corrag, Foyne, Shanytt, of Mr. Trenchard (his executors after his decease left all open to the enemy); Tarbert, Bellanecory, of Justice Goold forsaken; Mr. Aylmer left Killfinien without men or victual; Captain Colvin left his house and fled to Askelyn; the abbey of Adare of Mr. George Thornton, where he had thirty men (shot), munition, and victual, yet was forsaken, for they all ran away, and the Bruff, which he had in lease from Piers Lacy, wherein the President had put eighteen men in ward, upon their running away was given up to Piers Lacy; Fannyngton, of William Mainwaring. I marvel at him more than at all the rest, considering his old occupation in England, acquainted with all robbers and thieves in the land, that the rebels in Ireland, brought up in the same school, would not favour him, or at least that he had none of his school-points to defend himself.

"In the county of Kerry and [in] Desmond, the island of Kerry, the seignory of Sir William Herbert, after his death was forsaken by one Mr. Williams; Furryes, of Nicolas Browne his seignory; [and] Trallie, a town of Sir Edward Denny's seignory. Generally, all the English in Kerry ran away, when there was no rebel within forty miles of them. Castlemayne was long defended by the ward without any means but their own shifts, which cost John Middleton, a fine clerk, his life, not having his natural diet. They sware to James Desmond the traitor, in parley, that they had victuals for half a year. Hereupon they yielded the castle, and saved their lives, whereas they had not one iota of any food.

"In the county of Cork, Mallow, and the town, being Sir Thomas Norreys's; and he, President of the Province, ran away first, together with his lady, into Cork, and discouraged all the Englishry about him. Mr. Waynman left Dawnarayll, and fled away. He was a great sheep-master, and in that trouble ye might buy an English mutton for 12*d.* Tarregcroghan, where both the Clavells, English gentlemen, dwelt, was forsaken. Mr. Cuff made haste to Kilmallock, [and] left his castle Nyckill to a young Irishman of his bring up (*sic*), who sent his master some two wain-load of stuff afterwards slut the castle, and kept all to himself. Carregaleyn

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[was forsaken] of Henry Ditton; Tractan Abbey, of the seignory of Sir Warham Sentleger, where Mr. Daunt and Mr. Sampson dwelt; Ballengary, of Mr. Walter Sentleger; Castle Mahon of Mr. Beecher; Derywyllans, Carreganedey of Mr. Hyde's (he being in England, his wife fled to Cork; Patrick Condon was there his own carver); Talloe, a great town, all English, man, woman, and child, where there were about three score householders, thirty good shot, and in all about six score able men, ran away every one. The enemy came after, and burned all to the ground. Balabegg, a town hard by Mallow, of some twenty families, did the like. All the English of the seignory of Sir Walter Raleigh, viz., John Harris, William Andrew, with others, ran away. The inhabitants of the lands of Gosbryd, of the seignory of Sir Warham Sentleger, took their flight. Arundel Castle was forsaken by Walter Grant. Bostock, lieutenant of Sir Thomas Norreys his horsemen, forsook his castle a sennight afore the enemy came. William Lyons, Bishop of Cork, was loath to be a martyr. First, he forsook a strong house, all of stone, which he had at Ross in Carberry, afterwards left a fine and a strong house he had without the walls of Cork, and fled into the city. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, urchin-wise, like Harry Pyne of Mogylie, afore presaging the mischief to come, which he no doubt secretly learned and concealed, made haste for England *cum pannis*, as commonly we term it, with bag and baggage, got a bark, embarked together with him his wife, family, and all that he had, and left the charge committed unto him from Her Majesty at six and seven.

"In the county of Waterford, Mistress Dalton, an English gentlewoman and a widow, forsook her castle of Knockmone. Mr. Hayles forsook his castle of Capperquin, and fled away. Captain Fitton played the coward, hearing of rebels coming to the country, forsook his castle of Kylmahany, in the county of Tipperary, and ran away."—1598, October. *pp.* 13.

Nov. 2.
Athlone.

141. Sir Conyers Clifford to Queen Elizabeth. The state in which Connaught was left him has been often written to the Privy Council. His labours to resettle the broken state of the Province. If the Queen receives any accusation against him, beseeches she will hold him in her princely favour, until he may answer for himself, and be dealt with accordingly. His former success in bringing the people to a dutiful acceptance, "which doth daily now change by the opinion they are lately grown unto of their strengths, by the pride they have apprehended in themselves, since they encountered your Majesty's army under the Marshal, and by my want of means to defend them from the northern Rebel," which he made known to the Lords Justices and Lord Lieutenant, "but unto this day without assistance to meet with the change." When Her Majesty is pleased to punish the rebels, will do his uttermost service, to the last drop of blood in his body. Prays for her triumphant victory over all her enemies, and for the continuance of her blessed and peaceable reign.—Athlone, 1598, November 2. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

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Nov. 3.
Dublin.

142. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Privy Council. "Our last despatch being sent away but yesterday, other advertisements are come to us since, confirming the revolt of the Viscount Mountgarrett, with further defections in Munster, and a discovery of some matter of suspicion against a great personage in Leinster, pretending (as it seemeth by the advertisement) to marry one of Mountgarrett's daughters. The copies of these advertisements we send to your Lordships herewith, the one proceeding from a Privy Councillor of this estate, and another from a personage of good discretion, arriving here yesternight out of Munster, whose declarations for the matters of Munster and Mountgarrett are maintained also by others from other parts of the realm, and particularly from one whom we the Lords Justices did employ in these discoveries, whose report we send herewith, which maketh us the more confident to believe them, and thereby to gather more certainly the dangerous estate of the kingdom, declining in all the parts of it to an utter hazard of ruin, if Her Majesty do not without delay prevent it, by strong means of men, victuals, and money, to be sent forthwith out of England, and not to defer these helps upon any opinion that the perils of the realm may be temporized withal till the next summer, or that it is not seasonable now in the winter to set upon the rebels by prosecution, a matter which in our experience we know to be otherwise. For that in these months of the winter, whilst there is some store of horsemeat and mansmeat in the country, the soldier may find some relief and comfort in his service; where, in the months of March, April, and May, the country will yield him little food for himself, and less forage for his horse, for that the store of all provisions will be wasted and spent, as well by the soldiers as the rebels. So as to put over the prosecution till the next spring, is but to prevent the good that may be done in the winter time, and nourish the dangers of the realm to a time that we shall not be so well able to encounter them.

"And (with your Honours' favour) we see daily the distresses of the realm so to multiply in every part, by a general revolt of the Irish, pretending a general Irish quarrel for old titles and recovery of lands, long since lawfully evicted from them, and a staggering of others awaiting but time to break out, as we may say the realm is far more endangered now than ever it was, and hasteneth to an extreme hazard of losing, if Her Majesty do not presently send over strong succours of men, money, and victuals, together with a Deputy to take upon him the managing of the whole. And this if it be deferred, we dare give no assurance of the safety of this estate, which, in the uttermost discharge of our duty, we make bold to signify to your Lordships, most humbly beseeching you to think that, as we have hitherto tried our uttermost strength against these wicked alterations, so we would forbear now to press your Lordships thus far, if the greatness of the necessity and the present danger did not urge us thereunto. Wherein we submit ourselves to your Lordships' wonted honourable censure, humbly advertising your Lordships that, upon these sudden perilous occasions, which we see do apparently threaten to distress this city and castle of

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Dublin, which is the best part of the life of the kingdom, and the borders adjacent, we have no other remedy for the present than of such companies of horse and foot as are garrisoned in the counties of Dublin and Kildare, for defence of those countries, to raise some head to be laid at the Naas, near the mountains, and to be commanded by the Marshal. The list of which forces we send herewith to your Lordships, not having means of money or victuals to sustain them, other than such as we shall be able to draw from the country, with whom we are now to deal for a proportion of corn and beeves to be raised presently, with promise to pay them ready money upon the arriving of the next treasure, wherein we doubt much to prevail with them, considering how far Her Majesty is in their debt already for beeves and diet of soldiers; for the which we have often written to your Lordships, but never could be answered. Neither have we any direction or advice from the Lord Lieutenant, whose charge it is by his letters patent under the Great Seal of England to manage wholly these martial affairs, though his Lordship knoweth the strength and force of the rebels in these parts of Leinster, and our weakness in men and all other means to resist them. And by this your Lordships may see, as we have often written to you before, how hazardous and prejudicial it is to the course of the service, to have his Lordship reside as far from the seat of the estate, whereby there cannot be between him and us so much as ordinary correspondence and intelligence, at least not so frequent as were meet. In which point we hoped to be much relieved by the coming of the Marshal who, we expected, would bring directions for some special employment in the martial services, in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, who might be greatly eased thereby, if yet it would please your Lordships to address to him some authority therein, a matter which in our opinions would greatly further Her Majesty's service. And moreover, his Lordship being absent at the landing of the two last supplies sent out of England at two several times, and no direction left with us to dispose of them, although we did what we could to keep them together till his Lordship's coming, yet many of them ran away and scattered, to the no small diminution of their numbers, and loss in their arms. The like is of the treasure, which being left wholly to his Lordship's disposition, the dividend (*sic*) thereof is oftentimes deferred longer than were meet, by reason of his absence.

"We are bold to signify thus much to your Lordships of these late advertisements, and what for the present we are driven to do for preservation of these parts. But for a more resolute encountering of all dangers, and to cut off these rebellions as well in the root as in the branches, our opinion is, upon conference of the state of things here, that it is requisite for Her Majesty to have three royal armies, thoroughly enabled with all due means of money, victuals, and munition, all on foot at once and governed by skilful commanders, with Captains of worth and reputation. The one army to invade Ulster, and to rouse the great bear Tyrone in his own den, having besides a strong garrison to be settled at Lough Foyle, for

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the disturbing of him in those parts and curbing O'Donnell within his own country. Another army, compounded as before, to attend the prosecution of Leinster, and free those inner parts of the kingdom; and a third, to embrace the matters of Munster and Connaught, with some part of Her Majesty's ships of war, to lie off and on those coasts, for securing the harbours and to prevent the descent of strangers. But upon how many men of horse and foot these three armies shall consist, it will be hard for us to set down, considering we know not the certain strength of the rebels in the several Provinces, for that their numbers increase daily by new defections in every part. And therefore, considering how difficult it will be upon a sudden to raise and prepare there such a force as would suffice for these three armies; and for that the distresses of Leinster and Munster are of a nature not to endure so long a time; it may please your Lordships in the meanwhile to send away with all possible speed three thousand men, to be employed in Munster and Leinster, for the recovering of those two Provinces, till, towards the summer, it may please Her Majesty to send the rest for the invasion of Ulster; and the whole forces to come thoroughly armed and furnished, and put under the leading of Captains well-chosen. And for that your Lordships may see what is the strength of Her Majesty's army in this kingdom already, and upon what numbers it consisteth by poll, the Mustermaster doth now send to your Lordships an estate thereof, and how it is divided into English and Irish, together with the deficiencies for this half year ending at Michaelmas last, wherein we doubt greatly touching the general numbers extant. But we will precisely examine that point forthwith, which we could not do by this despatch, for that it was but this morning that he delivered it in. By comparing of which numbers expressed in his certificate, it may please your Lordships to consider the expediency of our demand to have the said 3,000 men sent over out of hand for the actions of Munster and Leinster, which presently are to be encountered by a far savager force than is here already, for that they are the Provinces which the Archtraitor Tyrone doth most shoot at, and doth bend thither most of his forces.

"We have this day received advertisement out of Connaught, confirming the revolt of the Earl of Thomond's brother, and his dangerous creation to the name of O'Brien, together with the revolting of the Earl's company of foot in Her Majesty's pay, who we hear, are all gone to the rebels, except his officers and some few soldiers. By which revolt (if it be true), the town of Galway will be in great danger; for preservation whereof we have now written to Sir Conyers Clifford, to thrust in some companies under his charge, being most English, for that the miscarrying of that town, lying so apt for the descent of the Spanniard, will greatly endanger those parts, besides the dishonour to lose a place of that importance.

"Touching the army before mentioned to be employed against Tyrone in Ulster, we are of opinion (under your Lordships' better advice) that, if the King of Scots might be wrought to send a force

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of Scots, such as he would be bound to withdraw them back again after the wars ended, it would be to good purpose for the suppressing of Tyrone, for that the Scots' nation, being inured to the manner of the Irish war, and specially to tread the bog and the bush, would do well, being mingled with English, to destroy their cattle, which would be a good step to their overthrow, being once destitute of their cows. Only we still wish that if Her Majesty and your Lordships shall think it good to have a force of Scots sent into Ulster, that they may rather consist of inland Scots than of Scots-Irish, and that they may be raised and sent by the King's authority, to the end that by his authority they may be revoked at all times, when it shall please Her Majesty.

"As this letter was written thus far, we received one from the Lord Lieutenant, wherein his Lordship still urgeth to have the Marshal, and the companies he wrote for before, to be sent to him, whose employment his Lordship writeth to be wholly left to himself, with a full power over all martial services, and to no other. This doth not a little trouble us, considering the great danger of these parts, and that we have no means, for want of money and victuals, to send them. But we hope upon our last letter, which we find was not come to his hands at the writing of his, he will consider more fully of these matters, and specially of the importance of these parts to be well defended; and we do now again write to his Lordship of that necessity, and of our purpose to send the Marshal and those companies to the Naas, who may be the more ready there to answer his Lordship, if he shall call them further; to whose consideration we have left it, and must of necessity obey his direction, how dangerous soever it be."—Dublin, 1598, November 3. *Signed. Endorsed*:—"Received at Westminster the 14 of the same." pp. 4. *Inclosure*,

142. 1. *Report by Henry Smyth on "the present state of Munster, as I did see and hear, upon Monday last past, being the 30th of October, 1598, viz.—*

"Mr. Wayneman's castle, having twenty men therein or thereabouts, and furnished with victual and other necessities, given up and yielded; the men, after they were gone from the house, were despoiled, and also upon the way near unto Cork were afterwards all slain; which I heard by a man of the Lord President's.

"Lieutenant Sanders' castle taken, and a soldier and his wife killed in the house.

"Mr. Hyde's castle of Karrigenedo taken.

"Mr. Marshal's castles of the Bruff and Adare taken.

"Mr. Harris his castle of Ballynecrenan taken, and all his goods burned and spoiled.

"Mr. Stovel's castle called Carregrohane by Cork taken.

"The Lord President's park broken down, and his deer let out, and his English sheep spoiled.

"The English town of Tallow burnt and spoiled, and all their goods lost.

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"The English town of Newtown spoiled by the enemy, where Mr. Cuff did dwell.

"Mr. Christie's castle delivered to the Lord thereof, an Irishman.

"The English that came out of Kerry and Desmond were despoiled of all they had, save only their clothes, and, coming to Cork their clothes were also taken away, and they left lamentably naked; insomuch that some died upon the mountains with cold.

"Many in great numbers abandoning their habitations from all parts of the country are bereft and spoiled of all they had, slain upon the ways in their repair unto Cork, where, within the churches and other places of the town, they remain in great misery and distress.

"At Youghal they are day and night in fear of losing the town. The enemy lieth so near about them, that the alarm is up very often both day and night. No man dareth to go one mile out of the town without loss of his head, which myself saw.

"Besides also, many I saw slain and wounded in coming to the town, near and about the town; which also (by report) is at other towns and places where the English flee for succour.

"Mr. Duff's castle called the Shane Castle, near Tallow, taken.

"Camphire castle, where Mr. Cotton did dwell, delivered to the Lord thereof, an Irishman.

"Sir William Herbert's castle in the Island of Kerry taken; some killed; the goods spoiled.

"Mr. Oughtred's castle taken.

"I further heard by credible report at Youghal that the rebels, coming to the castle of Askeaton, offered Captain Francis Bartley certain conditions, namely, that his wife and others should be safely conveyed to any port or place where he would, without any hurt, and also summoned him to deliver up the castle, which he refused, and told them that the castle was as rich and well furnished as ever it was in Desmond's time, bidding them do their worst; whereupon they assaulted it, at which time they were repelled (sic) with the loss of many of their men.

"Mr. Coultest[s] castle, being assaulted by the rebels, was defended, and they repelled with the loss of many of them, as I also did hear." Signed. p. 1.

142. II. ——— to [the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener]. What he learns from these rebels is, that at their last going to Munster they hoped for better success than fell out to them. They say Kilmallock and Limerick had been theirs, and that many more of the country had taken part with them, but for the unlooked-for coming thither of the Lord Lieutenant; further, that those who intended to deal treacherously with those two towns are known only to the sons of Thomas Roe Fitzgerald [marginal note:—"one of which is the proclaimed Earl of Desmond"]. Nevertheless, they are yet in good hope of them, and of their partakers. The intent of the

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rebels now is, to assemble all their forces and enter the Pale, to see who will take part with them there; for they have hopes of many. To that effect, and that O'Neill may assign a commander over them, they have determined to send to him to draw up into the borders of the Pale and to bring some 2,000 bonnaughts to be sent to that Fitzgerald in Munster. The time of their next assembly will be when they hear from O'Neill. The report among them is that Lord Mountgarrett will for certain be on their side, and also divers more of the Butlers. If a man may give credit to their vaunt and glory, they say all will be theirs, and that there are few, or none, but will take their part. "I cannot particularly learn by name as yet who they be they hope for, but I see daily from all places the loose inconstant-minded do flock to them, so as they are very many and very proud, but marvellous disordered, and hourly like to fall together by the ears, but that the devil himself preventeth it. Tyrrell is stayed in Munster to train those there which are as yet unskilful; and Burke [marginal note:—'the pretended Baron of Leitrim'] is in Ormonde, and hath placed his people there in bonnaught; and Onie is come to Leix [marginal note:—'This Onie is the chief of the Moores']. They are very close and circumspect in keeping counsel, and very loath to bewray it, but to such of sufficiency as they might be assured and sworn to take their part, unto whom they would not be loath to declare all such as do intend to be of their side, or that they hope for; and that which most grieves them is, that they have not a good, wise, substantial commander in these parts to govern them, which is all they want, as they think. When I shall learn further, I will be the messenger myself to your Honours, as well to inform as to declare mine opinion in those wars."—1598, November 1. Copy. pp. 1½.

142. III. "A list of the forces appointed to meet at the Naas, the 12 of November, to keep in bulk under the command of Mr. Marshal, and to be drawn further, as occasion may require." Foot, 1,600; horse, 244.—1598, November 4. p. 1.

Nov. 4.
Dublin.

143. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. Send copies of the King of Scots' letter to them, and of their answer thereto.—Dublin, 1598, November 4. Signed, p. ½. Inclose,

143. I. James, King of Scotland, to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. "Honourable friends, we greet you well. Whereas we are credibly informed that there is a report spread in those parts of a favourable letter, which is said to have been sent from us to Tyrone, to the encouragement of the rebel, and offence of the good subject; although we will not be accountable to any persons for any our writings or actions, yet we are content freely to profess, that such hath been our love to our dearest sister, and great respect to all her good subjects, that we have carefully avoided the least means of any just offence that might be offered to them. And therefore that letter which we wrote to Tyrone, in answer of another of his, we could wish that it might come to her hands, or to the sight of her

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best affected subjects. Yet it may be that it is falsified. We therefore desire you, if there be any copy given out (as we are informed), that it may be sent to us, for we cannot endure that abuse, as to be so traduced to our very friends. In the meantime we have thought good, for the better uttering of our affection, to make proclamation for restraining of all aid and furniture or provision, that may be sent to him from our coasts, which as we do purpose (God willing) to see it put in execution, so we have given warrant to Nicolson for the printing of it, that it may be dispersed in those parts, and give notice to every man how small the favour and help is that he may hope to have from us. And in respect it is given us to understand that some of the Irishry of Cantire (whither we do purpose to go very shortly), are a preparing to give some assistance to Tyrone, we are of mind to take such order (by God's help), as you shall not need to fear any danger from those parts."—Dalkeith, 1598, August 17. Copy. p. 1.

143. II. *The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to James, King of Scotland.* Acknowledge his letter of August 17, delivered to them by Mr. Hambleton on September 25. Are glad that it pleases His Majesty to make a princely justification of himself, "such as in congruent reason ought to satisfy the world." Will not fail to use their best industry to search out the letter to Tyrone, and also to encounter all sinister imputations that may be derived from the same. Are not a little glad at his restraint of aid to the rebels. Notwithstanding, have received credible advertisement that since that restraint there is come to the harbour of Lough Foyle a bark bringing powder and munition, and hath vented the same to the rebels. The principal party, as they understand, is one Fleming, of Glasgow, whose chastisement they leave to His Majesty's laws.—Dublin, 1598, October 12. Copy. p. 1.

144. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council.* "Immediately after the despatch of my man Sherewode, with letters to Her Majesty and your Lordships concerning the general revolt in Munster, I pursued by night the traitors Onie M'Rory, Redmond Burke, the Baron of Upper Ossory's nephews, with most of his country, the O'Carrolls, O'Mulrians, O'Kennedys, and others of the Irishry in the county of Tipperary, understanding they were before encamped, and hoped to have had the overthrow of them in M'Brian o Gonaght's country, were it not for secret intelligence they had the same night I marched towards them. Whereupon they dislodged before, and took the woods and mountains near them, with the loss of some of their men, and of 100 horses laden with the spoil they took from the undertakers and others before my coming to that Province. In my return towards Leinster, I understood the Viscount of Mountgarrett had a meeting not long before with the traitors Donnell Spainagh, the sons of Feagh M'Hugh, and other principal rebels of Leinster, with whom he combined, and is now entered into open rebellion with them. And within few days after their combination, have taken the sacrament (according their manner) at Bealaragged (Mountgarrett's principal house) to live and die together in these traitorous actions. At

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their first combination, the Baron of Cahir's wife (Mountgarrett's sister) was present on the behalf of her husband. Sithence which time I wrote to him upon his duty of allegiance, commanding his present repair unto me for the service of Her Majesty; which letters he contemned, and is of confederacy with the rest in these their treacherous actions, having with him secretly in his house the traitor, Doctor Magrath, a chief contriver of all these mischiefs, as was confirmed to me by the examination of divers. I am also advertised that Mountgarrett sent to the traitor Tyrone for 2,000 or 3,000 shot and pikes to come to these parts near Kilkenny, to strengthen themselves to the overthrow of Her Majesty's subjects. And this traitor Mountgarrett, in his pride, delivered speeches to one of credit, that he invited his brother-in-law, the Archtraitor Tyrone, this Christmas, to my house at Kilkenny (both of them being most unwelcome guests unto me), and many other brave speeches he used of his traitorous purposes. Whereby he sheweth his most malicious and wicked mind to Her Majesty and the State. All which, in discharge of my duty, I thought good to certify unto your good Lordships, humbly praying that the same may be presently imparted to Her Majesty; and that it would please your Lordships to be means to Her Highness for sending with all speed to Waterford at least 4,000 strong. These I mean besides them I wrote for from Youghal to be landed in Cork, to serve in Munster; and all to be sufficiently furnished with money, munition, and victual; the victuals for those in these parts of Leinster to be landed at Waterford, and for Munster at Cork and Limerick; which will admit no delay or the expense of any extraordinary charge, the rebellion being most violent, universal, and dangerous, threatening, without such speedy relief, the hazard of the whole kingdom."

Begs for some horse to be sent, as they have but very few, and the traitors are not without great force of the same. Also, that the horsemen's pay may be *18d. per diem*, as none hereafter will be got at the less rate of *12d.* Send copy of a portion of Sir Richard Bingham's letter concerning the same. Has long since heard of his arrival, but he is not yet come to him.

"My good Lords, I am ashamed and heartily sorry to see the poor soldiers, that serve Her Highness here, forced to travel in this bitter time of winter (save your Lordships' reverence) without hose or shoes, or almost any apparel meet for men; which the Captains refuse to supply, they having received but two months' lendings well near these eight months past; and, as they allege, no mean for them to come by their money, if they should lay out the same to supply the soldiers' wants; which I thought fit to make known to your good Lordships."

The Earl of Thomond's brother, Teig, with divers others of Thomond, is also in open rebellion, and has taken several castles. Send copy of letter from Mr. Justice Goold. Pray for the hastening away of the Earl of Thomond, who in time would have prevented this mischief. The Lord President's letter (copy of which is enclosed), also shows the state of Munster, and the treachery wrought against the town of Kilmallock. Begs for the

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hastening away of the numbers he has written for, without regard of the winter time. These are besides the forces it shall please Her Majesty to send the next spring. Those now in Ireland are thought to be 8,000 or 9,000, "being so garrisoned in the several places of the realm, where rebellion is maintained, and daily stirred up, in every part thereof, as they cannot be drawn together to any head for Her Majesty's service, which, by the last list of the state of the army, sent by the joint letters from the Justices and myself, may appear to your Lordships; making also humbly bold to give your Lordships to understand, that many of the Connaught and northern soldiers in Her Majesty's pay, being mere Irish, do daily run to the traitors, and others of them that attended me have, through long march and continual travel, fallen sick, and so for the time are unserviceable; their numbers in all not exceeding about 600 able men at this present to draw into the field.

"I wrote to the Mayor of Waterford, to certify me what ordnance belonging to Her Majesty were (*sic*) at Waterford; who returned to me there was none; which moveth me to entreat your Lordships that some few pieces for battery may be sent over, with skilful officers, carriages, and all necessities meet for the same. I am credibly advertised that the traitor James FitzThomas (by the rebels called Earl of Desmond) is in great expectation of Spanish forces very shortly to arrive, whereby the traitors in action are greatly animated; amongst other, the marine cities and towns, whereof Her Highness hath willed a special care to be had. I thought meet that Her Majesty's castle of Wexford (which hath a command of the whole town of Wexford) should be warded, wherein there was none before; and committed the charge thereof to Richard Masterson, with the allowance of ten warders in it for a time, until it shall please your Lordships to signify Her Highness's pleasure to allow, or disallow, thereof; which I humbly crave by your next letters. And for the gentleman himself, who is Seneschal of that county, I must say that he is very serviceable and of good desert, as by proof I have found; on whom, if it had lain in me, I meant to have bestowed a company of foot, and yet do continue my purpose therein, if it shall please your Lordships to leave the nomination of some Captains to me." Recommends the bearer, Captain Plunkett, and also the Baron of Dunboyne.—Kilkenny, 1598, November 5. *Signed.* [*Postscript in Ormonde's hand*]:—"I pray God I may live to see the utter destruction of these wicked and unnatural traitors, upon all whom, by fire, sword, or any other extremity, there cannot light too great a plague." *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 22nd. pp. 3. *Incloses,*

144. I. *Extract from Sir Richard Bingham's letter to the Earl of Ormonde, dated Dublin, 1598, November 2*:—"I brought over but 30 horse, whereof 25 I had allowance for to raise; and as the other 20 are behind in England coming after, so the rest which I should have had, to make them up [to] 100, are not supplied unto me here, neither can I procure them now, because they hear that the pay of 18d. is by late direction reduced to 12d." p. 1.

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144. II. James Goold to the Earl of Ormonde. "Upon Friday last, about five of the clock in the afternoon, I had an inkling that the town of Kilmallock was that night to be betrayed, and given up to the traitors, and learned the author's name that practised it. Whereupon I sent two several men, with several letters to the Captains there presently, and horsed them well, who (though they were all the way chased) came luckily to the gates of the town, before ten of the clock in the night, and having delivered their letters, the party was presently apprehended, and the soldiers stood upon their guard, where they were not an hour, when the enemy was descried upon the hill of Kilmallock, and finding that his purpose was prevented, he returned without making any assault or attempt, and so the town and company were preserved for (sic) that intended treachery. The party's name is James Daniell, one of the Lord President's foot company. He is yet a prisoner, until either your Honour or the Lord President do send some direction for it. The names of the rest of the 'combines,' nor the manner how this villainy should be effected, I cannot yet deliver to your Honour, for the party that brought me the intelligence will open no more, until he do first deliver it to the Lord President, although I charged him not to defer it, lest the rest should escape.

"The traitors be come into this barony of Clanwilliam, and do mean to encamp this night between Rathbane and Rathward, within a mile of this city. Teig Keigh M'Mahony, with three boats manned, is come in the river within half a mile of us, for what intent we do not yet know, but all here stand upon their keeping. John O'Connor and he command all this river. The expectation of Teig O'Brien's lewdness doth daily increase, for he maketh himself as strong as he can, and taketh all the castles he may in Thomond. The powder and furniture brought by Lawe into Thomond, under colour to land it in Bunrathy, doth greatly further their traitorous purpose. It is thought, and so I am advertised, that O'Donnell comes to these borders; whereof if your Honour can receive certain intelligence, it is necessary that some forces be sent hither. The cause I dare not write. Askeaton is safe enough; I have furnished their company with salt sufficient, and all other things they wanted; and I willed them, when the enemy were in the county of Cork, to prey those of the neighbours whom the traitors spared; and so they have done, and 'pouldred' their prey. One thing they have want of, which your Honour knoweth I here cannot supply, and therefore I wrote unto them to make much of their own store."—Limerick, 1598, November 3. Copy. p. 1.

144. III. Sir Thomas Norreys and George Thornton to the Earl of Ormonde. "We are advertised from Kilmallock that the companies of foot and horse under the leading of my brother Sir Henry Norreys, and Captain George Kingsmill's company of foot, appointed by your Lordship to repair thither long since, are not yet heard of there, nor upon the borders near them. There hath been lately a plot laid for the betraying of that town, but it was discovered and prevented. We are certainly informed that the

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traitors do bend all their forces against it, and do expect aid from Tyrone. If those companies were there, they would not only assure the town, but also hinder greatly the coming of strangers into this Province, and also be able upon advantages to do service upon the traitors. Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill's company, also, is not yet come to Youghal, which place is now in great danger, the most part of the English, which were there, being gone for England. We do therefore most humbly crave that your Lordship will hasten those companies with all possible speed to the foresaid places, and if your Lordship could with conveniency help us to any more companies, they would do Her Majesty great service. From hence we can advertise your Lordship of no goodness; the traitors in all parts commit most execrable mischiefs without resistance; and, if there may not be some resistance and head made against them, we know scarce any man or place that can be free from them. Some Englishmen we have put in Kinsale, and more we have provided to send thither; but we have no means to arm them and furnish them with powder, not having as yet received any from Waterford."—Cork, 1598, November 3. Copy. p. 1.

Nov. 5.
Kilkenny.

145. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. The bearer, Captain Plunkett, has been for a small time eye-witness of Ormonde's travels in Her Majesty's service. Recommends Sir Henry Power, who desires to have the same allowance that was granted to him whilst in command of the troops in Picardy.—Kilkenny, 1598, November 5. Signed. p. 1.

Nov. 5.
Kilkenny.

146. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. The revolt of Viscount Mountgarrett, the Baron of Cahir, and divers others. Heartily prays Sir Robert to "consider of this rebellious and most dangerous time," and to further the speedy sending of the supplies he has written for. Daily increase of the rebels' force. The army dispersed in several garrisons, far distant one from another, because of the universality of the revolt. Not above 600 able foot with him.—Kilkenny, 1598, November 5. Signed. Endorsed:—Received the 22 at Whitehall. p. 1.

Nov. 5.
Dublin.

147. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "It may please your Honour to give me leave to refer you to the general letter now sent, which is grounded upon sundry advertisements of fresh dangers increasing still to the utter hazard of this kingdom; which in particular I make bold to urge to your Honour, that by your means Her Majesty, taking knowledge thereof, may be drawn to consider of some further strength of men, money, and victuals, to be sent hither to encounter these storms, which I see do break out and rage above our strength. Her Majesty may find it strange that the men she hath here in pay already are not of force sufficient to suppress these rebels, being as yet but domestic enemies, not having any help of foreign power. But so are they multiplied in numbers in all the Provinces of the realm, as it may be said that the whole strength of the kingdom is with them, except Her Majesty's army; and yet in the army so many as are Irish are so doubtful and suspicious, as

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they are not to be trusted, if it should come to have a main blow stricken for the safety of the whole. And where in the general letter a greater strength of men is required to be sent from thence, it had been requisite withal to have certified some estimate of the force of the rebels, to the end that, having notice of their numbers, your Honours might thereby know how to apportion the further force to be sent. It is not possible to satisfy you in this point otherwise than by conjecture, wherein there cannot be but error, and that error cannot be but dangerous. Only this I say, that the fortune of the time having so long gone with the rebels hath made them all soldiers; yea, the churl and the horseboy are framed to the use of their weapons, as well as the kern, by which their numbers are greatly increased, besides many others, who yet stand in show of subjects, but in heart are corrupted, and ready to run with the rest when they shall see time, which are to be reckoned in the number of rebels. So as, the whole kingdom being become in effect the strength of the rebels, the like strength is requisite to suppress them, and to defer to send forces, is to make the recovery of the kingdom more difficult, and to increase the strength of the rebels, both in numbers and in pride.

"It is most requisite to send over a Deputy with all possible speed, whose presence and stirring amongst them will no doubt do much to break some of their greatest plots, if he come before they can put them in execution. And if he had been sent long since, I assure myself many of these later alterations had been prevented, which, till he come, will multiply and abound to greater extremity. If there be doubt made that this season of winter will be unfit for him, either to make his private provisions or to do good in the service, it may please you to give me leave to assure your Honour, upon my experience, that, if he be here by Christmas, he shall come in good opportunity for both, wishing that he would send before some discreet officer to make his provisions at the best hand, or else to write to some one or two of the Council to do it; for now is to be reserved for him a good quantity of port-corn and other helps, which, if he stay longer, will be taken up by those that now hold the place.

"Touching the Earl of Kildare, I see some suspicion conceived against him, more by surmise than upon good ground (as I think), for that I see not how by breaking his duty he can better his estate, but rather make it desperate for ever. By my next, your Honour shall understand further of this matter, for that I hope to discover him to the bottom."—Dublin, 1598, November 5. *Signed.* [*Postscript in Sir Geoffrey Fenton's hand*]:—"Mountgarrett hath a great sting of mind against the Earl of Ormonde, and hath married his son to a daughter of Tyrone. Whether of these two hath wrought most to seduce him to disloyalty, I know not, but I think the first is the greatest motive." pp. 2.

Nov. 5.
Bristol.

148. Henry Chillester (*sic*; Chichester in endorsement) to Sir Robert Cecil. His hurried departure from London. Has been detained many days in Bristol, waiting for a favourable wind.

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Knows his coming to Ireland is earnestly expected there, and that no less are the supplies for Munster desired. The need in that Province is all the greater, as the Lord Lieutenant has retired into his own country with Her Majesty's forces, leaving only a small company to guard the walled towns, which are all their refuge, the enemy possessing the whole country at his pleasure. Prays for speedy relief to be sent to Ireland. The Mayor of Bristol has received direction for transporting the men, but none concerning the powder and munition. Begs that present order may be taken that the latter be dispatched.—Bristol, 1598, November 5. *Signed. p. 1.*

Nov. 6.
Dublin.

149. Sir Richard Bingham to Queen Elizabeth. "Before my arrival here, the Lord General being gone into Munster, upon the revolt there, the Lords Justices in the meanwhile could not dispose of my service, by reason they had not power, and thereby I am stayed here still, the ways now being so shut up, as hardly can either the said Lords Justices send to the Lord General, or he to them.

"As the Province of Munster is thus in danger, the naturals of the country having thrust out the English inhabitants, so is Leinster in the same state and condition, that your Majesty's force for the one must be doubled to reduce both, and yet these two Provinces, being but newly fallen from your Majesty, may now at the first with far less charge be reduced (if forces were speedily sent over), than hereafter it can be, if the rebels be suffered to settle there. Corn is plentiful everywhere, which is much better were converted to find soldiers than left to the rebels, whereby they may plant in those countries, as assuredly they will, if they be not prevented, for this combination stretcheth far, and is now dispersed all the kingdom over, albeit that all the principal heads, whereof it consisteth, have not yet openly showed themselves. If your Majesty might be pleased to send over some strength presently to recover Munster, and the intended prosecution of Leinster [were] to go forward likewise, it were yet to be hoped that, before the spring, those countries might be brought about again to some reasonable terms. And likewise, if Tyrone might be touched, who is the author of these mischiefs, and now securest at home, it would (no doubt) breed a great alteration amongst the conspirators, which hold an opinion that your Majesty regardeth not the loss of your kingdom; and, because winter is so far onwards, which bringeth with it so many impediments, I think (under correction) it might be done by Scotland, from whence he might not only be impoverished by their forces, and haply some of his men cut off, but his relief of powder restrained, which, by conference had with a couple of Scottish gentlemen, which are of the College here, and other good probabilities, I presume I could allege good reason for, notwithstanding divers opinions and suggestions to the contrary; for Tyrone can no way be so easily chastised as by a more needy people than his own, which are next him, and which may be drawn over upon such assurance as they shall not fail in, if the King there be dealt withal accordingly. And these rebels have got such a fore

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hand now, and do daily so highly increase, as very famine must be the principal mean to pull them down. If Scotland did not succour Tyrone with powder, as Dublin and these other towns doth (*sic*) Leinster and now Munster, the traitors might soon be disfurnished, and the wars shortened.

"It is strange to see how suddenly our new English soldiers doth (*sic*) decay, for, of the last thousand, one fourth part are run away, and many of the rest so poor and simple as utterly unserviceable, which fault the Captains allegeth (*sic*) to be in the Justices of Peace and their inferior ministers, rather than in the Lieutenants of the shires, which, as well in the soldiers that runneth away as in the officer for his insufficient choice, I wish might be punished for the benefit of your Majesty's service hereafter."—Dublin, 1598, November 6. [*Almost the entire signature is wanting.*] p. 1.

Nov. 6.
Dublin.

150. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. "Because the Lords Justices and Council have now sent over a large despatch to your Honours of the calamities and troubles here, touching the general state of this kingdom, I will not be much troublesome to your Honour with my private letter now; only, for the present recovery of Munster, I wish your Honours might be pleased to procure sufficient means and supply to the Lord President there, lest otherwise it prove more dangerous than Ulster, considering how fit it lieth for the Spaniard's descent, and also in a great commiseration which is to be had of so many poor English there, which are all now turned to begging." Encloses his letter to the Queen (*see* No. 149). "Where I have moved the waging of some Scots, I doubt not but it is the next way to pull down Tyrone, and may be handled both with honour and safety enough; for otherwise, if the traitor lust, he will have them to serve against Her Majesty. We have many likelihoods that some of the great ones in the Pale will, ere it be long, show openly in this action, so as the action requireth both a greater head and to be better supplied unto, and that with very great expedition."—Dublin, 1598, November 6. *Signed.* *Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond the 11th of the same. p. 1.

Nov. 6.
Dublin.

151. Captain Thomas Reade to Sir Robert Cecil. Cannot make known unto him the disposal of the 800 soldiers, because the Lord General has not as yet been at Dublin; so they remain commanded and trained by conductors until his return, which is continually expected.

Will now discover to Sir Robert the present estate of Ireland, both by special and general report, and by his own observation. Tyrone, since the last disaster, has remained at the Blackwater fort. Sir Samuel Bagenall being appointed to the command and care of the northern towns and borders, it is reported that Tyrone is drawing into the Fews by Dundalk to confront him. Lord Mountgarrett is entered into Acham, laying claim to the Earldom of Ormonde. His eldest son is married to Tyrone's daughter; his eldest daughter to the Lord of Cahir, Sir Tibbott Butler's son; another sister to the Lord of Upper Ossory, and another to the best

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of the Devorrexes in the county of Wexford. His brother, Piers Butler, married Devorrex's sister, who died, leaving sons at men's estate. It is to be feared that all these will join with Mountgarrett, whom Tyrone has nominated general of all the traitors in Leinster.

Tyrone's treacherous practice has now taken effect in Munster, and the creation of a new Earl of Desmond has drawn together a multitude of idle and evil disposed persons, who have already manifested their villainy in such sort upon the undertakers, that he was credibly informed by one of Munster itself that he estimated the English to have lost in three days 40,000*l*. "And all the English, as men amazed, both better and worse, retire to the towns, and abandon their houses and places of manurance." What this will grow to, if speedy prevention do not frustrate their determination, he leaves to Sir Robert's judgment. Seeing the rebellion is dispersed throughout the kingdom, it were very requisite that an especial care should be taken for the safe guarding of the towns, and "not to leave them to the trust of a company of perfidious people." No means so good as the placing commanders and garrisons in every town, and the election of "some worthy personage fit to manage the present state of this distempered kingdom." Otherwise, the sequel will, in very short time, be very prejudicial and dishonourable to Her Majesty.

"My Lord General, by reason of his age, is unfit to prosecute the service. The Lords Justices, as men unacquainted with martial actions, are amazed, not knowing what to put in execution. Sir Richard Bingham, the Marshal, hath been sick since his repair over, and not able to draw into the field. And so to deal plainly with your Lordship (*sic*), I see Her Majesty at great charges with multitudes of men, and her service little advanced; for the enemy every day groweth stronger and stronger, and the English weaker, the subject continually burned and spoiled, and the enemy receiveth little hurt.

"Sir Arthur O'Neill, old O'Neill's son, being apprehended by Tyrone in regard of the suspicion that he was well-affected to Her Majesty, hath of late made an escape from Tyrone, and hath, upon the coming into his own country, assembled his followers and forces. Tyrone, sithence his escape, hath entertained a parley with him, and there is for a certain time a truce between them.

"I have of myself, knowing him to be the only instrument in those parts to bridle Tyrone, with the assistance of a good garrison in Lough Foyle, if Her Majesty be so intended, practised the conveyance of a letter unto him, delivering him my opinion of the favour he might attain unto, and the great benefit he were likely to reap, if he would stand firm unto Her Majesty, and how Her Majesty would countenance him with a strong garrison at the Derry, or where else he would think most convenient, Her Highness standing assured of his obedience and faithful service.

"Sir Arthur O'Neill, as it is reported, in this late parley between Tyrone and him, demanded the liberty and release of his brother-in-law, Tirlogh M'Henry, and of his sister being Tirlogh's wife, both

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which are prisoners with Tyrone."—Dublin, 1598, November 6. *Signed. pp. 2½.*

Nov. 7.
Dublin.

152. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the Privy Council. Upon receiving Sir Nicholas Walsh's letter, the copy whereof is sent in the general despatch, they sent for the Lords, Sheriffs, and chief gentlemen of the counties of Dublin and Kildare, to assemble at Dublin this day, to consider of a course for some provisions to be made for the soldiers intended to be laid at Naas under the Marshal. The Lord of Howth, with the rest of the county of Dublin, appeared accordingly, but for the county of Kildare there appeared none. The Earl of Kildare wrote this day, excusing his not coming by reason of a fit of sickness fallen upon him yesternight. Send copy of his letter, leaving his excuse therein (which they much dislike) to their Lordships' consideration.

Have just received an advertisement from Colonel Egerton, lying in garrison at Dundalk, that he heard about the borders of the landing of seven ships in Lough Swilly, who are given out to be Spaniards, and amongst them one great ship supposed to be sent before by Tyrone into Spain. The advertisement goeth further, that Tyrone, hearing of these ships, made thither in great haste, being before determined to draw to the borders of the Pale. Hope by their next to give more certainty thereof, "only we find that this bruit, spread abroad by the Irish, doth much harm to the service."—Dublin, 1598, November 7. *Signed. pp. 1½. Inclose,*

152. 1. *Sir Nicolas Walsh to [the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener]. "I am to deliver you such advertisements as I have since the revolt of James FitzThomas and his brother, with other Munster rebels. The whole Province is in manner risen, some of them of good countenance giving way, and other (as they sent hitherward) dissembling with the rebels until they may be assisted with Her Majesty's forces, and excusing this their course by the dissolving of the Lord President's army before the coming of the Lord Lieutenant hither, the cowardly abandoning of their houses by the undertakers, and lastly the relinquishing of them by my Lord Lieutenant, [and] a general denouncing of all those to be prosecuted that do not rise with them. No county in Munster [is] freed from secret conspiracies, in such sort as all places are unpassable for any faithful subject, and in especial for all that wear hose or breeches, after the English manner.*

"In Leinster I doubt not but your Lordships have heard of Mountgarrett's certain revolt; with whom [are] divers of the highest calling in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and some in the county of Wexford. It is delivered unto me from one secret to Mountgarrett's counsel, that he hath three daughters, whereof one is to be bestowed upon him that the rebels have named Earl of Desmond, another upon the Earl of Kildare, and the third upon Onie M'Rory. He pretends his sudden stirring to be for unkindness received at the Earl of Ormonde's hands, and so [to] have

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protested to his ghostly father upon his knees; but I do find that ambition to be Earl of Ormonde by the support of Tyrone is his chief motive. He expects for greater forces from Ulster, and hath the townships in so great hate, as it is secretly given out that, ere it be long, we shall hear of some secret attempts towards them, and especially to Kilkenny, Thomastown, and Ross. The height of the waters do (sic) as yet hold the western rebels from invading the county of Waterford, or such at least as they shall not list to spare, and the Viscount, with his, comes from the county of Kilkenny. If Her Majesty's forces be not the sooner landed, many a doubtful subject will revolt; and some, that would be firm, will either make fair weather with them, or be quite undone. I beseech your Lordships, let not my advertisements be publicly read, as from me in this Council, because I fear my life, which is threatened even in this city, among my kinsmen and friends; yet may they be (if your Lordships shall think it good) sent into England, as that which is either very manifest, or signified unto me from men that love myself, and are some of this wicked alteration. James Archer, whom they nominate Father Archer, is a chief stirrer of these coals, and promises to many the coming of forces from Spain."—Waterford, 1598, October 30. Endorsed:—Received, 4 November Copy. pp. 2.

152. II. *The Earl of Kildare to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. Is prevented by sickness from repairing to Dublin. Will very willingly attend when he is better. Meantime will yield his uttermost furtherance to any course of service resolved on by their Lordships.*—Maynooth, 1598, November 7. Copy. p. ½.

Nov. 7.
Dublin.

153. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Intelligence is come to the Lords Justices this day that the pursuivant, by whom I sent the letter, which I received in your last, directed from the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex to the Lord President of Munster, written by Her Majesty's commandment in a matter concerning her service (as your Honour then wrote) is, since his departure, taken by certain of the Butlers now in rebellion, and that letter likewise intercepted by them, whereby the Lord President is frustrated of the same. The pursuivant carried also at the same time many letters and despatches from the State here, as well to the Lord Lieutenant as Lord President, concerning Her Majesty's present affairs in those parts, which have all received the like mishap, and are now in the rebels' hands. Of this I have thought meet to give your Honour knowledge with the best speed I could, to the end that it may please you to cause the same letter to be doubled, and to send it by the way of Bristol, holding that far more safe and convenient than to commit it to the hazard of the passages through the country here, wherein I assure your Honour, it can hardly escape the rebels, so general are the stirs and dangers of every part of that whole tract between Dublin and Kilkenny. And so leaving it to your Honour's better advice, and being sorry that I am still driven to certify such cross events out of this unhappy place, I most humbly take my leave." [*Postscript.*]—"I received this letter from

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your Honour the 24th of October last, and the 25th I sent it to the Lord President by the pursuivant; and yesterday I received advertisement that the pursuivant and all his letters were taken by the rebels as aforesaid; so as your Honour may see there was no delay used after the letter came hither, neither could there be a more safe way to convey it."—Dublin, 1598, November 7. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Nov. 7.
Dublin.

154. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Henry Smith, hath received here five pounds, given to him more of grace than of necessity, to carry the packet, inasmuch as that turn might have been answered by the stand post, whose charge it is. But, for saving of further extraordinary charges for postage of packets from hence, it were good your Honour would command me by your next letter to see the despatches from hence sent by the ordinary post, and not by special messengers, which is but a needless charge to Her Majesty, which, upon such a letter from you, I doubt not to stop from henceforth, or at least to see that particular messengers shall not pass so frequent as they have done, to Her Majesty's charge.

"Touching the Spanish ships mentioned in the joint letter to be landed at Lough Swilly, I hear no further of that matter as yet, which maketh me doubtful of the truth of the advertisement, neither do I think that Spain will employ any great force of men into the north of Ireland, which aboundeth with more difficulties and impediments than the Spaniard can endure. But it is likely he will hold on his former purpose to send to these rebels money and munition to entertain the rebellion, and keep Her Majesty still entangled; and to that end, it may be a small bark or two may be arrived in Tyrconnell, according the advertisement, or else it may be a Scottish bark, which Tyrone sent into Spain this last summer, under the charge of one Fleming an Irishman, of whom and his going into Spain I made discovery, and did write thereof to your Honour in August last."—Dublin, 1598, November 7. *Signed. p. 1.*

Nov. 7. 155. "The points which Her Majesty is to afford him that shall be sent to recover Ireland."

"A large and liberal commission.

"1,000 horsemen.

"12,000 footmen.

"Extraordinary pays for a General of the horsemen and a Lieutenant for him; for an assistant to the Marshal; for a Serjeant-Major, and Quartermaster, and for 16 Colonels.

"12 pieces of great artillery, with 6,000 great shot, and all necessary belonging to the ordnance.

"150 last[s] of powder, with match and lead proportionable to a 100 last[s].

"20,000 tools to work withal.

"6,500 spare arms.

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"A proportion of timber planks, and all necessities for building, to be sent for Ulster and Connaught.

"Victual and apparel for this army for a year.

"Treasure for to maintain the war one year.

"Levies to supply them as they shall decay.

"Some three or four of Her Majesty's lesser ships, and 6 fly-boats to lie there; the one to command the coast, and the other to transport all necessities from place to place.

"To make up the horsemen, Her Majesty is to allow, for the levying of so many as there doth now want of that number, the same rates that Sir Richard Bingham and Sir Samuel Bagenall had.

"To make up the footmen, 2,000 out of the Low Countries, the rest the best that can be gotten in England."

Endorsed:—"1598, November 7. Project of an army for Ireland." p. 1.

[Nov. 7.]

156. Note of letters written from the Lords Justices of Ireland.

The suggestions for the release of Captain Cosby. Captain Constable cannot be exchanged without the payment of 1,000*l.*, besides the pledge of James M'Sorley's base brother. Discharge of John Traves, late Clerk of the Victuals for the forces under Sir Samuel Bagenall. During the time of his employment he received no part of the entertainment appointed for him, and is now referred to the Privy Council for payment. The said Traves has yielded to the Surveyor an account of such victuals as were under his charge. Proposal for increase of the horsemen's pay from 12*d.* *per diem* to the former rate of 18*d.* *per diem*. Mr. Weston, the Mayor of Dublin, recommended.—[1598, November 7.] p. 1.

Nov. 8.
Dublin.

157. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Earnest commendation of the good service of the bearer, Robert Newcomen, Surveyor of Her Majesty's Victuals in Ireland.—Dublin, 1598, November 8. *Signed.* p. 1.

Nov. 8.
Dublin.

158. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. That he may be preferred to the government of Carrickfergus. Has sent the "particularities" of the same to Mr. Maynard, now general overseer of the musters.—Dublin, 1598, November 8. *Signed.* p. 1.

Nov. 10.
Richmond.

159. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. Ormonde's advertisements of the miseries of Munster and Leinster, and those of the Lords Justices on the difficulties and extremities of all things in all places, to Her Majesty's no small grief, considering the insupportable charges expended in Ireland. Her Majesty's resolve to bethink her of all possible remedies. She is infinitely displeased at the slowness of the Mustermaster's certificate. In respect of the difficulties of conveying treasure from Dublin to Munster, she is pleased to send a portion thereof directly to Cork, whither are destined part of her forces newly provided for that Province, being in all 2,000 foot, who are appointed to embark on November 15, if

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wind and weather serve. Some deputy to be sent to Cork to be resident there. Also, there is delivered to their Lordships' deputies the sum of 20,000*l.*, besides 12,000*l.* more, which is now in telling at the Receipt, and should all have been sent, but that the miseries in Munster, and this sudden sending of forces, compels some portion of that treasure to be sent thither.

"Thus may you consider whether to a Prince that cannot once in five or six months be advertised of the state of her army (in other kind than by way of universal complaint that she pays more by half than she hath), these great sums (considering the defalcations she must expect for victual, apparel, and munitions sent) be not to be reckoned good and liberal remedies to the State. But I will leave to trouble your Lordships any further with these letters, which do forerun such directions as you shall have more authentic (*sic*), presuming yet that these shall not discontent you, because they will assure you that your letters are received, and the State no way neglected. Only I will now touch Her Majesty's allowance of your proceeding with those archtraitors, who did conspire against the State in Dublin, under pretext of voluntary offers to do service on the rebels' side by discovery of his plots and practices, allowing very well of the speedy execution of them for terror to all such traitors, and of pardoning him whom you know to have been the revealer of the same unto you. Wherein I do think myself beholden to you, Sir Robert Gardener, for your private letters concerning the same, having also apprehended Power here in London, whom Lapley acquainted with his treason, as now he hath here confessed. There is one John Owyn privy to this practice in Ireland, as Power confesseth, who was a serjeant of Lapley's band. I pray your Lordships let me know what is become of all the store that was left in Waterford of arms and munition, and what it is, and of what kind, not doubting but you will in the meantime supply the wants of that Province with some powder from the State, if at Waterford there be none amongst the other magazines."—The Court at Richmond, 1598, November 10. [*Postscript.*]—"Whereas your Lordship, the Lord Lieutenant, have (*sic*) a purpose to withdraw out of Munster the company of Captain Flower, upon the coming thither of Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill's company, Her Majesty is pleased that, if Captain Flower's company be withdrawn, that (*sic*) some other shall be sent instead of it." *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 91^b, 92. *Copy. pp. 2.*

Nov. 15.
Dublin.

160. The Lord Justice Loftus to the Privy Council. Recommends the offers of service made by Captain Francis Barkley. Askeaton Castle is of great importance, and much thirsted after by the rebels. Captain Barkley, being one of the sons of Sir Maurice Barkley, is already well known to their Lordships. His good service for many years past. Sends on this letter by the only bark remaining in Dublin harbour, as the tide serves, though his "fellow," Sir Robert Gardener, is riding in the country, to take the air. Their Lordships may further see, by the copy of Captain Barkley's letter, the

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now distressed and miserable estate of Munster.—Dublin, 1598, November 15. *Signed.* pp. 1½. *Incloses,*

160. I. Captain Francis Barkley to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. “I doubt not but the miseries of the poor English inhabitants of these parts have been at large signified unto you, as also the general revolt of almost the whole Province. That which concerneth me in particular to advertise to your Lordships is the present estate of this Her Majesty’s Castle of Askeaton, where I now am, environed with neighbours that seek always to disadvantage us, and preventing all means that may minister us any relief.

“The revolt of the country was sudden and unexpected, my provision only fitting a private gentleman’s house. The English that neighboured me (on Friday, the sixth of October, for that was the day of the country’s destruction), between nine of the clock at night and eight the next morning, came, of gentlemen and others that had lived in good sort, and few that maintained not a household, into the Castle, not so few as five hundred men, women, and children, who brought nothing with them, for the most part, but such things as the extremity of their fear would give them leave to lay their hands on; a spectacle, I protest unto your Lordships, of the greatest pity and commiseration that ever my eye beheld, and a most notable example of human frailty. Some of these I made means to send to an English bark, that then by chance was in the river of Shannon; others I sent to Limerick, where they were received and well used by the Mayor and city, for which they deserve great thanks. The remain, which are some six score very able men, I have retained, by advice from my Lord General for the defence of Her Majesty’s house. If it please your Lordships that I may have entertainment for them, I doubt not but to do Her Majesty very good service with them, for their bodies are acquainted with the country service, and their minds prepared to revenge their wrongs. With these I shall be able to defend Her Majesty’s house, notwithstanding all their minds and hearts are set against it, so as your Lordships will send me victuals and munition to maintain us. And if there come a garrison hither besides of five hundred men, I hope to make very good means to give them good relief of corn and beeves, for the country is yet very rich. The place is of great importance for Her Majesty’s service, and won from the Earl of Desmond to Her Highness’s great charge. If it please your Lordships to give me means, I will keep it for Her Majesty against all Ireland. If you will not presently provide for me, I cannot longer keep these men together, who were better [to] adventure themselves abroad than starve here. My Lord General promised to supply me, but left me furnished but only with that promise.” Refers the consideration of the place to their Lordships.

“I was three days besieged by the rebels, who, upon the report of the Lord General’s coming, raised their siege, and left me. Now the enemy is returned, with great speeches of their purposes against the place. God and Her Majesty will, I doubt not, defend us, with

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your Lordships' good provision and care, that have the managin^g of this kingdom under Her Highness. My lands are wasted and burnt, my goods all taken away, that are without the Castle gate. There remaineth but my life, which shall be bestowed in Her Majesty's service." Has formerly written to their Lordships, but cannot hear of his messenger.—Askeaton, 1598, November 3. Copy. pp. 2.

Nov. 16.
Clonmel.

161. Edward Goeghe to Sir Nicolas Walsh. "It pleased my Lord Lieutenant General, for causes of service, to grant me warrant to parley with rebels and traitors; and the Baron of Cahir being then but newly revolted from his duty, I sent to him, being my near neighbour, that if I could be assured to go and come safe, that I would for his good willingly speak with him, who sware to my messenger that myself, and such as I took with me, should safe go and come. Thereupon I went to Cahir, having Mr. George Sherlock and others with me, where some speeches passed betwixt us, wherewith I thought fit to acquaint your worship.

"After that we tarried in the orchard there two hours (for into the house we were not admitted), there came down towards the chamber there twenty shot, and next to them one bare-headed, next to him the traitors' Bishop Crah, and James Archer, and next to them Cahir himself, and after him three score shot and pike. When they were awhile within that chamber, and a way made for me and such as went with me to pass, we entered thereinto, and went presently towards Cahir, who scarcely spake two words unto me, when Crah came abruptly upon Mr. Sherlock and me, and in very great fury thundered out these words: that we were so proud and puffed up, as we knew not God nor good manners; having no cause to be so moved, but for that we did not salute him and his fellow Archer; and then reviled me in speeches all the ways he might. I told him that he was a man of rude entertainment, and, if he was an orator, that he was out of his theme. He asked what brought me thither. I answered, to speak to him that hitherto I found my good neighbour, the Baron of Cahir. 'Why then must you speak to us,' meaning thereby himself and Archer, 'for in secret you shall not speak, nor any answer can you receive from him, but what we shall direct him.' Then I asked Cahir whether it was so or not; who answered that he was to be ruled by those holy fathers. 'I am sorry,' said I, 'that you are so bogged, for I thought ever hitherto that you had capacity to answer for yourself.' 'Tell on,' said they, 'the cause of your coming.' 'I would,' said I, 'speak to my Lord of Cahir.' 'In secret, I may not,' said he, 'therefore speak openly.' 'Then, sith it must be so, I say to you, Lord of Cahir, that my duty to Her sacred Majesty, my most gracious sovereign and mistress, and my love to my poor country, hath now brought me hither, to remember you how your ancestors continued their loyalty to their natural princes, Kings of England and Ireland, who gave your predecessors lands and honour, which you hitherto possessed, and that no foreign prince nor prelate bestowed the same; therefore, ere you go further in this new

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action, look back and remember your duty and loyalty; and no doubt but you shall find Her Majesty most gracious as ever she hath been.' 'Your behaviour first, and now your speeches do show,' said Archer, 'what a bad man you are; and had not this holy father spoken to you as he did, I would have said twice more to you;' and therewith drew near-me, and disarmed me. Then called I to Cahir, for I thought it was high time to remember his promise and oath, who said I should take no harm. Archer, being told by Mr. Sherlock that it was not meet, coming upon a parley, that I should be so used, said that Crah, who spake unto me, was the greatest in this action of any out of the north of Ireland, and that he suspected the speeches that Crah gave me might move me desperately to dispatch him, and that was the cause of the taking of my weapon; and further said that such as had abbey lands, as myself, Mr. Sherlock, and others, must now forego them, because the Church was restored, and that all such as were allowed to keep priests in their houses, must now within a short time come to join with them openly, or else the priests should be excommunicated, and the Catholics which kept them should be accounted either schismatics or heretics, as I was, and that this was a canon set down in their consistory. I answered that he was no God, nor yet true prophet, and that it was not possible for him to know my religion or conscience, having never before spoken to me, and that I know (*sic*) their canons would prove most ridiculous. 'Say you so?' said he, 'look for it, ere be Christmas day next, you shall see most wonderful things, and ere Easter day we doubt not but we, and such as be of our Catholic confederacy, shall be masters and commanders of all the cities, towns, and forts in Ireland.' 'Sir, I hope,' said I, 'that that is too too hard for all you to compass, and I doubt not but to see the contrary.' 'What,' said he, 'marvel not at it, for we and the nobility Catholic have resolved, before our entry so openly into this action, from which we have been suppressed these many years, upon three points. First, to restore the Catholic Church to all purposes as heretofore it hath been; secondly, to remove the injuries and wrongs done by English Governors and officers to the Catholic nobility and gentlemen of this land of Ireland, and to settle every one of them in his right and lands; thirdly, to have a Catholic prince of our own country, that shall be sworn to maintain all these things.' 'In good faith,' said I, 'you speak of matters that you cannot, nor shall, God willing, perform, and you build castles vainly in the skies.' He told me that I was bold and saucy, and bestowed many other such rude liber[t]ies upon Mr. Sherlock and me, which I will now omit. But, at my departing, I spake to Cahir thus, that I knew he was one that took pleasure in reading of stories, and that it would please him to remember how the Bishop of Ely stirred the Duke of Buckingham to arms against King Richard, which Bishop so soon as he left him with his forces in the field, understanding that the King was coming with a puissant army, ran away and left the Duke there; who, being forsaken of his company, was taken prisoner, and after lost his head. 'Nay,' said Crah, 'I looked for

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no better matter to proceed from you,' and Archer bid us in great anger to get away, which we did with all the haste that we might, and so, God be thanked, came safe home." — Clonmel, 1598. November 16. [*Sherlock certifies that Crab and Archer spake to them as aforesaid. Goeghe and Sherlock subscribe themselves "loving cousins" to Sir Nicolas Walsh.*] Copy. pp. 3.

Nov. 17.
Whitehall.

162. Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Ormonde. Long before his Lordship's letter of October 21 arrived, Her Majesty was fully advertised of the revolt in Munster, and commanded 2,000 men to be sent thither. These, Sir Robert doubts not, are now ready to embark. Ormonde's letter to Her Majesty, with the journal of his proceedings, was well accepted, as far as concerned his Lordship's care and pains, "though it did not a little trouble her to think what a pride those rebels were in, when her General was forced to retreat, for lack of means to resist them. Wherein Her Majesty is sorry to think how easily this might have been prevented, if any care had been taken beforehand to have sent some horse or foot thither in this suspicious time. The Justices likewise have written a letter full of complaints, representing their lacks of treasure, which Her Majesty hath supplied, having appointed thirty thousand pounds for that kingdom, whereof the most part is already delivered to the Treasurer's deputies, saving that we are constrained presently to send over 2,000*l.* with those men that go to Munster, by reason of the difficulty you have to send from Dublin, and that there is no Treasurer there as yet appointed; for which purpose my Lords have written to the Lords Justices and Council to send both victuallers, commissaries, and some deputy treasurer, seeing great numbers are to be employed in that Province. Furthermore, my good Lord, it appeareth, by the Justices' letters, that your absence from them is a great grief unto them, in respect of the lack they have thereby of your direction, without whom they forbear to proceed almost in anything. This being the dangerous state of that kingdom, and Her Majesty taking it to heart that, with the charge of nine or ten thousand men, she is in no place able to defend herself, she is pleased to bethink her of sending some great person out of her kingdom, whereunto the Earl of Essex is named, as a nobleman that will be greatly followed, and feared; but there is not as yet any perfect conclusion of the same. And therefore I write it to your Lordship only in particular, which you may keep to yourself, till I write it unto you upon better ground."—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 17. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 92^b, 93. Copy. pp. 1½.

Nov. 17.
Whitehall.

163. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Norreys. "It hath not been a little grievous to Her Majesty to find that Province under your charge so much wasted by the rebels, against whom so weak, or rather cowardly, head was made by the undertakers. I presume, if you had not been merely left naked of help, this great disaster would not have happened, and I doubt not but, upon the arrival of new supplies, the good subject will receive comfort, and the revolted turn back again. Wherein you, that know the discord and private

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malices amongst them, will use, I doubt not, all good industry and discretion to sever them, and as you shall find any of value, and worthy the receiving back again, to give them comfort of Her Majesty's favour and grace, so as they ask it upon penitent and humble conditions, and be likely to hold in and deserve it." Two thousand men are being sent into Munster, with victuals; directed to land at Cork or Kinsale. Hope this provision will be husbanded, and the due defalcations made. Sir Thomas is to appoint some honest commissary for the musters, until there be some officer sent from Dublin. The Privy Council have written to the Justices to send certain officers to Munster, hoping that in the meantime Sir Thomas will have care of all things for Her Majesty's benefit, seeing the trust of all that Province is thus commended unto him, and the forces only sent over, but their employment left to himself. His company of 100 foot is to be increased, as he desired, to 200, for which purpose Mr. [Captain Ferdinando] Kingsmill will bring him over as much money as the country affords in like cases for arming and setting forth of 100 [men]. His horse shall also henceforth be entered for 12*d.* sterling [*per diem*], and Mr. Kingsmill receives, as desired, 100*l.* imprest. Cannot say with certainty yet whether Sir Thomas's thirty horse shall be made fifty. Doubts not but that he will beyond all things see good care taken to strengthen the towns, and use all means to preserve such victual from the rebels as is not already spoiled, to serve the army that shall be employed in Munster. Is of opinion that neither Condon nor the White Knight will be unconformable, if they be well dealt withal when forces arrive.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 17. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 93, 93^b. *Copy.* pp. 14.

Nov. 19.
Whitehall.

164. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. Her Majesty, having been lately informed of the escape of Sir Arthur O'Neill from Tyrone, has commanded him to "remember" them, how fit it would be that some course were taken to assure O'Neill of Her Majesty's favour, and assistance against the traitor, and withal to nourish all possible diffidence between Tyrone and him. Her Majesty would do any reasonable thing to draw him from Tyrone. Not knowing whether divers particular letters sent by him of late have miscarried, thinks it not amiss to send copies (*wanting*) of those whereof the miscarriage might be prejudicial.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 19. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 93^b, 94. *Copy.* p. 1.

Nov. 20.
Whitehall.

165. [Lord Howard], Lord High Admiral of England, and Sir Robert Cecil, to John FitzEdmonds. Acknowledging, in Her Majesty's name, his continued loyalty amidst the general revolt in Munster. She will be ready at all times to protect him against any false and malicious accusations.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 20. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 94. *Copy.* p. 4.

Nov. 20.
Kilkenny.

166. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Sir Charles O'Carroll's suit for a company of 100 foot.—Kilkenny, 1598, November 20. *Signed.* *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 19th of January. p. 1.

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Nov. 20.
Dublin.

167. Captain Thomas Reade to [Sir Robert Cecil]. "Right Honourable, sithence my last directed unto your Lordship, the state of Ireland rather paireth than amendeth. Sir Richard Bingham, the 15th of November, departed Dublin towards the Naas in the county of Kildare, where it was appointed that the *rendezvous* should be for his troops, which consist of 1,200 foot [and] 240 horse, for the defence of the counties adjoining. The fort in Leix is to be victualled. My Lord of Ormonde expecteth that the Marshal should relieve it, and to that effect he hath written his letters, and withal inserteth that the force of the enemy is such that he shall not be able to join with him, but persuadeth the Marshal to be well upon his guard in his march to the fort, for that the enemy intendeth to impeach the passage, if any way he may. My Lord General is, as it should seem, unwilling to undertake the action, but putteth it off unto the Marshal. There is late intelligence that the fort of Leix is victualled for five weeks yet to come, so that I think that journey is deferred for a time. The Marshal is accompanied with forces in number sufficient, but many new and inexperienced soldiers, wherein will consist the peril of the journey, when as he shall undertake the action, for the voice is that the enemy will assemble out of all parts of Ireland against that intended purpose of the victualling of the fort.

"Tyrone is drawing up unto the borders of the Pale. The report is that Sir Arthur O'Neill and Tyrone are agreed; Sir Arthur temporising, and expecting, as I judge, some forces the next summer to be landed in Lough Foyle; in the interim making benefit of the time to serve his own turn, rather than constrained by the fear of Tyrone's forces, or moved by any particular love or respect towards Tyrone, either any of his, to this agreement. The composition between Tyrone and Sir Arthur O'Neill is, that Tyrone shall have the service of his men, and the finding of his bonnaughts; but, for the service of his own person, he is left at liberty, and not tied to answer Tyrone's service with his own presence. And Sir Arthur standeth much upon the release of his brother-in-law, Tirlogh M'Henry, and his sister, which men say is granted unto him.

"There is an intention in this their combination to create a Viscount Baltinglas, being persuaded thereby to draw into this action many of the gentlemen of the county of Kildare, being of that alliance; which truly, being by them performed, will, give great advancement to this their bad and treacherous pretended action.

"James FitzPiers, Sheriff of the county of Kildare, a man of good service, is not favoured by my Lord General, and feareth much the burthen of his Honour's displeasure; and it is to be supposed that he will be upon his guard, and that, during the time of my Lord General's authority, he will neither trust my Lord General nor the State. So, some being possessed with fear of their own security, most being apt and willing to fall from Her Majesty's obedience, there is small trust unto any, for there is a general revolt and treachery intended amongst them all."

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The 800 soldiers last transported were, by the Council's direction, to be disposed of on their landing by the Lord General, to whom divers letters have been written. Many of the supplies are not yet put over; many are run away, and enticed away by Captains, whose companies are weak, without order or authority from the State to receive them. The Lord General's coming to Dublin is uncertain. By view of the list of Her Majesty's forces, the army is great, and yet there are such preposterous courses held, the army being subject to the command of two authorities, that it may easily be discerned that Her Highness's expense is very chargeable, and yet the wars managed to small purpose or effect.

Sir Henry Warren, by treachery of some of his own people, lost his castle of Bellibrittone in Offally, but by the valour of his Constable it was recovered, and both his own men killed, who would have held it for the enemy. Crohorne, a castle of Sir Thomas Moore's, was, that morning that Bellibrittone was betrayed, surprised by a *scalado*, and the enemy entered into his house before he had intelligence, by reason of the treachery of his watch.

"Captain Gifford and his wife, coming the night before unto his house, Captain Gifford was there slain, his wife, seeking to save her husband by prostrating herself upon him, was in many places sore wounded. Sir Thomas Moore received a shot upon his body, and is past hope of escape. My Lady Moore was taken away by the enemy, and some report that she is dead. Sir Thomas Moore's eldest son chanced to be away that night, and his wife, my Lord Chancellor's daughter, her chamber being assaulted, escaped by the valour of Captain Gifford's lieutenant, who did very stoutly defend the place where she was, and by that means saved the castle.

"My Lord of Mountgarrett, the 14th of November, was protected by my Lord General for 21 days; so that by this course which is now holden, few will forbear to show themselves traitors, because they know they may easily receive the benefit of a protection.

"The town of Newcastle in the Byrnes' country, under the command of Sir Henry Harrington, was lately fired by the enemy, and many of the enemies slain by Sir Henry's people. There is a speech that the fort of Leix is lately victualled by James FitzPiers, now Sheriff of the county of Kildare. The proportion of victual that is put therein is uncertain.

"And if, by the singular wisdom and judgment of that honourable table, the present state of Ireland be not speedily regarded, and the government of the kingdom absolutely committed to the charge and wisdom of some noble personage or worthy gentleman, it is to be feared that your Honour shall hear of as great a revolt and treachery amongst the cities and towns, as already is in all the provinces of the kingdom.

"And if Her Majesty, for want of placing of good commanders and garrisons in each town of importance upon the sea coast,

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should chance to be dispossessed of her chief holds, what encouragement that might give, in a general performance of the like, to so perfidious a nation, and how prejudicial the sequel may be, I leave to your grave consideration." Will not fail, as occasion shall serve, to import unto him "the occurrents of a treacherous and unfortunate kingdom."—Dublin, 1598, November 20. *Signed.* pp. 3½.

Nov. 23.
Dublin.

168. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Privy Council. The Marshal sent to Naas with certain companies of horse and foot. He is charged, upon any good opportunity, to victual the fort of Maryborough, which is provisioned to about the end of November. Have, with great difficulty, borrowed money to answer the lendings of these troops for fourteen days, "and have taken order with the country to bring provisions to furnish the market with victuals; which course we thought most convenient, both for the ease of the country, and to avoid the murmur of the people towards the soldier; in the execution whereof, we understand the Marshal proceedeth with so good order, as both the country and soldier are contented with the rates set down between them. And we doubt not but the like good course would be holden with the rest of the army, if there were money to answer their present lendings." A second letter from the Lord Lieutenant for the Marshal to be sent unto him. Have no other means to defend those parts, "and particularly to preserve this city of Dublin, which we find to be specially shot at by the Archtraitor Tyrone, and all the rest of his barbarous complices." Have not heard from the Lord Lieutenant since the 3rd instant, "which is no small grief unto us, considering the lamentable estate of this realm, and how dangerously it runs in every part to an extreme hazard of subversion and overthrow by the pride of the rebels, finding small resistance made against them. And in this case, to have these companies under the Marshal to draw up to Kilkenny, or the Lord Lieutenant with the forces remaining with him to meet them (the list whereof we send herewith to your Lordships), we find it so dangerous, by the multitude of rebels that lie so strong between them, and of every side of them, commanding all that tract, and are there to make their main bulk and head, as we are advertised, that we see not how these two forces can join together, without putting them both or the one of them, in apparent hazard; and if either of them should receive a disaster, it would be the utter endangering of the whole kingdom." Have referred again to the Lord Lieutenant concerning these forces, and have put him in mind of the importance of defending those parts, "wherein is left the little show of life of the kingdom.

"For so greatly doth increase daily the revolt and defection of the Irishry in every part of the realm, besides the doubt and suspicion of others, who in show seem to stand firm, but in effect are gone in heart (for that their sons, kinsmen, and followers are in open action with the rebels), that there is no hope, either to stay these dangers or preserve the kingdom from losing, but that it will

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please Her Majesty (as in our former letters we have often written) to send hither presently a strong force of men, money, and victuals, under the command of a Deputy and Captains of worth and reputation, and these to be done with all possible speed, not standing upon any old opinions and surmises, that these dangers may be deferred till toward the next spring, or that the season of the winter will not fit the service as commodiously as the spring time, a matter which, of our own knowledge and experience, we know to be otherwise; most humbly beseeching your Lordships, therefore, in the uttermost discharge of our duties, to speed away with all possible haste the 3,000 men written for by our last, together with money, victuals, and munition, for answering the service of Leinster and Munster, until a further force for the invasion of Ulster may be prepared, and sent towards the spring or summer, as it shall please Her Majesty; otherwise we see not how the realm will be preserved from utter ruin, the miserable estate whereof we doubt your Lordships do not so fully apprehend as we have laid the same down by our frequent demonstrations in our former letters; and still do the confusions (and particularly in this Province of Leinster) so multiply and abound, that rarely any week hath passed of late, wherein we have not received advertisements, either of the surprising of castles, burning of towns, or massacring the subjects, and havocking of their goods, besides the daily revolt of the Irish, being carried with the advantage of the time and slow proceeding against them by Her Majesty's forces. For in Leix and Offally, we cannot say that there is any part remaining for Her Majesty other than the two forts of Maryborough and Philips-town, kept with force at Her Majesty's charge, and a few castles belonging to private gentlemen, in which there are warders put, part at Her Majesty's charge, and part at the charges of the owners; insomuch as those two countries, peopled with an offspring of English, and preserved during all Her Majesty's reign till now, are in effect evicted, and wholly possessed by the rebels, except the two forts and few castles afore mentioned.

"Sir Thomas More, an Englishman by birth, being planted in Offally, was within these four days betrayed in his house called Croghan, himself slain, and his wife and two daughters carried away by the traitors; who leaving his wife stripped in a bog, she is dead since with cold, as we are advertised. And in this action of Croghan was also slain Captain Gifford, and his wife grievously wounded in many places, they being both there at the time of the surprise of the castle. The like was done yesterday in Leix to the castle of Stradbally, belonging to the widow Cosby, whose husband and her eldest son were slain there the last year; only the poor widow by good hap was come to this town a little before, whereby she avoided that calamity. And as many the like grievous distresses have [happened] and do happen likewise in other countries of Leinster, namely, in Wexford and the borders of Kildare and Dublin, so all these castles lost in this manner were betrayed by some of the Irish, whom the owners did specially trust; the most of them being persons, as we understand, either nourished up by the

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owners from their cradle, or otherwise tied to them by many benefits, which in their opinions were great motives for them to trust them ; but by the sequels it may easily be discerned, that the principal end they aspired unto was to supplant all English habitation, and consequently to renounce Her Majesty's laws and government, which assuredly is the main ground of this rebellion, and the only mark that Tyrone and they all do shoot at. This hath been made probable to us many ways, by their several practices, with which we have formerly acquainted your Lordships, and they cease not still to pursue the same by daily attempts and insinuations with the people, where they think they may find hearing and credit, as may appear to your Lordships by a copy of a letter written from Tyrone to Mr. James FitzPiers, a Geraldine by nation, and High Sheriff of the county of Kildare for this year, the double of which letter we send herewith to your Lordships, together with another written to us from the said FitzPiers, by which your Lordships may see by what slight evasions he shunneth to come to us, having of late sent for him, amongst other gentlemen, about country causes, he being the Sheriff of the county. Likewise, the Lord of Cahir, being a Butler, and a Baron of the realm, and having married Mountgarrett's daughter, refuseth to come to the Lord Lieutenant for Her Majesty's service, having charged him therein upon his duty and allegiance, as by an abstract of his Lordship's letter written to us, which we send herewith to your Lordships, may appear. Moreover, the daily running away of the Irish soldiers in Her Majesty's pay, and enticing others to go with them, with their arms, to the rebels, whereby Her Majesty's army is much weakened, and the rest that tarry of the Irishry the less to be trusted ; and lastly, the seditious persuasions that are used in the name of Tyrone by his instruments the Jesuits, priests, and friars, to put toys into the people's heads, of an alteration of government, and the transferring of the kingdom to himself, with promise of large portions of lands to such as will partake with him in this Irish war (as they term it) ; all which being dangerously managed against Her Majesty in all the parts of the kingdom, wherewith they have exceedingly stirred the minds of the people to pursue alterations, we are fully of mind that the main project of this wicked rebellion is (as much as in them lieth) to expel all the English and suppress English government ; a matter which we have long since discerned, and have often acquainted your Lordships therewith by our letters.

" We have heard of late from the borders of Laughlin and Catherlogh, that the Lord Lieutenant hath had a parley with Mountgarrett and some of the Kavanaghs, and is fallen to a kind of pacification with him for twenty days or thereabouts. This we have but by private advertisements, not having as yet received anything from his Lordship thereof, whereby we can give your Lordships no other certainty than such as we have from some particular persons of good credit dwelling in those parts, from whom we understand that one part of the conditions handled between them was, that Her Majesty should not strengthen these places

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following with any new increase of garrisons, namely, Ross, Goran, the country of Leix, Carlow, Tully, Athy, and Thomastown; which if it be so, we hope his Lordship hath signified it to your Lordships, and the reasons that moved him thereunto.

“It grieveth us not a little to see the nakedness of the soldiers for want of clothes, and their poverty for lack of their lendings, to buy them food; both which wants not only maketh many of them show^d like prisoners, half starved for want of cherishing, but also it dejecteth of them greatly in heart, insomuch as we look daily for some great mutiny and disbanding, having hitherto contained them as much as we could, partly with promise of money at the arriving of the next treasure, having borrowed in the meanwhile almost 4,000*l.*, which we have done by giving our joint bonds, by lending our own money, and by laying our plate to pawn for the same; and partly with some relief of victuals out of the country, though not without grudge and murmur of the people, who are mightily overpressed with these heavy burthens of the army. And, if any of these companies should break, and either run to the rebels, or steal into England (which we cannot prevent), your Lordships may judge what will be the danger of the realm, if so great a part of the army should scatter, which is the chief strength and preservation of the kingdom. And therefore we humbly beseech your Lordships to haste away their winter apparel, to the end to clothe them and keep them from perishing with cold; and also to send away money, both to clear the arrear of their lendings, being behind full six months, and also to continue still the course of their lendings forward, as is prescribed by the ordinances, besides some round portion to answer extraordinaries, and clear with the towns and country for the dieting of soldiers, and beeves taken up for the use of the army at several times; a debt which hath long hung upon us, and doth not a little grieve us, that we have not means to make payment thereof to the country, to whom we have often assured it by our words and promises, and have written thereof to your Lordships, but could never receive answer.”

Have not yet had time to examine more exactly, as promised, the Muster-master's last certificate, but will do so, and report.

“Lastly, we are driven, by reason of these disasters in Offally, to draw away the residue of the weak companies garrisoned there, except the numbers before mentioned, left for the guarding of Philipstown and the particular castles of the gentlemen, and we see not but, upon the same necessity, we shall be forced to do the like in other parts of Leinster, and to draw into one head and bulk as great a strength as we can, to resist the main force of the rebels, who gather daily into one force, with a purpose (as is thought) to strike some sudden blow in some part of the English Pale, if not upon this city of Dublin, or some other corporate towns of importance, where they may find entrance either by stratagem or force, all which we leave to your Lordships' considerations.” Desire them to move Her Majesty for some stronger means. “The dangers of the kingdom increasing daily above the strength we have, they must be out of hand encountered with a greater power, and all

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delays forborne, for that it goeth now upon the safety and preservation of the whole.”—Dublin, 1598, November 23. *Signed.* *Endorsed:*—Received at Whitehall the 14th of December. pp. 5. *Inclose,*

168. I. “A list of horse and foot, which the Lord Lieutenant took with himself, when he went to Kilkenny the 4th of this month, together with some other companies employed by his Lordship in Munster.”—1598, October 4. *Copy.* p. 1.

168. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to James FitzPiers.* “Although undeserved, we have at the instant suit and request of Onie M'Rory O'Moore, David Eustace FitzJohn, the Connors, and of the rest of the nobility of Leinster now remaining with us, assisting and joining in this our action, directed unto you this our favourable and friendly letter, admonishing hereby, in respect your father hath been cruel and bloody, and that you are likewise thought to be father-like, because you depend upon Her Majesty and the State, and that you are mightily against the enterprise this poor, oppressed, and afflicted realm of Ireland took in hand, to forbear using and executing such hard and extreme courses against us and the said nobility, tending to imitate and follow the direct and plain way to Heaven, and also to recover their lands, livings, and revenues, whereof they are defeated these many years past, without any colour of right or title to the same, save only the sword. And forasmuch as it is lawful to die in the quarrel and defence of the native soil, and that we Irishmen are exiled and made bond slaves and servitors to a strange and foreign prince, having neither joy nor felicity in anything, remaining still in captivity; to reform all things to the will of God and goodness of the commonwealth, we have thought it convenient to desire and admonish you, as our dear friend, to convert, and establish this our pretended action and enterprise. You may consider how your father ended his life, what torments he did suffer in this world; such and greater is provided in hell for all sinners and offenders against God's commandments and the commonwealth. We are still persuaded you will not be father-like. Let neither gift nor favour allure you from the eternal glory of Heaven, which is to be sought by all creatures tending to a godly life. In hope of your amendment and reconciliation, we have given strait charge and commandment to the said nobility of Leinster, to forbear burning, spoiling, robbing, or preying any part or parcel of your lands or tenants, till such time as we shall hear further from you, and what your severity will be against us. We have appointed the said nobility, and specially the said David, who is very earnest to procure this our letter, and did promise in your behalf, upon sight and receipt thereof that you would amend, to signify unto us your disposition, which will be reasonable, as we are credibly informed, the rather at our request. If not, assure yourself there is a sore scourge and the sword of revenge ready to light, or it be long, if God permit the same. You may use your own discretion notwithstanding. Let

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neither threats nor menaces cause you to convert, but only the love of God and your native country pinch you to the reformation of all heavenly and earthly goodness. And so doing, you shall be grateful and acceptable before God and the world, and of us recommended to all our friends and well-wishers. And so we bid you heartily farewell."—Dungannon, 1597[–8], March 11. Signed, "Your loving friend being converted, O'Neill." Addressed:—"To James FitzPiers, chief of his name." Copy. pp. 2.

168. III. James FitzPiers [James FitzGerald, son of Sir Piers FitzJames] to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. Acknowledges their letters, willing him to repair to them, and to warn the chief gentlemen of Kildare likewise to appear on Tuesday, November 6. Sent accordingly his several warrants to the Serjeant of every barony. As for himself, was sick and not able to ride. Now that Captain Lee is committed, "being a man of good desert which is well known to your Lordships, and I being joined with him in all his actions, doth make me afraid, he being an Englishman and I having but few friends. Withal my enemy bearing that sway that he doth, your Lordships must pardon me for not appearing to be committed as my friend is. I was advised by some of my friends that be about my Lord Lieutenant, that if I had appeared before your Honours, that he took order with your Lordships to leave me up, and to break my neck, which I am loath to venture, as long as I may prevent it, knowing your Lordships can stand me in little stead against him." Will do his utmost for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service. Trusts they will not construe any bad meaning from his shunning, or misdoubt his honest dealings towards Her Majesty and the State. Will stand Sir Richard Bingham in any stead he may. "If I had left these borders, I should be left nothing by the enemies nor (sic) Captain Lee's tenants, by means that they be grown so strong, and but few to interrupt them. I assure your Honours, if I were but one seven-night from hence, these borders should be all spoiled, for that I know nobody near these borders, now that Captain Lee is committed, that would once interrupt them, but myself; and if I were from hence, I assure your Honours that they would come as far as the Naas, or farther, and especially if I were committed as he is, we two being the only stay of these borders. I beseech your good Lordships that you will consider what reward I have gotten for all the service that I have done myself, besides the losing of my father, mother, and the rest of my friends, and the great danger which I have always sustained in Her Majesty's service, which is very well known to your Lordships, unless it be forgotten."—Woodstock, 1598, November 18. Copy. pp. 1½.

168. IV. Extract from a letter, dated 1598, November 6, from the Earl of Ormonde to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. "And sithence I received further intelligence that the Baron of Cahir's wife, being Mountgarrett's sister, was present on her husband's behalf at the first time of his combination with

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the traitors Donnell Spainagh, the sons of Feagh M'Hugh, and other the Leinster traitors; whose husband, I mean the Lord Baron of Cahir, came not at me sithence, though by several commandments upon his allegiance I appointed him to come unto me for the service of Her Majesty; which, with other apparent matter, have (sic) made plain his partaking with him, having with him in his house the traitor Doctor Magrath, a chief contriver of all these traitorous actions."

Nov. 25,
Whitehall.

169. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Norreys. Refers him to the letters sent to him by the Queen and the Privy Council. Expresses his friendship towards Sir Thomas. "You know the nature of the Irish, how easily they are divided, and though I doubt not but this combination is as fast tied as treason and superstition can bind it, yet is it fit that you attempt the separation of the principals, one from another, especially when Her Majesty's forces are there to comfort the good and terrify the wicked. Amongst which particulars, it shall be convenient you do promise Donogh M'Cormack the other part of Dually, if he will do service upon his competitor Derby M'Owen and the rest of the rebels. You shall also practice underhand to draw in the White Knight, with promise of reward, if he will serve upon James FitzThomas; and likewise assure Condon, if he shall leave the rebels, that Her Majesty will take order to relieve him in the suit against Hyde. These things hath Her Majesty directed, and will avow you in them, never doubting but you will be wary to seek or woo them basely, if you do find no likelihood of recovering of them, for they will be apt to brag that they are sought, and therefore you must sound them first by second means."—Whitehall, 1598, November 25. [*Postscript.*—Her Majesty has directed the raising of his 30 horse to 50, and the putting them into sterling pay. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 95^b. *Copy.* p. 1.

Nov. 27.
Whitehall.

170. The Privy Council to Sir Thomas Norreys. Have in other letters sent at this present given him such directions as they have received from Her Majesty, and which they conceived to be necessary for him to observe carefully in these troublous times. Add this much in answer to his last letters. Her Majesty will not forget the continued loyalty of Lord Roche, Lord Barry, and the Lord of Lyxnall, at this time of great revolt and universal defection in Ireland. As to some of the towns, which have refused in contemptuous sort to give him the assistance he required of them, he is to let them know that; if they reform not themselves, Her Majesty will make them feel the weight of their offence and of her displeasure. Sir Thomas is to inform himself of the particular persons who have presumed to show that disobedience, that they may be taught to know their duty, and others be warned never to attempt the like.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 27. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 96^b. *Copy.* p. 1.

Nov. 27.
Dublin.

171. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to Sir Robert Cecil. "On the 13 of this instant, the Bishop of Meath did impart first unto us the Lords Justices, and afterwards to us and

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the Treasurer and Marshal, some speeches concerning a plot of service to him formerly delivered by Captain Thomas Lee, which plot he told us Mr. Lee did desire only to be imparted unto us, whose names are subscribed; and finding his relation of Mr. Lee's speeches to contain both matter of accusation against the Lord Lieutenant, and a very dangerous project to hazard the state of this kingdom, we presently made stay of Captain Lee, called him before us, and charged him with his speeches, which in substance we found he could not deny, but before us maintained his accusation of the Lord of Ormonde, and also his devised plot, as appeareth by a special act of the 14 of this instant, under our hands, and sent herewith. Whereupon we thought good, in discharge of our duties, to commit Captain Lee to Her Majesty's Castle, and since his committal have duly examined him upon certain interrogatories, grounded partly upon his speeches to me the Bishop of Meath, and partly upon his first confession before us all, and have herewith sent both the said interrogatories, and his several answers to the same. And because these matters do concern the Lord of Ormonde, we for our parts have kept them very secret, though we find that Mr. Lee hath acquainted some others with them, as in particular one Richard Hopper, an honest man and of good credit, serving me, the Treasurer; whose declaration is herewith sent. And now, in discharge of our bounden duties, we thought it meet to send these declarations and examinations only to your Honour, to be imparted further as shall seem best in your Honour's discretion. We are very sorry to have this cause to write unto your Honour, to let you know that thus far, already, this plot of Mr. Lee's is found true by the event, viz., that James FitzPiers is broken into action of rebellion [*in the margin*:—'This James FitzPiers is a Geraldine, and a gentleman of good account, and Sheriff of the county of Kildare for this last year']; and that between Mr. Lee and him a ward was put into the castle standing upon the bridge of Athy, which kept the same against Her Majesty's forces sent by Sir Richard Bingham, and refused them passage over the bridge; and yet is so kept, whereby that ordinary passage into Leix is stopped; and that since, the said James FitzPiers hath by treachery gotten the Abbey of Athy, which was guarded with twenty soldiers, the Constable of which ward, named Collier, betrayed the same to James, and carried with him some twelve Englishmen to James, and he delivered it over to Onie M'Rory O'More, the rebel; and also hath since assaulted Her Majesty's Castle of Monaster-Evan, though (thanks be to God) it hath been hitherto well defended, and he hath lost some of his men at that assault; of which particulars we have received late advertisements from Sir Richard Bingham."—Dublin, 1598, November 27. *Signed.* *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall, 14 December. pp. 2. *Inclosure,*

171. I. "An Act of Council, the 14 of November, 1598." "At Her Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 14 of November, 1598."

"This day, Captain Thomas Lee being called before us whose names are subscribed, I, the Lord Chancellor, did begin to say to

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him as followeth: 'Mr. Lee, you have to some or the most of us here present delivered some matters of great weight, and have laid down a plot for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service (as you say) against these rebels, and for the pacifying of these broils; touching the which we would be glad to confer with you, and we understand that you are well contented that we that are now here shall be acquainted with your meaning.' 'It is true,' said Mr. Lee. I, the Lord Chancellor, said, 'You have reported to some of us here present, that you have discovered that my Lord of Ormonde hath been the procurer of all these troubles, and an author of this rebellion.' 'It is true,' said Mr. Lee. 'We are desirous,' said I, the Lord Chancellor, 'to understand what grounds you have of these matters against the Lord of Ormonde.' 'Why,' said Mr. Lee, 'by Jesu God, they are too manifest. Did not my Lord of Ormonde say the other day to a gentleman that offered to do some service, Will you do service against your neighbours and countrymen?' I, the Lord Chancellor, asked him to whom the Lord of Ormonde said so. Mr. Lee answered, 'To John Eustace, of Newland; he told it me himself. And besides, Brian Reogh, when he was alive, and others, also told me from time to time that my Lord of Ormonde was the author and doer of all that hath been done.' 'And what plot is this you speak of,' said I, the Lord Chancellor, 'touching which you have talked with myself, and I willed you to lay it down in writing, and with the Bishop of Meath and others of us.' Then we, the Lords Justices, requested the Bishop of Meath, in presence of Mr. Lee himself, to make rehearsal of such speeches as had passed between Mr. Lee and him, concerning his plot, which I, the Bishop of Meath, did in hec verba. 'Mr. Lee, you did yesterday impart to me some speeches, which, in discharge of my duty, I durst not conceal from their Lordships, and I then advised you to make your plot known to their Lordships, and you said to me that you were well contented that their Lordships and as many as are now here of this Council, should be acquainted with the matter. You told me yesterday, between you and me, that my Lord of Ormonde was the author of all these troubles and of this dangerous rebellion, and in particular that it was his Lordship that stayed Tyrone from the performance of that he promised to us in his second parley, [and] in his third parley with him.' 'I did so,' said Mr. Lee. 'Then,' said I, the Bishop of Meath, 'for your plot, you told me that your purpose was this, viz., as the Lord of Ormonde had stirred all these knaves into rebellion, so to turn all the rebels upon the Lord of Ormonde himself, that they might plague him, and the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Ormonde. Was not this your plot?' 'Yes,' said Mr. Lee, 'I do confess it.' Then I, Sir Robert Gardener, did begin to reply, and said to Mr. Lee, 'Why, how could you turn the rebels upon the Lord of Ormonde, being in the authority he is, but you must also turn them upon the Queen's forces, and upon Her Majesty's army? To the which Mr. Lee made this answer before us, saying, 'Why, what matter is that? let them struggle together.'

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I; the said Sir Robert, arguing with Mr. Lee, did with large speeches prove that there could be no good meaning in that plot, but either the kingdom itself should thereby be in jeopardy, if the Lord Lieutenant did take harm, or at leastwise Her Majesty's army, attending upon him, should be in hazard; with which censure of mine Mr. Lee did begin to be weary of his plot. Then he was again demanded by me, the Lord Chancellor, how or by what means he intended to have compassed this plot, and how he could have turned all these rebels upon the Lord Lieutenant? Mr. Lee answered and said, that his meaning was to turn James FitzPiers out to work and perform all this gear, and that his own purpose was not to be seen in the matter, but that James should do all; 'and I' (said Mr. Lee) 'will turn over my foot company to my Lieutenant Goldsmith, and to that end have been a suitor to your Lordships; and my horse to Mr. John Sarsfield, and I will keep only my kern, and with them will travel up and down.' At this some speeches were used by us, the Lords Justices, against James FitzPiers, for his contempt in not repairing to us, being sent for upon his duty of allegiance; which contempt Mr. Lee did excuse before us, and confessed that it was himself which stayed him from coming unto us. Then I, the Bishop of Meath, said to Mr. Lee as followeth: 'Mr. Lee, you told me that you would compass all these things with Mountgarrett, Donnell Spainagh, and the rest by their priests, and that they should pass to and fro and bring you their several oaths to do as you would have them. And you also told me that Henry Hovenden ['Ovington'] should come up with the two pledges, Constable and Cosby, to be a dealer in this matter.' 'I told you,' said Mr. Lee, 'that when I should send Henry Hovenden to you in company with those two pledges then you might perceive I could do somewhat.' I, the Bishop of Meath, did also further charge Mr. Lee, before the Lords Justices and Council, that he did tell me in private that the Lord of Ormonde had been a persuader of the Earl of Kildare to enter into rebellion, 'but you, Mr. Lee, said to me that you had stayed him.' Thus much Mr. Lee confessed before us all, and said that the Lord of Ormonde had used these speeches to the Earl of Kildare, to provoke him, and to breed a discontentment in him, viz., that both himself and he, the said Earl of Kildare, being noblemen, had been unworthily used by the Lords Justices, and not as men of their sort should have been. I, the Bishop of Meath, did also say to Mr. Lee, 'Yes, Mr. Lee, you told me that you had been the means to stay the Earl of Kildare, and also that he should marry your daughter.' 'I told you,' said Mr. Lee, 'that I had persuaded with him and satisfied him, and that I had joined in friendship with him.' And for this point of the marriage, I, Sir Richard Bingham, do testify that Mr. Lee, in private speeches between him and me, did tell me that the Earl of Kildare should presently marry his daughter. Then Mr. Lee was willed by us, the Lords Justices to go into the next chamber, and after some consultation had of this dangerous plot, and our general conceipt that there could be no good meaning in it, it was by us resolved, with one consent, that Mr. Lee should

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be committed to Her Majesty's Castle; but amongst us it was first agreed that, both to himself and openly abroad, it should be given out that he was committed for none other cause, but for causing of James FitzPiers, Sheriff of the county of Kildare, to stay at home and to commit a contempt, when he was sent for by us the Lords Justices two several times, and was charged to appear before us upon his duty of allegiance (which offence Mr. Lee himself had confessed before us). And it was said to Mr. Lee that, upon the said James his repair unto us, the Lords Justices further consideration should be had of him." Signed by the Lords Justices, the Bishop of Meath, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Henry Wallop. pp. 5.

171. II. Interrogatories (17 in number) ministered to Captain Thomas Lee at the Castle of Dublin, on November 22, 1598. The majority relate to the matters contained in the preceding paper. The second interrogatory is as follows:—"Whether have you affirmed to the Bishop of Meath that this was a conclusion betwixt the two Earls Ormonde and Tyrone, in the beginning of this rebellion, that Tyrone should have had all from the Boyne northward, and Ormonde should have all from the Boyne southward, and that Ormonde's daughter should have been married to Tyrone's son; and what ground had or have you of these speeches?" The ninth interrogatory is:—"Whether have you said to the Bishop of Meath that you would have five thousand men at your command, and that you would draw Mountgarrett, and the rest, to be at your direction? Where did you hope to have those men, and how or by what means did you think to have compassed that matter?" The tenth interrogatory is:—"What reason had you to say before us that you would draw Tom Burke by name to be an executor of your plot?" The 14th is:—"Whether was it told you by the Bishop of Meath that in the execution of your plot yourself must needs become a traitor, and did you confess it, &c. (sic)?" The 15th is:—"Whether have you said that the Earl of Kildare should marry your daughter, and should have with her 3,000l.; whether have you motioned any such matter to him, or he to you, or any man for or from you to him, and where would you have gotten that sum?" The 16th is:—"Whether have you received any letters or messages from Tyrone since you were set at liberty, and when did you last receive any message from him?" pp. 2½.

171. III. The answers of Captain Thomas Lee to the preceding interrogatories, ministered unto him by the Lords Justices and Council.—Dublin Castle, 1598, November 22.

1. "He saith and confesseth that he told all this to the Lord of Meath; and for cause of knowledge, the examine saith that Tyrone himself did tell thus much unto him, in manner as followeth, viz., first, before Tyrone did enter into rebellion, he told this examine that he did wholly depend upon the Lord of Ormonde's directions; and secondly, since his entry into rebellion, when he this examine was sent to Tyrone in Sir William Russell's government, by direction out of England, and by Sir William Russell's

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warrant, then dealing earnestly with Tyrone to give over his rebellion, and to become a good subject, and perceiving that Tyrone did stick at something, he this examine saith he said to Tyrone as followeth:—‘ You depend upon the Lord of Ormonde, and he hath overthrown his own house by his devices, and so will he do yours.’ Tyrone answered and said, ‘ It is no matter for that ; I must needs be directed by him.’ ”

2. He confesses that he told all this to the Bishop of Meath ; and, as to the conclusion between the two Earls, he has no other ground than a secret report, made to himself by Brian Reogh, since Ormonde was made Lord Lieutenant General. He “ also saith that the said Brian told him, this examine, that all this should have been performed on both sides, if Her Majesty had miscarried by any means, and the examine protesteth before God that, when he this examine brought Brian Reogh to Dublin, and after carried him along towards Dundalk, against the first parley holden with Tyrone, the said Brian, in their way towards Dundalk, did say to him this examine as followeth : ‘ Now we are going to your General, who hath absolute authority, and you think he is on your side ; but, by God, he is on our side.’ And forasmuch as Brian Reogh was the only dealer in Leinster for Tyrone, the examine imprinted his speeches deeply in his heart. And the examine saith that upon his return from the north at that time, he told Sir Robert Napper that the Lord Lieutenant would never do any good in that service, but that he was as great an enemy to Her Majesty’s proceedings as any was. And the examine saith he offered at that time to Sir Robert Napper himself to be hanged, when the Lord of Ormonde did service ; and the examine saith that then also he told Sir Robert Napper, that Ormonde did as absolutely command Tyrone as he did his boy. And Sir Robert Napper did will the examine, if he did know any particular matter against Ormonde, to lay it down in writing ; and the examine saith he said he would forbear to do that, because he stood sure he should have but little hearing against the Lord of Ormonde. Also the examine saith that when Brian Reogh returned out of the north, he sent a messenger to this examine with this message ; that, before his coming out of the north, he was sworn upon a book not to come at the examine, nor to trust him of all men. The message was brought by Brian’s own man, and the said man did swear to this examine that Brian durst not let him know who had given him that oath. And besides, the examine saith that Brian Reogh did tell him that they should not want treasure from Spain and munition from Scotland. The examine also saith that, in the beginning of June last, he this examine did get by good chance the copy of a letter sent from Brian Reogh to Teig M’Murtoagh and Lysagh Oge, two principal traitors in Leix, bearing date the 20 of May last, upon a great defeat newly given by the said Brian to some of Her Majesty’s forces, and the said copy is testified to be a true copy under the hands of three men, whereof two are honest, and the third was then a subject ; whereby it appeareth that Brian Reogh directed them to make

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present restitution of a prey, newly taken out of the county of Kilkenny; wherein also the said Brian doth deliver some matters of just doubt to be conceived of the Lord of Ormonde, in regard of the special trust the said rebel Brian Reogh did repose in him. The which copy is herewith sent (wanting), and the examine saith that, upon receipt of that letter, the prey specified in the same was presently restored upon the said letter. Further the examine saith that, soon after this, Brian Reogh was protected by the Lord Lieutenant, and did go himself unto the Lord Lieutenant, and there he received direction from the said Lord Lieutenant to go upon O'Carroll with his forces (which the said Brian soon after did perform, for he went into O'Carroll's country and quite spoiled it). And the examine saith that Brian Reogh did by message acquaint him, this examine, some ten days at least before he did go into O'Carroll's country, that he had received that direction from the Lord of Ormonde to go upon O'Carroll, and that he must needs do it. Whereupon the examine saith that he signified thus much of Brian Reogh's purpose to undo O'Carroll, by message to Sir Robert Gardener, and also did certify it into England.

"Further, the examine saith that, when the Lord Lieutenant went himself in person to victual the fort in Leix, in harvest last, his Lordship sent this message to Onie M'Rory, viz., that he should not be discomforted at that army, which his Lordship then brought into Leix, for it was but to victual the fort; which when he had performed, his Lordship would fall off, and dispose of the army another way. And the Lord Lieutenant did also by the same message will and require Onie M'Rory, Tyrrell, and the rest, presently with their forces to go all into Munster, promising them that no soldiers should in their absence trouble that country. The examine saith that all this was told to one Piers Barry, servant to this examine, by one Brian O'Kelly, a secret councillor of Onie M'Rory's, who from his mouth made relation of the premises to this examine, &c. (sic).

"And the examine saith that never since until this day nor yet (sic), there hath been any order taken for the prosecution of the Moores, the time then best serving to have done good in Leix, when those rebels of Leix were gone into Munster. Further, the examine saith that Mountgarrett was driven out into this rebellion before he was ready and prepared for it; and that he did rise in this manner, as he hath done upon the sudden, to give the alarm to others, that are purposed to revolt, to follow his example; and that Mountgarrett went forth upon the sudden, so weakly before his purposed time, assuring himself to get a protection from the Lord Lieutenant, to strengthen himself; of which purpose of Mountgarrett's to seek a protection, and also that he made a sure account to get it, the examine saith he did get knowledge from one of the Moores, who told the examine that Mountgarrett did mean to seek a protection from the Lord Lieutenant, and stood sure to get it; all which the examine saith he did also discover to the Lords Justices, by his letters, seven or eight days before the Lord Lieutenant did parley with Mountgarrett, and before the

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granting of his protection to him. And now that which is done doth plainly declare that the examinee did send a true intelligence, &c. (sic). And the examinee saith that when Mountgarrett shall have come to him the forces which he expects out of Ulster, and shall be gotten into his full strength, then his quarrel will be pretended for the Earldom of Ormonde, that it may be established in his house. Thus much also the examinee saith was discovered to him in manner aforesaid.

"The examinee saith further that, when the service was plotted by Captain Sentleger and others against Brian Reogh and the Moores, Captain James Butler, the Earl of Ormonde's nephew, on the night before said, in the hearing of Captain Folliott and others known to Captain Folliott, that if he did know there were any plot intended to serve against Brian Reogh, he would never meddle in it, but would send word thereof beforehand to the said Brian, and that, if Brian Reogh were in his power, he would not kill him. And on the next day after Brian Reogh was killed, the Moores were so daunted as they did not know what to do; and most of the Captains which were there, being desirous to serve, urged the Lord Lieutenant to set upon them; but the Lord Lieutenant would not meddle with the matter, but withdrew his forces out of Leix to Kilkenny, and left that country to the spoil of the rebels, having then near 2,000 men in his army, and the Moores, and all their forces and adherents, being not half so many."

3. As to Ormonde staying Tyrone from the performance of his promise made in the second parley near Dundalk, has no other grounds than he has discovered in his speeches to Sir Robert Napper, and the occasion of them.

4. "A man of the Earl of Kildare's, whose name he could not learn, came to James FitzPiers from the Earl, and used some persuasions to him to take such part as the Earl should take. Wherewith, in trust and secrecy, the said James acquainted the examinee, and the examinee saith he advised James to persuade the Earl to stand firm in his duty, and wished James to be a mean that he this examinee might have some speeches with the Earl of Kildare, and the examinee saith that, to assure the Earl of Kildare, he would be ready to give him all his lands in those parts, either outright or in mortgage, until the sum of 2,000*l.* were paid with his daughter, if the Earl would like of the motion. And for any means used by the Earl of Ormonde to breed a discontentment in the Earl of Kildare, the examinee in particular can say no more than as formerly he hath testified in his former examination before us touching this point."

5. No other reason moved him to lay down his plot but his zeal to Her Majesty's service, and his desire to make it known to the world, that the Earl of Ormonde, if he were put to it, would not in deed perform the trust reposed in him. And further saith, he was desirous to have conferred with them touching his plot, before he meant to have put it in execution.

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6. *He was desirous to turn over his company of horse and foot, because he was loath to be under the Lord Lieutenant's command, or to have any dealing with him, fearing lest his Lordship should give some secret direction to cut him off, by either calling or appointing of him to some extreme or desperate service.*

7. *He saw James FitzPiers 'to be sickly and unable to travel, and confesses he wished him to stay, and promised to excuse him in the best manner he could, and says that James promised to meet Sir Richard Bingham at Naas.*

8. *He denies that he has turned out James FitzPiers to be an executor of his plot.*

9. *He denies that he said he would have 5,000 men at his command. As for Mountgarrett and the rest, he meant that they should be at the State's direction, and that he would be an instrument to work that through James FitzPiers. [The Bishop of Meath writes and signs two notes on the margin of this answer. The first is with reference to the 5,000 men, "He said so to me, and so I have affirmed in his presence." The second is, "He told me that he would draw them to be at his direction by their priests, as is set down in my declaration, and this I affirmed in his own presence"].*

10. *He meant to have turned Tom Burke, with the Connaught soldiers and Irish bands, to the Lord Lieutenant, "knowing he would be as ready to entertain a mutiny as the rest."*

11. *"He acknowledgeth he hath said he meant to have drawn Henry Hovenden ['Ovington'] hither, and that his purpose therein was, that he, the examinee, should first, with secret license from the Lords Justices, send his man to Tyrone, to know if he would speak with him, and if Tyrone should signify that he was desirous to speak with him, the examinee, then he meant secretly, with like license, to have repaired to Tyrone, and to have dealt effectually with him, both to have sounded his purpose, and to have persuaded him to have given over his rebellion; and, if he could therein have prevailed (as he hoped), then he would have moved Tyrone, for the better credit of the matter, and for better testimony of his duty, to have sent hither Henry Hovenden with the pledges, in company with him this examinee, to have signified so much of Tyrone's disposition, whereby Tyrone falling from the rest, the neck of this rebellion might be broken."*

12. *He saith it was not his meaning that Tyrone should draw to the borders, but that it is their plot that either the Earl himself, or Cormack, shall between this and Christmas come into Leix, as the rebels themselves give out. [The Bishop of Meath has written and signed a note on the margin:—"He told me it was, and then again he said he would have five thousand men."]*

13. *Concerning the Lords of the Pale, he says that his purpose was that all those noblemen should have had men in readiness to have resisted Tyrone, if he attempted anything against the Pale; but he never talked of this matter with any of them.*

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14. *The Bishop of Meath said those words to him, and he made that answer, and bade the Bishop not to spare to speak evil of him.*

15. *This he answered in his reply to the fourth interrogatory. He never motioned the matter of the marriage to the Earl, but desired others to "taste the Earl's disposition," and never received any answer.*

16. *He denies having received either message or letter from Tyrone since his own troubles, except one letter, which he sent to the Lords Justices, "which we the Lords Justices do say did contain no other matter but a signification that Tyrone was sorry for Mr. Lee's troubles."*

17. *He did not say that he had acquainted the Lords Justices with his plot, but that he meant to acquaint them both with it [the Bishop of Meath has written and signed a note on the margin:—He told me that he had acquainted both their Lordships.] On better remembrance, he confesses that he told Sir Robert Gardener of his purpose to turn over his companies.*

Signed by the Lords Justices, the Bishop of Meath, and Sir Henry Wallop. pp. 9.

171. IV. *"The substance of such communication and speeches as passed between Captain Thomas Lee and Richard Hoper in the Castle of Dublin, at three several times, between the 13th day of November 1598, and the 15th of the same."—1598, November 24.*

"Being required and commanded by the Right Honourable the Lords Justices of this realm, as well upon my duty of allegiance, as by virtue of my oath, to testify and declare what speeches passed between Captain Thomas Lee and me, at several times the last week, as well before his committal to the Castle, as two days after; in discharge of both these bonds, I deliver as followeth, viz. :—

"First, the said Captain, meeting with me in the inner court of the said Castle, after salutation had on either side, I asked him from whence he came there. He answered, 'From the country.' 'How could you pass,' quod I, 'safely hither, the ways being so laid for by the rebels.' 'Well enough,' quod he, 'I warrant you'; and thereupon with smiling countenance said thus, 'O Mr. Hoper, if thou didst know what a good plot I have laid, to do good to this poor country, I think thou wouldst be glad.' 'I pray you, tell me,' quod I, 'what that is.' 'Mary,' quod he, 'I am now come from home to impart what I think good to be put in practice for the Queen's safety. The good Queen is so cozened and conyatched of her kingdom, that if it be not speedily looked unto, it will be surely lost. For the command of the army is wholly committed to my Lord General, who doth but trifle and dally in his charge, suffering the rebels to overrun all, keeping himself at Kilkenny for the defence and safeguard of what appertaineth to himself, when he should be abroad to keep the Pale from spoiling. And now lately,' saith he, 'at the traitors' entering into Munster (amongst which the O'Moores were the chiefest), when Leix had not above 100 of those O'Moores at the most left to guard that country, and the Lord General some 800 or 900 of the Queen's forces about himself, yet he

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neither impeached the going of the traitors into Munster, neither sent any forces into Leix to regain that which was lost, which with 300 men might easily have been done. This giveth a shrewd argument,' saith he, 'that he wisheth little better to the kingdom than to the traitors.' 'Here is no proof,' quod I, 'of that you allege, but only a bare presumption, which may with reason be repelled.' 'No,' quod he, 'he will look carefully enough that no proofs by letter or writing shall come against him; for he useth his instruments, by words and messages, and none but the parties and Harry Sheth made acquainted therewith at any time. Which may be thus collected by a copy of a letter, which Brian Reogh O'Moore, a principal rebel, wrote to one of his sept, from whom I received it, hearing that they had taken a prey from a grange belonging to the Lord General, willing them forthwith to redeliver the prey, and not to give any cause of offence to his Lordship, for that he was the man they most relied upon, and that, he assured, would do them most good.' 'Where is the original?' quod I. 'That,' said he, 'remaineth with the party to whom it was sent.' 'Then,' said I, 'this, I think, will serve to little purpose, for it is no letter of his Lordship's, but a rebel's.' 'Nay,' saith he, with a great oath, 'this is not all. For it is probable he stirred up his own kindred to rebellion in Feagh M'Hugh his time; and, when he saw the bad success it had, he used the means to cut off some of them himself, lest it should by them have been discovered. And further,' saith he, 'it is for certain told me there was a letter of his seen to that effect, written to his brother, Sir Edmund, amongst his writings,' which a sister to Tibbott Butler, now in the Castle of Dublin, said she would labour the getting of unto him. 'If that be had,' quod I, 'it is somewhat.' He also told me that he learned amongst the O'Moores for certain, that Mountgarrett was solicited to go out by means of my Lord General, and that at his going to Mountgarrett, which he proposed shortly, he would get the certain knowledge thereof.

" 'Then,' quod he, 'you know what a malicious mind he beareth towards me, for no other cause that I know, but that I look into his doings, and get knowledge of many things against him. He hath (as you know) the whole command of the army, and hath thereby cozened the Queen of her kingdom. And now that good Sir Richard Bingham is come, he laboureth what he can to draw him to himself, that so, at his going, he may be cut off by the enemy, which would not much dislike his Lordship. For he being a brave martial man, if he could be made away, the enemy would be eased of a great deal of fear that possesseth him, and a more ready way for Ormonde to come to his purpose. And therefore,' saith he, 'if he shall be drawn beyond the Barrow, he is never like to return.' 'Well,' quod I, 'I hope, if any such danger be likely, you have acquainted Mr. Marshal withal.' 'Yea, that I have,' quod he, 'and I hope or to-morrow night to be with him, for he will lack me greatly to be a guide to him in the country.' 'It were very fit,' quod I, 'you should, and the sooner the better.' 'Yea,' saith he 'thou shalt find I will effect such a piece of service for this

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kingdom, if I may be hearkened unto, as will make many men to wonder.' 'What is that?' quod I. Saith he, 'I will free all the Pale of these traitorous knaves, that burn and spoil the same, and draw them down to the Irish borders.' 'How can that be,' quod I. 'Mary,' saith he, 'I have the O'Dempsys at my command, and the O'Moores too.' 'How can you have so,' said I, 'sith that the O'Moores are tied by oath to Tyrone.' 'What though they be,' quod he, 'that was but a conditional oath, having passed their oath before to me.' 'Is it like,' quod I, 'that they will not dare to join themselves to you, except by acquainting Tyrone first therewith? And how is it also like that Tyrone will ever assent thereunto, knowing that the more of the rebels that shall be destroyed, the more weak he shall grow?' 'Tush,' saith he, 'you understand nothing. He, I know, will yield thereunto. And I will out of hand make my repair down unto him, and so conclude all matters, as he shall send his ordinary messenger' (which as I remember he termed by the name of a Captain) 'to all the villains, commanding them to be at my direction. And to this must Harry Hovenden be made privy, for without him, I know,' saith he, 'the Earl will do nothing. And so, having concluded, I will return back, and gather all my knaves together. And as for Phelim McFeagh here upon the mountain, I will make him yield to me his brother Redmond for his good abearing. So as by these means all the knaves shall follow me; and then no doubt the Pale shall be disburthened of the soldiers also. For when Ormonde shall have heard that all the villains shall be drawn down upon the borders of his country, he will gather all the forces together to strengthen himself. But we will so trounce him, that we will leave him but a few cows; and still as we have them, we will turn them back into the Pale, for his country swarms with them, and hath had few or none taken from him of long time.' 'Why,' quod I, 'in so doing you shall waste both that country, and spoil many a good subject, and may also endanger the army.' 'Well,' quod he, 'let them go together; the army will be able to defend themselves. But if we can get Ormonde, it is as much as we desire. And now, sith I am under his command, having the charge that I have, my desire shall be to my Lords, that my foot-band may be turned over to my Lieutenant, and my horsemen disposed to others, till I have effected the service I desire. There is none that I have partaken (sic) with this plot, but only that honest James FitzPiers, who is as sure to the State as any in the kingdom, and whom Ormonde hates, as he hates the devil, and would surely hang, if he should go unto him. He hath been laboured to go out, and if he had, others that yet are in would have followed, but they dare not whilst he stands in. For' (affirming it with a great oath), saith he, 'they fear him much, for he is a tall man, and a good executioner, and is a fast friend unto me. And I have ever found him faithful, since I made motion to match my daughter to his son. But,' saith he, 'if I could get my Lord of Kildare to accept of my daughter as his wife, I would give with her 3,000*l*. And thou wouldst marvel,' said he, 'how that could be done by me (a poor sneak) that have

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not a groat in my purse. But yet it should be performed by me.' 'That is a great piece of money indeed,' quod I, 'that you offer.' 'Well,' said he, 'it shall be had. But Ormonde hath laboured to draw him down to see his daughter, but with no purpose or intent that he shall have her; yet, like a wise man, to keep two strings to his bow, he entertaineth him with fair words; but his purpose is, if all things succeed to his liking, to match her to Tyrone's son; if otherwise, yet that he may keep one in store, to whom he may match her well.' 'How have you,' quod I, 'all this knowledge touching my Lord General?' 'Mary' (saith he) 'my wife is a Papist, and she, conversing with a woman dwelling beyond the water, getteth knowledge from her of many things, who is either mother or sister (as I remember) to one of my Lord General's secretaries.' 'Have you,' quod I, 'acquainted any man herewith?' 'Yes,' quod he, 'my Lord of Meath.' 'Yea, and some other too,' quod I. 'It is true,' said he, 'I told it to Francis Stafford and Robert Leicester. And now,' said he, 'I attend their Lordships' pleasure, for my Lord of Meath hath declared all. But I have made request that none of the Council may understand my plot, but the Lords Justices, my Lord of Meath, Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Marshal, for the other are either too much addicted to Ormonde, or too malicious to me.' 'I pray you,' quod I, 'tell me, for I conceive not your speeches well, whereto will the issue and end of all these matters tend? For Tyrone will be hardly drawn to yield obedience to Her Majesty.' 'Yes,' quod he, 'I will make him write in very submissive manner to Her Majesty for her grace and favour, and having received pardon of his disloyalty, and obtaining a grant of the Lord Presidentship of Ulster, which he desireth, he will conform himself as a good subject, and yield such compositions and duties as belongeth to a subject. But before this can be effected, lest that in the absence of the army the Pale might be overrun with the traitors in the north, which Tyrone,' saith he, 'cannot haply restrain, my plot and advice to the State shall be, that the Lord of Howth, the Lord of Louth, Sir George Cowley, and Sir Dudley Loftus (and a fifth person whose name I remember not), should have in pay for the defence of the country, each of them 100 horse' (which after he retracted to fifty), which horse they should keep upon their own tenants, and with their own provisions, to ease the residue of the country, taking lendings and pay for them of Her Majesty, upon the coming of every treasure. 'Well,' quod I, 'if that be yielded unto, what shall become of all the idle rebels that will remain, for peace cannot be long continued, if they be not extirped, or rid out of the country.' Saith he, 'Let the Queen make peace with Spain, and let a royal army be sent under the conduct of the Earl of Essex into France, to recover her right; at which time these rebels may be employed thither, that the country be troubled no more with them, and I myself will go with them, if I shall be required.'

"And this is in effect and substance all that passed between me and the said Captain Lee, as near as I can call to remembrance." Holograph. pp. 5.

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171. v. "A report of certain speeches used by Captain Thomas Lee to the Bishop of Meath on the 13th of November, 1598."

"On Monday, the 13th of this instant, as I was walking in Sir Robert Gardener his garden, Captain Thomas Lee came into the garden booted, and after salutation passed between us, I told him I did hope, now that he was set at liberty, he would bestir himself in Her Majesty's service better than other Captains had done. He answered me that his durance had much hindered Her Majesty's service, but now that he was at liberty, he would lay down a plot to be revenged upon the Lord of Ormonde, who had been the procurer of his trouble, and who (as he said) was also the author and worker of all this rebellion in Ireland. I advised him to beware what speeches he did use, alleging that the Earl of Ormonde is a great man. Mr. Lee said, 'You are all fools. It is well known,' said he 'that so long as his son lived, he sought still to settle an Earl of Ormonde, and since his son's death, he hath still been labouring to defeat Her Majesty of the whole kingdom. And as for the Earl of Tyrone,' said Mr. Lee, 'what do you talk of him? God's lid, he hath done nothing but what the other hath set him a work with; and that can you tell well enough,' said he, 'if you list. For, I pray you, how chanced it that Tyrone came not off in your last parley, as he had agreed in the second parley?' I told him that indeed it was a very strange thing to me that he started back from that which he had promised in the parley before. 'Tush,' said Mr. Lee, 'by God, Ormonde was the cause of that, and so is he the causer of all the rebellion in this land. But it is no matter,' said Mr. Lee, 'for I will dress him.' 'Why, what wilt thou do to him?' said I. 'Marie,' said Mr. Lee, 'as he hath raised up all these rebels, so I will turn them all upon himself, and I will undertake to plague him well enough; for Ormonde, Tipperary, and Kilkenny shall pay for this gear.' 'Why,' said I, 'but how can you devise to hurt my Lord of Ormonde, so long as he hath the command of all Her Majesty's forces?' Mr. Lee answered me, saying, 'Let him and them alone. I will undertake to give him his handful.' 'Why, how cans't thou do it?' quoth I. 'Content yourself,' said Mr. Lee, 'I must not be seen in the matter; but I will turn out one that shall do all this; and that shall be James FitzPiers; he shall be the Robin Hood. And I will also have Mountgarrett, and Donnell Spainagh, and Onie M'Rory and the Moores, at my command and direction; and, unless Mr. Phelim M'Feagh will also be under my disposing, I will knock him. And for myself, I will presently give over my band of foot to my Lieutenant Goldsmith, and my horse to Mr. John Sarsfeld, and I will keep only my kern, and will travel up and down with them; and I do not mean to come much at you after this in haste. But I will still have five thousand men at my command.' 'How will you get that number?' said I. 'Content yourself' said Captain Lee; 'you will think it a strange thing if I send unto you within a few days Harrie Ovington [Henry Hovenden] with the two pledges, Constable and Cosby.' 'Hold thy peace, Tom,' said I, 'thou

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wilt never get Henry Hovenden to come to trust us.' 'By God, said he, 'I will fetch him, and I will have all the Lords both of Munster and the Pale to join with me.' 'Hold thy peace, Tom Lee,' quoth I, 'if thou trust any Lord of Munster with any of these matters, thou wilt presently be bewrayed, and loose that head of thine.' 'Tush,' said Captain Lee, 'I will have them all at my command, for I know how to tie both Mountgarrett, Donnell Spainagh, and them all, by their priests, which shall bring them to me, one after another, and their priests will assure them to me by their book oaths, and I will draw them as I list.' 'But, I pray thee, tell me,' said I, 'dost thou mean that the Earl of Tyrone shall be any dealer in this matter?' 'Yes,' said Mr. Lee, 'he shall draw to the borders, and I will have five thousand men at my command.' 'Talk no more of it, Mr. Lee,' said I, 'there will never be safety in this State, to admit the northern rascals to come into Leinster, to leave behind them a villainous generation.' 'Content yourself,' said Mr. Lee, 'I will order them as pleaseth me. And I will also have the Lords of the Pale to have great numbers of men about them. The Earl of Kildare, he shall have a number of men; the Lord of Delvin, a number; the Lord of Howth, a number; Sir George Cowley, in Offally, a number; all these shall be in a readiness, but they shall not strike one stroke. And I will have Constable to be Governor of Knockfergus, Garrett Moore of the Newry, or Dundalk, I do not well remember whether of both (sic).' 'Mr. Lee,' said I, 'these are great matters, and I see no end of this your plot, but that you must become a traitor in the execution of it.' 'God's lid, that is true,' said Mr. Lee, 'and spare not you amongst you to speak against me as much as you list, as there is one of you,' and he named Sir Geoffrey Fenton, 'ready to speak evil of me in all places.' 'Well, Mr. Lee,' quoth I, 'these matters are very great, which you have broken unto me. Have you imparted these matters to my Lord Justice Gardener?' He said he had, and also to my Lord Chancellor. 'Then, Mr. Lee,' quoth I, 'this is mine advice to you. Come you before the Lords Justices and Council, and lay down your plot before them. If it shall appear to be feasible and good, their Lordships and Council will allow it, and will yield you any furtherance you shall require to perform it.' He said he was contented so to do, but he took some exception to three Councillors, viz., Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Sir George Bouchier, and Sir Henry Harrington, and said that those three should never be acquainted with the matter. Then said I, again, 'Mr. Lee, these matters, which you lay against my Lord of Ormonde, are very strange to me. Take heed that you have a ground of them, or else you may be undone by the spreading of such matters.' 'Tush,' said Mr. Lee, 'by God, he is the arrantest traitor that is this day alive in Ireland. If I had not been,' said he, 'he had turned the Earl of Kildare the other day into rebellion; but now I have stayed him, and have joined with him, and he is to marry my daughter presently.' 'Why,' said I, 'I have heard that he shall marry my Lord of Ormonde's daughter.' 'Tush,' said Captain Lee, 'it was agreed in the

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beginning of this rebellion, between Ormonde and Tyrone, that the kingdom should be divided between them two, and that Tyrone should have had from the Boyne northwards, and Ormonde from the Boyne southward; and then the agreement was, that Hugh Tyrone's son should have been married to Ormonde's daughter. The Lord Justice came into the place where we were talking, and so our speeches ended; but all this, in discharge of my bounden duty, I related to their Lordships, and by their commandment have committed this my declaration to writing, all with mine own hand, and, both upon my duty and credit, do testify this to be a true declaration." Holograph. pp. 4½.

171. VI. "The declaration of me, Robert Leycester, touching some speeches or communication lately passed between Captain Thomas Lee, now prisoner in Her Majesty's Castle of Dublin, and me, being commanded by the Right Honourable the Lords Justices to set down the same truly, as I would upon mine oath and duty of allegiance deliver it to their Lordships."—1598, November 28 (sic? error for 27). [To the same effect as the preceding enclosures.] Signed. pp. 4.

Nov. 27.
Naas.

172. Sir Richard Bingham to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. "The very same day that our men had relieved and well furnished the ward in the Abbey of Athy, the Constable gave it up upon friendly composition, and remaineth, with some fourteen more, all English, with the rebels; the rest, disarmed, came hither. James FitzPiers wrote to me that he, as Sheriff, had taken it to Her Majesty's use, but he delivered it over immediately to Onie M'Rory, who hath broken the Abbey down, and the castle upon the bridge is warded still by James FitzPiers his men. It is strange that Englishmen become traitors amongst these Irish rebels; for these men were well furnished, and able to have kept the Abbey for a time against all the rebels in these parts. But Collier, the Constable, was married to one of the Moores, and by that means, as it should seem, was the 'castilier' drawn to be a villain. James FitzPiers, with the Dempseys, O'Duns, and Onie M'Rory's forces, were all Saturday about Monasterevan, where they lost divers of their best men, and had some twelve well galled with shot, with which departing from thence, not gaining the house, they came yesterday to Kildare, where at the instant they remain. I sent twelve men with a sergeant to Kildare some five days ago, and offered to send more, if they could have been victualled; and these unadvisedly going into the town to drink upon Friday last, were intercepted before they could recover the castle, and five of them slain. The rest with some two or three more, which belong to the house, do yet hold one tower, and with a bullet shot William M'Oliver clean through the shoulder, as he was entering the greatest tower or keep of the said castle, which is possessed by the rebels. They are reported to be a great many in Kildare, and I was yesternight advertised that Donnell Spainagh was passing to them, [and] that it will be hard for our forces now to remove them. Yet, God willing, we will make trial this day. If I had any strength of

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horsemen, I would do much (by God's assistance) in these borders; but we have none either in preparation or of trust to be much reckoned of, saving a few of mine, and Captain Montague's, which are away. Yesterday I could not get thirty men amongst the rest; for, of one company of thirty-five, there came but twenty. It is a misery to lie near these traitors, and want a sufficient strength to encounter them; and to put these small forces we have in danger, upon odd and great disadvantage, were too desperate, as our case standeth. For it is very like that the enemy maketh not this head for nothing. Both in Kildare, and all about, not any man stirreth for any fear of the rebels; but all resteth quiet, and ready to take part with the strongest, which is an apparent sign of a general evil disposition in the people. These companies must now be supplied with money, or else they cannot continue here." Some more munition should likewise be sent, for there are not above four barrels in store with the Master of the Ordnance.—Naas, 1598, November 27. *Copy.* p. 1.

Nov. 27. 173. "A particular note of such forces as are now lying in towns and forts in Ireland, and are of necessity daily to be relieved with victuals out of Her Majesty's store." These forces are in Newry, Carrickfergus, Dundalk, and the fort of Leix. Total, 2,050. *Endorsed:*—1598, November 27. p. 1.

Nov. 27. 174. "A proportion of biscuit, butter, and cheese, to be provided for the victualling of 1,000 footmen for two months."—1598, November 27. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Nov. 28. 175. The Privy Council to Sir Thomas Norreys. It has pleased
Whitehall. Her Majesty to direct him in many things by her letters; but she has referred him to them for some things. Send him the following instructions. He is to employ the forces allotted to him, for guarding the walled towns and special castles, without hazarding any number of soldiers in any encounter, save upon likelihood of advantage. He is to have special care this winter that, wheresoever the forces are bestowed, they be continually trained and disciplined, and the musters justly and exactly taken. He is to take good pledges of any he suspects, and is to make it publicly known that Her Majesty is forthwith preparing a great and royal army, with all necessary furniture and provisions. He is to have care of victual and garrans, so that both the enemy may be prevented of the spoil of them, and the Queen's army relieved, when it comes. For this purpose it will be well to draw the creaghts into such places as he can defend, since he is not able to defend the subject everywhere. And if he sees the rebel so far too strong for him, that he can keep nothing from spoil out of the towns, then he is to take thereinto all kind of grain, making magazines for the present and future relief of the army. Also, he is to kill and salt as many beeves as he can, and to leave nothing, as near as may be, to the spoil of the rebel. He is to see that no victual be transported out of Munster, either of what is now in it, or of such as shall be brought there from other parts. He is to visit all the ports and

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towns to which any good shipping may come, and to observe with regard to such places; of what strength they are; what present and cheap helps might be given to them, to make them more defensible; what numbers of able-bodied men are in each of them, and also of men armed and furnished for the wars; what artillery and munitions they have, and what supplies they may get by their own endeavour, or what must be yielded them by Her Majesty; what victuals are or may be provided both for the inhabitants and for Her Majesty's army; what storehouses they have for victuals, "which if they be decayed, they must be repaired, and if there be none, they must be made"; lastly, "how they stand generally and everyone in particular affected to the State, or to be suspected to bear affection, either to the rebel or to the Spaniard; in which case you are to appoint the stronger garrisons for the worst affected places, and, the garrisons being once brought in, to seize all such as you shall have just cause to suspect of disloyalty." The fort of Dungannon, being of great importance to the haven of Waterford, is to have better numbers put into it.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 28. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 94^b 95. *Copy. pp. 2.* *There is another copy of this letter in the same Entry Book on fos. 96^b–97^b.*

Nov. 28.
Whitehall.

176. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, and the Council. In addition to Her Majesty's letters now sent to them, have thought good to let them understand that there has been no want of disposition or care to furnish them with money from time to time. Twenty thousand pounds have been for above six weeks at the seaside, attending opportunity of wind and weather to be transported to Ireland. Twelve thousand pounds more are now on the way, though long stayed through Sir Henry Wallop having no sufficient person to receive them from the tellers' hands. A further sum is appointed to follow shortly. "Considering therefore the deduction that is now to be made, and allowance for the great quantity of victuals that hath been sent thither to Her Majesty's great charge, of which you seem never to make any computation, we doubt not but you shall be well furnished to discharge all the arrearages of this latter month," and that Her Majesty may not be troubled hereafter with the repair of any persons demanding money for victualling of soldiers. Have given order for the payment of 463*l.* "and odd money" to the city of Dublin for such victualling. Of the last sum of 12,000*l.*, now sent to Ireland, they have appointed 4,000*l.* to be conveyed to Cork, to serve for the numbers employed in that Province, because of the difficulty of sending treasure thither from Dublin. Require a sufficient Paymaster to be sent to Cork. Have given Newcomen 1,000*l.* for the provision of victuals for the garrisons in the north. Hope that, with the money sent, means will be found to victual the present army until February, when the great army shall come over. After that time Her Majesty has resolved to cause provision to be made in England of all things for the army to be employed in the prosecution and continuation of the wars in Ireland. Her Majesty mindeth not to increase the horse-

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men's pay of 12*d.* *per diem*, until the coming over of a new Deputy with further forces, when these things shall be referred to his discretion. As to there being no carriage in Cork for the ordnance, and the other great wants of munition in all places in Munster, they marvel that, considering the great quantity of all kinds of munition sent to Dublin from time to time, the Master of the Ordnance in Ireland does not take order to see those necessary wants supplied, considering the importance and danger of Munster.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 28. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 97^b–98^b. *Copy.* pp. 2.

Nov. 28.

177. "Geoffrey Lynch, of Galway, merchant, who, sailing into his country about the 15th day of September last, was taken by a Spanish pinnace, which carried him to Ferrol, where he hath been detained until the 10th day of this present month of November.

"1. Examined here this 28th day of November, reporteth to have seen there fifteen galleons, and that there are two at the Groyne; all which are victualling and preparing with all speed. There are four thousand soldiers ready to be embarked when they shall be ready to set sail. It is not known whither they are to go.

"2. Item, that in two harbours of Biscay, which he could not name, there are eighteen great 'Biscains,' and three thousand soldiers ready to be embarked into them.

"3. Item, that at Lisbon there are fifteen great galleons, besides other ships, as he hath understood, and knoweth not what number of men there may be to ship into them.

"4. Item, that in the river of Seville there are twenty-five ships ready, and to be made ready, with great number of soldiers. The companies which were in Brittany are gone thither. There are also gone thither fifteen companies from Ferrol, under the conduct of 'Snedego' [? Senor Diego].

"5. Item, that the King taketh his journey to go to Lisbon, whereby it is thought that all the said ships shall make their rendezvous there; of which His Majesty will dispose at his pleasure.

"6. Item, that at his departure from the said Ferrol, there were three pinnaces of the burthen of 40 tons [a]piece, or thereabouts, ready to set sail to come upon the coast of England; of which the self same that took him was one; and have in them two English pilots; one of them of Poole, called Lambert, and the other of Plymouth, who was there born and yet (*sic*) married, called Griffin.

"7. Item, that he is assured that at this present they are upon the coast of England, to see if they may take any shipping, to get advice of them, and to discover whether there be any army preparing in England.

"8. Item, that all the aforesaid preparations are to two purposes; the one, to send to Porto Rico ['Porterieque'] for to fortify it with men, and to repair the ruins made by the Earl of Cumberland.

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"9. Item, that the rest is for the keeping of their coast, and to follow after the English army, if any be raised either for the Indies or other parts, and especially their intent is to oppose themselves unto the succours of Ireland, to the end that the rebels may still maintain their rebellions against Her Majesty.

"10. Item, that there runneth a rumour that the King pretendeth to send thither some number of men, and that, forasmuch as they have understood of certain, that Her Majesty pretendeth to send thither great forces; and, by reason thereof, they are the more inclined to assist them, whereby to work the continuance of those wars."—[1598], November 28. *Unsigned. pp. 1½.*

Nov. 29.
Whitehall.

178. Queen Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Norreys. "We have understood by divers reports, as well of your letters as also from our Council of State in Ireland, how strange a revolt is happened in our Province of Munster, a matter which we cannot deny to have been foreseen by you and written hither; and yet are you not freed by all reporters from this information; that in the beginning, when the first traitor drew to head with a ragged number of rogues and boys, you might better have resisted than you did, especially considering the many defensible houses and castles possessed by the undertakers who, for aught we can hear, were no way comforted nor supported by you; but either for lack of comfort from you, or out of mere cowardice, fled away before the rebels upon the first alarm.

We have, therefore, in consideration of your small means, sent over the number of 2,000 foot, not doubting but you will see them employed for our greatest service, to whom particular circumstances and alterations are best known; and yet we have commanded some general heads for your direction to be set down by our Council, all which we do recommend to your care and diligence, having given order not only to make up your 30 horse [to] the number of fifty in sterling pay, but also to send over another 100 horse for better reinforcement; hoping that with these means, and some such other forces as shall be spared from the State, you will yield us good account upon these rebels, that have traitorously taken arms against us."—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 29. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 96. Copy. p. 1.*

Nov. 29.

179. "A form for the receipt and issue of grain and other victuals, to be provided in England, and transported for the victualling of Her Majesty's army in Ireland, and for the controlment of the same." *There is also added, "Another course, more certain for the victualling of Her Majesty's army." — 1598, November 29. These are by George Beverley. Holograph. p. 1.*

Nov. 30.
Whitehall.

180. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. The 2,000 soldiers sent into Munster. Out of the last 12,000*l.* they purposed to send 4,000*l.* to Cork, by means of Henry Wallop, Esquire, deputy of Sir Henry Wallop. He has excused himself, for want of a sufficient person to take charge of the same. Have therefore given direction to Sir Henry Wallop that, when the treasure arrives at Dublin, 4,000*l.* may be sent to

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Cork, under the charge of a sufficient Paymaster, to be issued for payment of the soldiers employed in Munster. This is to be done with all speed, as the 2,000 men are already landed in the Province, —The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 30. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 98^b, 99. *Copy.* p. 1.

Nov. 30.
Whitehall.

181. The Privy Council to Sir Henry Wallop. Concerning the sending of the 4,000*l.* to Cork. As the Earl of Ormonde will have occasion to be absent in places far distant from Munster, the payments to the soldiers in that Province are to be by warrant of Sir Thomas Norreys, the President.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, November 30. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 99, 99^b. *Copy.* p. 1.

Nov.

182. Copy of a letter from the Queen to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, on behalf of the Earl of Thomond, authorising the making of a grant to him in fee simple of certain lands hitherto held by him in fee farm. Also, concerning the payment of certain moneys to the said Earl. *Endorsed*:—1598, November. *Signed*. "Windebank." p. 1.

Nov.
Dublin.

183. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although by the joint letters of my Lords Justices and Council your Honour shall understand the miserable and dangerous estate which this poor kingdom standeth in, yet I presume, according my duty, to advertise your Honour briefly my particular conceit thereof, which is, that unless Her Majesty will be pleased speedily and very royally to undertake the prosecution of the rebels, the whole kingdom, I fear, will soon be utterly subverted and lost. For now, Munster being in a manner wholly fallen away (the chief towns and cities only excepted, who are to be feared that, if the Spaniards do arrive, they will willingly receive them), and the countries on this side adjoining to it, likewise entered into action by the late revolt of the Lords of Mountgarrett and Cahir, and my Lord of Thomond's brother, little of Connaught remaining, and that which standeth not like long so to continue, we have nothing in substance left, saving a little here about Dublin and part of the county of Wexford; and what 'assurance we may make of them, I rest doubtful, by reason first of their affection to the Popish religion, and then the discontentment they are entered into through the spoils done upon them by the rebels, and continual burthen and charge they endure by the soldier, and yet little defended by him. Some gentlemen of good account on the borders are joined to the rebels, and from those which stand in, their sons, brethren, and servants, are fallen, which may give us sufficient cause to doubt of the rest. Withal, the Captains, officers, and soldiers, are generally discontented and discomforted by the pride and success of the rebels, and principally because they receive not their pay according Her Majesty's ordinances, which cannot be observed for lack of money. These evil presages concurring, may be fit occasions to move Her Majesty and your Lordships to yield means for speedy redress, which I make bold humbly to beseech your Honour to further."

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. Earnestly craves for his revocation. Has long, faithfully, and truly served Her Highness, but is now, and shall daily be more and more, unfit and unable to discharge his office as were meet, through his years and infirmities of body, which daily increase.—Dublin, 1598, November. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

[Nov.]

184. "Remembrances for despatches to be presently sent into Ireland."

"To my Lord of Ormonde. That, since the rebellion is so universal, as the rebels are, almost in every Province, masters of the field, and that there cannot be so speedily levies made, and victuals and all provisions else sent over, as were to be wished; that he will make the best defensive war he can for these next months of December and January, and rather seek to conserve than to hazard anything, till Her Majesty's greater forces arrive.

"Also, that his Lordship be admonished to divide Her Majesty's chiefest forces betwixt Munster and Leinster, leaving only some garrisons in Ulster and Connaught; and that in the Provinces of Munster and Leinster, he labour chiefly to assure the walled towns, or other castles that stand, so as they give advantage for making the war upon passages, or commanding of countries that are yet in obedience and unspoiled.

"Thirdly, that, next to the towns and castles of importance, he take care to conserve all victual and garrans for the use of Her Majesty's army, when it shall arrive, and from the spoil of the rebel, who else will feed himself with it. And where he cannot defend such cattle and creaghts, that he drive them with him to places or countries of most strength.

"Fourthly, that he take good pledges of all Lords of countries or chief gentlemen, whom he hath any cause to suspect, and that he be rather too jealous than too secure, since the infection is so general.

"That he take order that the musters be more exactly taken than heretofore, to the end that Her Majesty, knowing the true state of her forces there, may make her levies accordingly, to fill up such a number as shall be thought convenient for the prosecution of this war; and that in this muster, not only the heads of the men in every company, but the sorts and number of every kind of arms, be set down.

"That he give order through the whole kingdom, that there be a continual training and disciplining of the soldiers, that they be taught the true and perfect use of their arms, all sounds of the drum, all directions and commandments by the voice, and finally all duties of soldiers whatsoever, and especially that the Captains and officers take great pains with the new men that are, and have been lately, sent over.

"That he make it known through the whole kingdom, by his letters so directed as he shall think best, that though by this sudden revolt the rebels may seem to have some advantage, and that Her Majesty's party is in show the weaker, yet Her Majesty is resolved to be revenged of these perfidious, unnatural, and barbarous traitors;

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and to that end is both making great levies of horsemen and footmen in England, as also sending all her old soldiers of the Low Countries, with store of victuals, arms, munition, artillery, and treasure, to prosecute the war, like a Princess that at the greatest monarch's hand in Christendom would never take any bravado, and therefore will much less suffer a herd of wild rogues to live unchastised. And therefore, those which are yet in obedience may be warned and comforted to stand fast.

"Lastly, he must be put in mind of the nature of his charge, not of any part of the army, but of the whole forces and war; and therefore he is to have a more general care of all than it seems he hath had, and to hold a better correspondence with the provincial Governors than in times past; as also to repair oftener to Dublin to the State, that they and he may with more unanimity and mature deliberation agree upon their courses, and execute them accordingly."

Sir Thomas Norreys is to see to the guarding of the walled towns and most important castles of Munster; to have care of victuals and garrans, keeping the creaghts of the Province in such places as he can well defend, and making magazines for the storage of grain, leaving nothing to the spoil and use of the rebel. [*Other directions follow, for which see No. 175 of November 28.*] He is to see to the training of the soldiers during this winter, and to the just and exact taking of the muster-rolls. He is to take good pledges of all who are not yet out, if he have cause to suspect them, and to assure the subjects of Munster of the army that is being prepared by Her Majesty. He is to be directed to make "a conserving war," rather than hazard, except upon great reason, any numbers of soldiers, till Her Majesty's greater forces arrive.

Similar directions to be sent to Sir Conyers Clifford for Connaught. He is further to be told that Galway is to be the storehouse and staple of all provisions for the war, so he is to find fit places there for the keeping of the same. He is to certify what victuals and provender will be found in Connaught, for the relief of the army, in February, March, and April next.

"Also, he is to be told that Her Majesty doth not only resolve that her army shall be master of the field in that Province, as well as in the rest, but that she will have the castles of Ballyshannon, Ballymote, and Sligo, to be taken and made garrisons to cover that Province, and to be a bulwark against O'Donnell and the northern rebels. And therefore he is to do all things that a provident Governor or judicial (*sic*) Captain should do, to fit himself for such a design."

The Lords Justices and Council are to be written unto, letting them know how greatly and how speedily Her Majesty doth prepare, and that in the meantime she would have a defensive war made, lest some blow should be given to her army, ere it be in sufficient strength. The Earl of Ormonde, Sir Thomas Norreys, and Sir Conyers Clifford are to be required to hold a Council how this purpose of making a good defensive war during December and

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January may be best effected, and to certify their resolution forthwith. When they have agreed, as Sir Thomas Norreys and Sir Conyers Clifford have special charge in Munster and Connaught, so Sir Richard Bingham, the Marshal, might be used in Leinster, and Sir Samuel Bagenall directed towards Ulster; "always provided that, as the Earl of Ormonde is over them all, so all their directions come from him; though Her Majesty will like best that he do divide his care, and hold a superintendency over all, and so to reside most at Dublin with the State, rather than to confine himself to any one place or service, where he cannot confer with the rest of Her Majesty's Council, nor give directions so generally nor so fitly. This point also must be remembered in the directions to my Lord of Ormonde."—[1598, November.] *Copy.* pp. 4½.

Nov.

185. Captain William Mostyn to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends a plot for the cutting off of "that cruell and tironious traytor of Tiron," and of his wicked confederates. Has had twenty-seven years' experience of the Irish wars. The plot will be a means of preserving many soldiers' lives. The charge thereof will be requited by the "preys taken from the very jaws of the enemy." *Endorsed*:—1598, November. *Signed.* p. ½.

Appended is the "plot" referred to:

Thirteen thousand foot to be sent from England, with full proportion of all necessaries for five or six months. Frequent sallies to be made by the garrisons into which they shall be divided. One thousand to be landed at Ballyshannon, whence they can march southward into Maguire's country, or eastward towards Lough Foyle into O'Donnell's country. Two thousand to be landed at Lifford or Strabane, whence they may serve in O'Donnell's country westward, and southward towards the river of the Bann, and may, in one night, march half way to the Blackwater. Two thousand to be placed at Mount Sendal, on the River Bann, who may march in one night half way towards the garrison of Lifford, and into the strong fastness of the traitor, called Glancankin, directly up from Mount Sendal towards the Blackwater, and may also march thence towards Knockfergus. Four thousand to land at Newry, and thence march to Armagh, till the Blackwater be had. How these several garrisons can act in the country. Two thousand to land at Drogheda, and march thence to Monaghan in M'Mahon's country. Two thousand to land at Dublin, and thence to march, one thousand to Kells, and one thousand to Cavan. The victualling of the aforesaid garrisons.

The establishing of Ulster in dutiful obedience "will never be (by all likelihood) effected so well by the dent of the sword, as if it should also come by the cruelty of famine, which must be by taking away their cattle in each part where the traitors inhabit." If the foresaid plot be allowed and maintained, it will curb the traitors of Ulster; and those not cut off by fire and sword will in a short time be dispatched by famine. How the cattle so taken should be disposed of.

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"Your Honour must understand that these garrisons are in remote places, and in a cold country, under a cold climate, where no relief is, but what they carry with them; therefore they must be carefully provided for from England of all things necessary, as shoes, stockings, blankets and sheets to lie in, else they will be very apt to take that country[s] disease, and in short time be unserviceable, or else die.

"It is a small charge to every county or shire, which sendeth soldiers forth for Ireland, to provide for each man, one blanket, one rough sheet, four pair[s] of spare shoes, three pair[s] of spare stockings, two spare shirts, all which will be bought for xxs. of money or thereabouts. It were better for the soldiers to want their blue coats than the necessities aforesaid. The bestowing of the said xxs. (as aforesaid) by the country upon the soldiers, no doubt will save them many a supply, which otherwise they shall be driven to send for Ireland. The country where I was born in (being North Wales), when they do send men for Ireland, do usually give xxs. to each soldier to drink, which is better to be bestowed as aforesaid.

"And if the soldiers should land at the said places (being the fittest places about the traitors to pull them down), and [be] driven, as I have often seen the soldiers do, which came from England, to lie a whole month or a quarter of a year in their clothes, without shifting, and very oft travel (which they must do) through cold and wet, with small refreshings for their hungry bodies, doth your Honour think otherwise but they will be in short time unserviceable? Yes, I have often seen the same."

The aforesaid provision to be made by each shire for the men it sends to Ireland. These necessities not to be delivered to any soldier, lest he sell them, until he comes to his garrison, but be delivered to the clerk of each band. No money to be given by the shires either to Captains or clerks to provide such necessities, "for fear the soldiers will be therein hardly dealt withal by their Captains."

If 13,000 men be considered too many for Ulster alone, it is to be remembered that Tyrone and his confederates will draw every traitor they can to them for their own defence, and Leinster, Munster, and Connaught will be eased of the rebels they are now troubled with; whilst the native people of those countries will willingly seek their protections. If they will not, they are of no great force, when Tyrone cannot relieve them. If fewer men are employed, the service will much linger, to Her Majesty's greater charges, and in the end be effected to no good purpose. Wealth of the rebels in cattle. Four hundred thousand head could be taken from them. Has seen thirty thousand head taken in one morning by O'Donnell, a little above Roscommon. If all Connaught had been preyed as that corner was, an infinite number might have been gathered.

"It hath been said for a truth that the territory of O'Neill, being only Tyrone, hath an infinite number of kine more than any part of Ireland, quantity for quantity, besides stud mares an infinite

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number. I was told by O'Neill his secretary long sithence, and I heard it told divers times of [*i.e.*, by] others, that when O'Neill would take up a subsidy or cutting of 12*d.* a milch cow ['melshe cove'], he would take up in his country of Tyrone only between six thousand and seven thousand pounds. By that reckoning, he can have no less than six score thousand and odd milch kine in Tyrone. There must be three times more of barren kine, besides other cattle, which will be all taken, by God's help, by these garrisons. Then, I beseech your Honour, consider what is in O'Donnell's country, Maguire's, M'Mahon[s], Magennis[s], O'Cahan[s], and divers other countries, which will be also taken. You might rather judge that eight hundred thousand heads of cattle should be taken by these garrisons than four hundred thousand.

"Also, directions must be given to each Captain (when he, and his company, doth sally forth in service), that he leave in the garrison his clerk, with such others as shall be of each company left to make the garrison place good till their return; and commandment [be] given to the said clerk of each band to receive each two soldiers' (being bedfellows) wallet or pack, 'maled up with a malinge corde,' wherein those two bedfellows have their bedclothes, and wearing clothes, with so much provision therein of victuals as they shall leave behind them. And the clerk, receiving their several pack[s], shall sew a billet upon each pack or wallet, and thereon write the names of the owners, by which billet he may deliver each two soldier[s] his own. Commandment to be given by the Captains to such as shall of each company stay to keep the garrison, that they shall see that no straw or thatch be taken from their fellows' cabin till their return, with proclamation in the garrison that no soldier, upon pain of severe punishment, shall touch any of their fellows' straw or thatch from either within or without his cabin. By which good order and provision, the lives of a number will be saved, and a number kept serviceable, which otherwise will seem, instead of men, but shadows."

It is requisite to have 1,000 horsemen placed with these garrisons. Difficulty as to forage in Ireland. Distribution of the horsemen. Disadvantages of running camps. Early information obtained by the rebels. Advantages of sudden excursions from garrison places.

"I have often seen in setting forwards out of garrison to a sudden journey for three or four days, and marching in an evening towards and in our enemies' country, we should not be descried till the next morning, and not fought withal all that day; and perhaps the second day march without fight but very little; but, by the third day, all the country had time to come together, and would give a sore fight; and I have seen often, the carriage of two or three 'hurted' men to be the occasion of the killing of a great sort of men, and the service much letted and hindered in defending and carrying of our 'hurted' men with us; the longer they be carried, the more danger and trouble shall be with them. Therefore it is not to be doubted but that any great running camps shall be fought withal

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(after two or three days be past), how great so ever it (*sic*) be, in places convenient for our enemies' purpose, and some of our men will be daily hurt, which when they are hurt in any running camps, how little so ever it be, unless the wounded man be able to shift for himself, or have great friends in the camp (which every common soldier hath not), he is but lost, and so the longer they are forth, the more will increase their wounded men, and will be troublesome unto the soldiers, and hinder the service. And if the soldiers see their fellows miscarry upon some small hurts, they will have no courage to show themselves forward in service; which to the contrary, if they do see and know, if that they be hurt, they are marching from the service to their garrison place, and to their warm beds to surgery, there is no doubt but each soldier will put forwards his best foot, and show himself most valiant."

The forces should be made ready before Christmas to be transported; after Christmas without fail, for then their [the rebels'] cattle will begin to weaken. The forces being in their garrisons before, or by, Candlemas at the furthest, they will have convenient time to take the most part of the cattle before May. If the forces stay in England, as the enemy desire, till towards March or April, the cattle will begin to take strength, it will be very hard to take them, and they can easily be driven by the enemy from place to place, till they are put in great safety. Instance from Captain Mostyn's own experience.

"There must be order taken that each surgeon in each band do bring with them (*sic*) good store of salves or drugs to make the same; for there must be no running to Dublin for the same out of their garrisons."

"Moreover, if this plot be followed, I would wish that no protections or pardons be given to none in Ulster, but only to such as should promise to kill and draw blood (and do it) upon such principal traitor or traitors as they should be appointed to do, and promise to be 'agweid' to serve against the rest, until such time as it shall please Her Majesty to cease her fury.

"There must be guides provided in each garrison, which the State there may do for money or cattle promised to them.

"The due consideration of all which I leave to your Honour's grave and wise consideration." *Endorsed*:—1598, November. pp. 8½.

Nov.

186. "About the latter end of November, 1598," there landed 2,000 men at Waterford. List of Captains for the same, at Waterford, Youghal, Cork, and Kinsale, respectively. p. ½.

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Dec. 1.
Whitehall.

1. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. "Although we have forborne to write many letters unto you, since these late dangerous alterations have appeared in the state of our kingdom of Ireland, yet we doubt not but by the course of our proceedings in sending over great supplies, to our excessive charge, as well as to the burthen of this our kingdom, and by continual directions by our Council, you see how great our care hath been, and is, to preserve our good subjects, and to chastise the insolency of the rebels. But now, since we do find the success of all things so contrary to our expectation, as when we looked for some reports of the fruits of our sending, we receive nought else but news of new losses and calamities in that State, we think it our part (as Sovereign of that kingdom) to discharge ourselves to God, of whom we hold it, by looking into the growing causes of these continual streams of miseries and confusion, wherewith all parts of that our kingdom are overflown. We see by the report of our musters, and the last letters written from you, our Lieutenant, a certificate of almost 9,000 men; of which great numbers when we observe what use is made, we do not only see the northern traitor untouched at home and rang[ing] where else he pleased, but the provincial rebels in every Province, by such as he can spare, enabled to give law to our provincial Governors. Besides that, the Pale is not only wasted, but the walls of Dublin (where our State is seated) esteemed unsafe, and (as we hear) the suburbs thought a dangerous lodging for some of our principal Councillors, who had a long time there remained. These things being duly weighed by us, and we disdain[ing] much to bear affronts from any, much less from a rabble of base kern, we have thought good to provide for remedy with all expedition, and yet not to pass over present consideration and directions, which the necessity of time and matter doth require, to this end specially, that until those things may be sent (wherein no cost nor charge shall be spared, fit for a provident Prince to afford, in care for her loving subjects, such things may be reformed, and such course taken presently, as may serve to prepare a safe foundation for that great work which shall follow. To which purpose we will remember to you some principal causes of these so infinite losses and dangers.

"First, there hath never been any care taken by the Captains to train such soldiers as newly come over, neither is there any uniformity of discipline through the whole kingdom; in which point we have commanded our Council to write, and direct you more particularly. Secondly, the numbers that are certified us, are not only false and unjust for the gain of the Captains, but our own charge of continual sending turneth to nothing by the corrupt licentiating of soldiers to return into England immediately after their arrival on that side. Wherein, for that we have heard a weak answer made, that the port towns do suffer them to be transported back again, we must say this, and speak it freely, that

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neither our Civil Governors nor you, our Lieutenant of our army, can be excusable, seeing in all things it is unlawful for any person to suffer soldiers to return, or to be transported without sufficient passes. And if it be objected that owners of ships and masters do receive them by stealth, we must lay the blame on you, who, knowing the fault, and seeing the prejudice, have not inflicted grievous punishments exemplary upon such as, after so many warnings, shall so notoriously offend us.

“Further, we must needs say that our Governors, both of Munster and Connaught, have been by one measure neglected, when notwithstanding your own letters declare an account of 9,000 men in the kingdom, neither of those two places have been supplied with any numbers for their defence, and scantied of all things, even when in no one part of the kingdom any prosecution is made, so as we must either conclude that we are suffered by you to pay an army and have none, or that there is an army, an[d] ill employed.

“Further, also, we must let you know what inconveniences have grown by delaying timely consultations, and executing things resolved on, by means of the absence of you, our Lieutenant, without whose advice and direction nothing could be resolved for the wars; insomuch as when we directed our letters at any time to the place of residence of our State, or when they that remained there found cause of new counsels, nothing could be effected in regard of your being far ‘remoted,’ in whose judgment most is reposed. And therefore, seeing there be persons in that our kingdom fit to reside in particular Provinces, and to command such portions of our army as shall be distributed for several services, and that yourself only are fit to be resident where our State is at Dublin, from whence all other particular directions must pass, we do therefore command you that you make your abode for the most part at Dublin; and as Norreys and Clifford are resident in their Provinces, so our Marshal Bingham may be used for the war of Leinster, and Bagenall directed towards Ulster. Over all which, as we have committed to you the superintendency, so we require you from time to time to take care that they be supplied and enabled; according to such means as we can send you.

“And forasmuch as it were inconvenient that our army should hazard any main prosecution, until it may be better provided and strengthened, we think it fit that the greatest part of the forces may be drawn between Munster and Leinster, saving such as are left for garrisons upon Ulster and Connaught; and, in the Provinces of Munster and Leinster, that you labour chiefly to assure the walled towns and other castles, that stand aptly to give advantage for making the war upon the passages for commanding of countries, that are yet in obedience and unspoiled.

“Next, our pleasure is, that you take good pledges of all the Lords of countries, or chief gentlemen, that you have any cause to suspect, and that you be rather too jealous than secure; and, lastly, that all good means be used for conservation of victual and garrans for the use of our army which shall arrive, and that wheresoever there is any victual, which you think is not likely to be kept from

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the traitor nor preserved for us, that you rather suffer it to be destroyed than reserved.

"Having now remembered you of some particulars fit for our service, we think it fit, also, that you make it known to all our good and loving subjects that, howsoever, hitherto they may be dejected by some disasters lately happened, and by the miseries they have suffered, that although we cannot free many of them from many omissions, when we consider what defences in former times the noblemen of that kingdom, and others, have used against divers rebels, yet may they assure themselves that we, that have prevailed (under God's favour) against the greatest monarchs or enemies, will never suffer our good subjects any longer to be oppressed, but will graciously consider of all that stand to us and to their duty, and will make them able to revenge themselves upon those vile and wicked rebels, by sending a sufficient force of horse and foot, both out of England, strengthened with the old soldiers of the Low Countries, and provided of all things necessary, whereby we doubt not but to yield them the due reward for their viperous and rebellious crimes against our State and person."

Requires to have, as soon as may be, a more perfect declaration as to the numbers of her forces by poll, how many are Irish, and how the army is "sorted for" their arms of all kinds. Sir Thomas Norreys to have his band of thirty horsemen increased to fifty, and their pay to be 12*d.* sterling *per diem*.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, December 1. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 99^b–101^b. *Copy. pp. 4.*

Dec. 1.
Whitehall.

2. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Henry Wallop. "After much dispute with your son and your man, who promised that they would carry 4,000*l.* of their 12,000*l.* delivered, wherewith they begin but this day their journey towards Ireland, they have flatly answered us, that they dare not carry any money to Munster, without your directions, whereby this is now the case of that Province; that now that 2,000 men more are sent, they have not one penny to find them. He that hath the money now to carry hath letters in Her Majesty's name precisely to direct you to send away 4,000*l.* of this 12[000*l.*], as soon as it is come to Dublin, of which I thought it fit to advertise you before, because that money and those letters may be long in coming to you, and withal to desire you to send over some man hither, that may have authority to carry money into Munster directly hereafter, out of the treasure here issued; being in readiness to send you more money, if we had men to receive it. I pray you, therefore, hasten them over, and such persons as be of discretion and judgment, better than some of those you have put in trust. I know you will say you receive nothing from me of pleasing subject. For my part, I pray you believe in your own particular, I favour you as much, and will, as any gentleman in that kingdom; but in these public misfortunes, and the continual vexations which that kingdom affords, you must pardon us, that are public ministers, if we write sorely, being daily

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partakers of Her Majesty's mislikes of all things that belong to that country, in which I cannot blame her; but God, I hope, will send better, and so I end."—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, December 1. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 101^b. *Copy*. p. 1.

Dec. 1.
Dublin.

3. Captain Thomas Reade to [Sir Robert Cecil]. "The continuance of the easterly wind hath hindered the passage of my letter; sithence, this hath happened, which I thought good to deliver to your Honour. Friar Nangle is now with Tyrone, whose lying in those parts will increase much mischief. Their new-nominated Earl of Desmond hath also a messenger with Tyrone. My Lord of Mountgarrett's messenger is also with Tyrone. The effect of their negotiation is, they demand the aid of forces. Tyrone is contented to satisfy Mountgarrett's request, and intendeth to employ his base son Con with the command of a thousand shot to the aid of Mountgarrett, hoping by that course to cause the State to use their forces, only to attend the enemy in Leinster, and so to divert the forces purposed for the defence of the northern border, and the annoyance of Tyrone's people, who confront the garrisons of those borders. Tyrone hath a great desire, if possibly he can effect it, to have a meeting and a conference with Mountgarrett, Desmond, and the traitors of Munster and Leinster; and it is supposed that to (*sic*) that intention Tyrone is drawn to the borders, and sendeth Mountgarrett aid. Stradbally ['Stradbery'], a principal place in Leix, and a house of Captain Cosby's in the Queen's County, is possessed by the enemy and razed.

"Sir Richard Bingham, by sending a cavalcade of horse from the Naas to the town of Kildare, performed a very good piece of service, and killed of the enemy sixty, well-armed and furnished. This was done the 28th of November.

James FitzPiers, Sheriff of the county of Kildare, being demanded to deliver a castle standing upon the bridge of Athy, which he possesseth, and [which] much importeth the good and secure passage of the army, in their march to the relief of the fort in Leix, denieth the delivery thereof unto the State. What the event will be is not yet known.

"The last of November, the enemy burned Dunboyne, within six miles of Dublin, at nine of the clock in the day, without any resistance; and, before that, did burn and spoil near Dublin, without contradiction or hurt done unto them.

"There remaineth at Dublin 200 of the late supplies, for the defence and safeguard of the State and city."—Dublin, 1598, December 1. *Signed*. pp. 2.

Dec. 3.
Whitehall.

4. Queen Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Norreys. "We have understood by divers reports of your letters, as also from our Council of State in Ireland, how strange a revolt is happened in our Province of Munster, a matter which we cannot deny to have been foreseen by you, and written hither; and yet you are not freed by all reporters from this information, that, in the beginning, when the first traitor grew to head with a ragged number of rogues and boys

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you might better have resisted than you did, especially considering the many defensible houses and castles possessed by the undertakers, who, for aught we can hear, were no way comforted nor supported by you, but, either for lack of comfort from you, or out of mere cowardice, fled away from the rebels upon the first alarm. We have, therefore, in consideration of your small means, sent over the number of 2,000 foot, not doubting but you will see them employed for our greatest service, to whom particular circumstances and alterations are best known. And yet we have commanded some general heads for your direction to be set down by our Council, all which we recommend to your care and diligence; having given order not only to make up your thirty horse [to] the number of fifty, in sterling pay, but also to send over another hundred horse for better reinforcement, hoping that with these means, and some such other forces as shall be spared from the State, you will yield us good account upon these rebels, that have traitorously taken arms against us."

Directions as to certain persons, either out in rebellion or suspected, who might be used as good instruments against the capital rebels. The White Knight, Condon, and Donogh M'Cormack, of the Dwally. The last to be promised pardon and the country of Dwally, to him and his heirs male, if he repent of his offence, and serve upon Derby M'Owen, who taketh upon him the title of M'Carthy More. The White Knight to be assured that no extreme or injurious course will be taken against him, but that his complaints will be graciously heard and considered. Condon to be promised a gracious end of the suit between him and Hyde. "Only we do prescribe you this caution, that as we would not have you (being there our President) use any such weak proceedings, as to show yourself facile in offering grace when it is like to be neglected and refused, so we would have you know that if honourable and just course of extending favour may satisfy those who are not maliciously incorporated in the general and Spanish combination of the Archtraitor, we would have you proceed speedily and discreetly in this kind, which cannot but much advance the success of that force, which you shall employ against the rest, when by this course they are weakened, by withdrawing others from them."—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, December 3. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 102–103^b. *Copy*. pp. 3.

Dec. 3.
Whitehall.

5. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Norreys. The Queen's desire that, with safety of her honour, those who are out now might be reduced, "if they be such as are not too viperously infested against the State." The White Knight to be assured. Donogh M'Cormack and Derby M'Owen. The former has not taken such a proud title upon him as the latter. The Queen will satisfy Hyde some other way, and let Condon be restored, upon some small composition with Hyde, because the latter had Her Majesty's letters patent.

"To conclude, Sir, I do love you, and wish you well. It shall be fit for you, if Justice Gould be in the Province, to use his advice in these things, and to the quieting of the Province to use all good

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means, so you do not stand upon base terms with the rebels; but if they may be recovered, and that Province quieted, it will be a greater honour for you than to have it any other man's work; and though you might think, if the Province were anything quiet again, that your numbers should be diminished, or your allowance, I pray you believe this; that we have seen so well the experience of leaving so small forces in that Province, as, whilst I serve the Queen, it shall be against my will, if ever the Governor of that Province be without a strength about him, that may upon all mischiefs be able to make head against the rebels. Bear with my plainness, and know that I love your name, and will ever be found your loving friend."—[Whitehall, 1598], December 3.

[*Postscript.*]—"You may do well to use John FitzEdmonds in these underhand services, which may be less public than if your ministers deal with them, until it be seen whether their rancour be not such as it hath poisoned their hearts against all persuasion.

"I pray you let Justice Goold know that, although I favour Mr. Fenton well in other things, yet I will do my best that the grant shall be stayed which he seeketh. Though I have written to you to use the advice of Justice Goold in these matters, yet, if you think him partial to one or the other, you may forbear to acquaint him therewith, or use him according to your discretion." *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 104, 104^b. *Copy.* pp. 2.

Dec. 4.
Whitehall.

6. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. Has now returned the Earl of Thomond, according to their desire. Need use little recommendation of him, as they know his good services, and have themselves recommended him to her, "yet, as a demonstration of our own extraordinary valuation of him, whose faith and affection towards us and our services have taken deep impression (specially in this time when so many are found either false or cold in that kingdom), we have thought good to accompany him with these our letters, as a testimony of our gracious disposition towards him, and as a warrant to you to use him with favour, and [to] grace him in all his honourable and just desires and actions." Has commended him to the President of Munster, to be used by him in that Province, and to command the forces there under him. The Earl of Thomond is to be allowed 10s. *per diem* towards the defraying of his charge.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, December 4. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 103^b. *Copy.* p. 1.

Dec. 4.
Whitehall.

7. Queen Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Norreys. Recommending the Earl of Thomond, who is to command, under Sir Thomas, the forces in Munster.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, December 4. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 103^b, 104. *Copy.* p. ½.

Dec. 5.
Dublin.

8. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. Since he last wrote to Sir Robert, until within these three days, he has been abroad in the county of Kildare, at Naas and thereabouts, having some twelve companies of foot with him, "such as they were," and a few retinues of horse. With these he assured some holds in those

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parts, and stayed the traitors during his continuance there. At Kildare some of his horsemen killed sixty rebels, which were placed in the town to distress a ward he had put in the castle there. They also took three gentlemen prisoners, two of whom were sons of the Baron of Narragh. The Geraldines, which are out, attempted Monasterevan, where they were repulsed with the loss of above twenty men. Thence coming to the castle of Kildare, where Sir Richard had newly put a ward, they received some loss there likewise, but principally their chief Captain, called William Fitz Oliver, a Geraldine. If Her Majesty had a force ready now to prosecute in Leinster, much good might be done; but the rebels grow so strong by such as revolt daily, and by such Irish soldiers as run from the bands, that the Lords Justices and Council make it a doubt now to let the said forces lie so far off Dublin as twelve miles, where they now are. Indeed the country wholly is gone upon the matter, for the people neither fear nor fly the rebels; yet did he so order the matter at Naas, that the market did, and yet does, victual all the companies for ready money, with great contentment on all hands. "Here is (*sic*) such continual treacheries amongst these Irish people, and in this city so many bankrupts and men of discontent for religion[']s sake and one thing or other, as it is not without cause to distrust the safety of this city. The rebels make no great spoil of the country yet, where they come, but rather forbear to burn corn, being in hope to enjoy it themselves. The Lord Lieutenant remains yet in his own country, but was purposed to draw towards Dublin. If Sir Richard had been in health, he would have met him at Carlow. The companies are ready, if his Lordship or the Lords Justices will command them, "albeit indeed it cannot be with any safety to employ them farther off, considering how it stands with them in Dublin itself, and that the traitors on all sides draweth (*sic*) towards it, as though they had a correspondency and purpose to attempt it; and it is certain that the young men and prentices goeth (*sic*) to be rebels daily."

As to Connaught, Munster, and the other parts of the realm, "there is no great cause to write anything of them, for the countries are possessed by the rebels, and few holds left for us to defend; the traitors being safe, but no subject in any place assured of his life. Such is (*sic*) the horrible murders and villainies, which treacherously the naturals of this country daily commit upon the English, that without a very royal force, and means answerable, to put in roundly together into all parts, Her Majesty may continue her charges longer, but not shorten this war. We want horsemen greatly here, and truly, Right Honourable, those we have for the most part are so poor and unserviceable, which they allege out of their necessity, as, but for the name[']s sake, we were almost as good to be without them. Half my Lord of Kildare's horsemen went lately to the rebels, and I marvel at his Lordship that, in this miserable time and continual spoiling by the rebels upon the countries belonging to him, he doth not once show himself, alleging his want of means, wherein I wish he were supplied, whereby to make trial further."—Dublin, 1598, December 5. *Signed. pp. 2.*

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9. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. After allusions to the history of Julius Cæsar, Cicero, and Scipio Africanus, the Chief Justice says he is now "forced to fly the sight of the bloody traitors, and to be alone, having no employment, either in public administration of justice, or private practice." Has endeavoured to employ his leisure to the furtherance of the good of Munster, wherein he served.

"Concerning the poison of this rebellion lately raised within that Province, and now dispersed through all the veins and sinews thereof, leaving the body in manner dead, I have long feared this common calamity. But if the author of that traitorous speech ('The Geraldines do come in haste by the grace of God') had not through Her Highness['s] gracious pardon prevented the justice of the law; if traitors and recusants had not possessed authority in the highest degree, by colour whereof they not only showed their disobedience in matter of religion and Her Highness['s] supremacy, but crossed and interrupted the ordinary course of justice, and the execution thereof upon notorious offenders; if traitors had not been countenanced and cherished in the bosom of the State, and (as Catiline in the heat of his rebellion was suffered to come into the Senate house), made partakers of their counsels, whereby they have gotten fit opportunity to betray the same; this poor Province might have long continued her former quiet."

It is more needful for the present time that care be had for the recovery of the dominion, than for reformation of the Government. In the meantime, sends his opinion as to divers imperfections, together with the remedies for the same.—1598, December 5. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

9. 1. *Imperfections in the state of Munster, with the remedies for the same.*

Recusants, soldiers, persons indicted of high treason, and others having no knowledge of the laws, are made Justices of nisi prius, gaol delivery, and oyer and terminer. "And these do suppress Her Majesty's supremacy, and cross and annihilate the judgments of the law, and procure unto themselves these great authorities, to the end they may, without censure of law, live as they list." It were to be wished that the Lord Chancellor would exercise more care, and that henceforth the order of England be observed. It were requisite that the second Justice [i.e., Gould] either purge himself of the treasons of which he stands indicted, or be thought unworthy of the place he holds. This should be supplied by an Englishman; "for an interpreter sworn (as is used in Wales) who is subject to every man's censure, if he interpret untruly, is more meet to inform the Court, than one of the Judges unsworn, whose untrue interpretation will be either favourably construed, or by silence allowed, albeit there be cause of reprehension." Administration of justice "should be committed to the care of the professors of law, who are entertained by Her Majesty for the same purpose. The examples of greater governments are fit to be followed, as the Lord Deputy, the Lord President of the Marches of Wales, and of the

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North in England, and namely in the self state of that Province. When Francis Agard, Esqr., was appointed Governor for martial causes, Nicholas Walsh, Esqr., Chief Justice of that Province had the whole charge of administration of justice. For Her Majesty, in her princely wisdom, doth well know, that jurisdiction in matters of law, committed to him that hath no skill to discern right from wrong, is quasi ponat gladium in manu furientis."

No expedition of justice in civil causes. Charge and trouble of suitors in going to Dublin. If they cannot, they rest wronged without relief. The Justices should keep their circuits thrice every year throughout all the counties. Delay of justice by removal of cases from Munster to Dublin without just cause. No writ of privilege or remover should be allowed, but upon affidavit made of just cause, and security for costs found by the party before the Governor and Council of the Province. No writ to be returnable in any Court at Dublin without certificate by the Governor and Council of such security having been found.

No expedition of justice in criminal causes. The Justices should keep their sessions of gaol delivery thrice every year.

"The Sheriffs of the counties within the Province are oftentimes the most dangerous persons, and such as procure the office only to enrich themselves by extortion and oppression. And it is thought there is no Sheriff that payeth not for his place, and therefore they make an ordinary trade to use all unlawful means to the subversion or interruption of justice. It were to be wished that the State at Dublin would be pleased to receive advertisement from the Lord President and Council of that Province, of the quality and sufficiency of those that are to be Sheriffs, whose desert, by all likelihood, is best known to them amongst whom they live.

"The Justices of gaol delivery are not in their circuits furnished with power and company necessary, either for the execution of justice or for their own safety.

"This may conveniently be supplied without any charge to Her Majesty. For, as great suits are made for Sheriffs' offices, so they should perform some duty to the furtherance of Her Majesty's service, as well as follow their own gain. That in the confines of every county, next to the place from whence the Justices shall come in their circuits, the Sheriff, with twenty persons English, appavelled, well-horsed and appointed for defence, shall meet the said Justices, and with the said number attend on the Justices during all the time of their being in that county, and make their provision during the said time. And at the departure of the said Justices, the Sheriff, with the said number as aforesaid, to bring the said Justices to the confines of that county next adjoining, to which the said Justices shall propose to travel.

"The gaols are taken from the Sheriffs, and one of no value appointed gaoler of all the gaols within all the counties of the Province; by reason whereof are many escapes of traitors and other malefactors." Every Sheriff should have the charge and benefit of the common gaol within his county.

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"The Irish put in trust with government and authority do keep the people in a secret disobedience and contempt of government; and the Irish trusted with the custody or possession of armour or weapon are the more ready to grow tumultuous.

"It will never be better so long as the Irish have any trust or authority committed to them. It were more fit they were (as the Gibeonites among the Hebrews) hewers of wood and drawers of water; only let them retain the liberty of a subject, and live private[ly], not trusted with any authority: as Charles the Great the first monarch of the German Emperors, having conquered the Longobards, yet spurning against his government, as the Irish do against Her Majesty, to the end he might make a firm peace, and cut off their often rebellion, took from them all rule and magistracy and thereby kept them quiet. But admitted to live private[ly], yet, it were necessary to provide that they should have or possess no weapon or armour abroad or at home, but upon occasion to be delivered unto them by some English thereto authorised. Fair and kind usage will not draw them to due obedience; for the best part in them is to show trust where they mean treason, as their late traitorous revolt from the Governor doth plainly manifest; and therefore less danger to keep them under, and hold in suspect their treacherous hearts, than trust too much to their counterfeit looks. All the murders and spoils are done upon the English; and as for the cities and towns, they are become insolent and like to fall away, except they be kept under by some English Governor in every town, in whose custody the keys of their gates, and their artillery, armour, and munition, may remain. For so did Charles the Great to Rome and to other cities of Italy, for he saw that no firm peace or quiet could be established until he had put into the said cities garrisons, and Governors over them. So did Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar after their victories."

Abuses in the matter of pardons and protections. Greater care and restraint should be exercised regarding them.

"The churl and Irish peasant, by whom the Lord and chief gentlemen doth (sic) live, is apt to follow his Lord in all rebellion and mischief. And the reason thereof is, that the Irish tenants have their estates but from year to year, or at most for three years; in regard of which short and weak states, they have not any care to make any strong or defensible houses or buildings, to plant, or to enclose; in want whereof they lie upon to spoil, and themselves more apt to rebellion, when they possess nothing which they may not with ease carry, or drive away, or convert into money. And hereof it cometh that one rascal rebel will in one night burn all the towns in a country.

"And therefore it were most necessary, that the Irish Lords of lands and tenants should be ordered to make no less states than for 21 years or three lives; in which all rents and services agreed upon should be reserved and mentioned, and thereby all other unreasonable exactions now imposed upon them should be cut off; and then the tenants (sic) would be encouraged to build strongly, to plant, and to enclose; and in regard of a good enduring state

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in a living, whereon he hath bestowed cost, would forbear to follow his Lord's lewd steps, but would betake himself to his husbandry, and hereby the rebel would be weakened, and the country made strong and brought to civility.

"And where divers Englishmen have been lately murdered and spoiled, by reason they have so singled their dwellings one from another, that they lie open to the malefactors, without ability of mutual defence, or succour to be ministered by the one to the other; it were necessary that all English inhabitants and householders should be drawn into near neighbourhoods of twenty households at the least, in such place and places as certain persons thereto authorised should think meet; and none not inhabiting in a castle to be suffered to dwell out of such neighbourhood; and that the same neighbourhood so inhabiting together shall, within a certain time to them to be prefixed, enclose all their dwellings with a great deep trench, and quickset (if may be), only leaving two places of ingress and egress, where shall be strong gates to be shut every night, whereby themselves and their cattle shall be in better safety from the thief and wolf."

Disadvantages of the composition yielded to the Crown by the country, instead of the soldiers being cessed upon its charge. The great loss to the Crown, and the enrichment of the Irish. The parleys of the rebels would have been espied and prevented; had the English soldiers continued to have been cessed amongst the Irish.

"Jurors (by the law) ought to have freehold of the yearly value of forty shillings. The undertakers have few tenants for life, but for years. The cause of the English concerning his goods, lands, and life, is subject to the trial of the Irish; so that in a cause triable between an English and an Irish, the English hath a cold suit. This not reformed will ever be the overthrow of the English, and force them to leave the country. The undertakers must people their seignories, and be ordered to turn the estates for years into lives, or else tenants for years must be enabled to be jurors."

By direction from the Privy Council to the Council in Ireland, a concordatum may establish the preceding remedies as a binding law on all the Province, as in like cases has been done.

"Thus I have presumed, in discharge of my duty to Her Majesty, to prefer a true advertisement before an illoyal taciturnity. As for myself, I account my travails and losses (albeit dangerous and great) yet not grievous, being employed in Her Highness's service. But as for that nation, whose religion is choked in idolatry and superstition, whose hearts are treacherous, and outward conversation savage, cruel, and barbarous, I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God than dwell in the tents of the ungodly. And I shall be most joyful (when Her Highness's pleasure shall be) to leave the place of a Chief Justice of so great a circuit, and end the residue of my aged years in that place or service there, that may please Her Majesty to vouchsafe or command; wherein I most humbly crave your honourable favour." Endorsed:—1598 December. pp. 8.

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Dec. 6.
Chester.

10. Richard Rathburne, Mayor of Chester, to Sir Robert Cecil. Forwarded immediately to the Lords Justices of Ireland the packet contained in Sir Robert's letter to him of December 1.—Chester, 1598, December 6. *Signed. p. ½.*

Dec. 7.
Chester.

11. Richard Rathburne, Mayor of Chester, to the Privy Council. Concerning the transportation and victualling of twenty of Sir Richard Bingham's band of horse.—Chester, 1598, December 7. *Signed. p. ½.*

Dec. 8.
Cork.

12. Captains Thomas Southwell and Timothy Cottrell to the Privy Council. The Lord President, the Bishops of Cork and Down, the Provost Marshal, and Sheriff of the county of Cork, with the most part of the undertakers, their wives and children, were placed and received in Cork at the beginning of the Munster rebellion. There they yet remain, besides a number of Welshmen and other distressed poor people, relieved by the citizens to their uttermost. Further, the eleven ensigns of foot landed in Cork have been dieted and lodged since their arrival upon the inhabitants of the city, which they find very dutiful and conformable. Beseech their Lordships to gratify the citizens with all favour.—Cork, 1598, December 7. *Signed. p. 1.*

Dec. 8.

13. Statement by Bernard O'Donnell, aged 40 years, to John, Bishop of Limerick. Written with his own hand, 1598, December 8.

Has been wandering for twelve years. First he went to Rome, *vid* Spain, thence into Flanders, where he stayed at Antwerp with the Archbishop of Tuam, who had a stipend from the King of Spain. After the Archbishop's death, he went to Spain and thence to Toulouse in France. Here the Cardinal de Joyeuse received him, and from Toulouse he returned into his native country in 1595. The month he does not know. In Ireland he went first to O'Donnell, to whom came Tyrone and other nobles. By their instruction he wrote certain letters of reply to the King of Spain, to be delivered by his messengers, of whom he remembers the name of one, Alfonso Cobos. The King's promise of help. The Irish told him they would persevere. Bernard O'Donnell wrote four or five times. Never was with, or met, Tyrone, except those few days, or knew of any cause of the war, save religion and the injuries inflicted by officials. Was not acquainted with the subsequent course of negotiations. Considers the Irish will fight for liberty of conscience. Never met the King of Spain, or any of his Councillors, except John de Idiaques, when he asked for the commendatory letters that had been taken away from him, which had been written by Tyrone, O'Donnell, and certain Bishops, some to the King of Spain, and others to the Pope. *Holograph. Latin. p. 1.*

Dec. 9.
Dublin Castle.

14. Captain Thomas Lee to the Privy Council. The adverse view taken by the Council of his plot against the traitors. These daily increase, and nightly spoil the good subjects near the gates of Dublin, without impeachment either of the State or of the soldier.

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His intent for the lessening of Her Highness's excessive charge, and the advancement of her service, is misconceived with jealousy of the event; and as his first troubles grew upon the information of a notorious traitor, named Hackett, who is now in open rebellion, and there suborned to that purpose; so now his speeches delivered to the Lords are said to taste of treason. Leaves it to their Lordships, whether he had any traitorous meaning or no, when he imparted his plot to five Councillors, and sought their advice. But the reward of this, and of all other his well-meant services, being imprisonment, is forced to appeal to their Lordships for present license to repair into England, to make known his plot at large unto them. If they do not like his repairing to England, prays their Lordships to appoint indifferent Commissioners to hear these causes.—Dublin Castle, 1598, December 9. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Dec. 9.
Cork.

15. Sir Thomas Norreys to the Privy Council. Arrival of 1,000 soldiers at Cork, 600 at Kinsale, and 400 at Waterford. The men are reasonably well chosen, their furniture is for the most part good, but they are very raw and unexpert, not having had any training at all before their arrival. Some of them are overburthened with heavy muskets. Arrival of a small bark, with provision of biscuit, butter, and cheese, "but neither malt nor drink." These victuals must be employed for relieving the garrisons at Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal; none can be transported to Kilmallock, Limerick, or Askeaton. Therefore craves that some money may be speedily sent over to pay their monthly lendings, when the towns will be able to victual them for a time. Victuals, munition, &c. must be supplied thereafter for those garrisons, and be sent directly to Limerick by sea. Would willingly have reserved the greatest part of the victuals now sent, until the forces were ready to take the field, but has no other means to relieve them at present.

Before the arrival of the 2,000 foot, there were in Munster the following companies; his own, 200, and those of Captains Flower, Progers, Blane, Sir Henry Norreys, Ferdinando Kingsmill, and George Kingsmill; 790 in all. The last three companies came into the Province not above five days ago. "These old companies have long lived in want both of money and apparel, by reason whereof they are grown naked as well in their numbers as otherwise." Prays that order be taken for their relief.

Of horsemen in Munster there are only those appointed for his retinue, and twelve of the Provost Marshal's. The traitors are very strong in horse. Asks that some horsemen may be presently sent over.

Is advertised that in one of the ships arrived at Kinsale, there are three lasts of powder, with lead and match, whereof the training of the men now sent over will consume a great part. Prays for a further supply, and also for some culivers, corslets, pikes, and swords, with matlocks, spades, shovels, pickaxes, and such like, "the rather for that here are divers Englishmen, who might be entertained for the supplying of the old companies, but that here is no furniture to be had for them."

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"Concerning the state of this country, I might much sooner recount unto your Honours those which as yet retain a show of subjection, than the others which are in open action against Her Majesty." Sends a catalogue of the principal ones he can presently call to mind. The only ones professing subjection are, Lord Barry, Cormack M'Dermott, Chief of Muskerry, M'Carthy Reogh, Chief of Carbery, and John FitzEdmunds. The two first have their two brothers, with all their men and followers, for the most part in action; the other two cannot command ten men for Her Majesty's service.

"At the first, it was to be thought that this disturbance grew only through the ambition of James FitzThomas of Desmond and Derby M'Owen, the one aspiring to the Earldom of Desmond, and the other to the Earldom of Clancarty: but now religion is pretended." Certain priests are come to them, one named Dr. Creagh, another Father Archer, taking upon them great authority from the Pope, wherewith they have incited the whole Province to join in this action. Is informed that they have proclaimed in the country the bull of Pope Pius V., and that they would have done the like in the towns, if the forces sent over had not landed at this instant. "What they will now do, it may be much doubted, for that the townsmen generally show themselves greatly fallen from their duties and affection to Her Majesty. In Desmond, Donnell M'Carthy, base son to the Earl of Clancarty, opposeth himself against Derby M'Owen M'Carthy for the Earldom; but they agree both to be traitors to Her Majesty. O'Sullivan More doth as yet refuse to give the rod (according their ancient custom) to either of them, but how he will persevere, I do not yet know."

The town of Dinglecush, not being walled nor otherwise defensible, has been surrendered by the townsmen, on condition that, by May Day next, they must either join the rebels, or else abandon the place to be razed by them; and they are not to carry away with them any of their corn or cattle. Meantime William FitzGerald, *alias* the Knight of Kerry, one of the principal traitors in those parts, whose father had sold to the merchants of Dinglecush the most of his lands, compelled them to surrender unto him all their estates. Sir Thomas doubts he will not have means to relieve them by May Day conveniently; and, as the town is very important, and the townsmen have ever been reputed very dutiful and loyal subjects, prays that 500 foot and 50 horse may be sent there, with victuals and munition. Lord FitzMorris, with his sons and followers, is joined to the traitors, and so are generally all the freeholders and inhabitants of Kerry; "and, for anything as yet I can discern, this combination is so confirmed by these papistical priests, as that there is no disposition in them to seek Her Majesty's mercy, and to return to their former obedience, neither is it like that they will be drawn unto it, but by great extremity."

At present there are no castles or houses held for Her Majesty, but Castlemaine, in Kerry; Moghelly, Mr. Henry Pyne's house; Moyallo, Sir Thomas's house; and Askeaton, "whither, upon the beginning of these tumults, Captain Francis Barkley drew 100 tall

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men of the English inhabiting about him, wherewith hitherto he holdeth the place good, having victualled those men at his own charges; and, at his earnest suit," craves that Sir Francis and the men may be allowed pay. They are already well furnished, and able to do good service, when some more companies are sent to their assistance, as should be done with expedition.

"I lately adventured to send a small pinnace with a barrel of powder, six muskets, and some victual, to the relief of Castlemaine, but I fear she will hardly pass thither, for that, as I understand, the traitors keep strong guard about the Castle; and to relieve them by land I shall not be able, without more force, both of horse and foot."

The daily allowance of victual to be made to each soldier. Of the 2,000 foot sent over, the Lord Lieutenant General has withdrawn the 400 landed at Waterford, and has disposed them in other places.—Cork, 1598, December 9. *Signed. Endorsed:—*Received at Whitehall, 24 December. pp. 4. [*This despatch was sent by the hand of Edmund Spenser, the poet. See No. 36 of December 21 following.*] *Incloses,*

15. i. "A note of such noblemen, and others of mark, having command of companies, as now are in open action of rebellion against Her Majesty, in the Province of Munster." pp. 2.

Dec. 10.
Whitehall.

16. Warrant of the Privy Council to the Lords Justices and Council, for allowing to Robert Newcomen the sum of 136*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* sterling, due to him for provision of victuals to the late Lord Burgh.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, December 10. *Draft. p.* 1.

Dec. 10.
Whitehall.

17. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Conyers Clifford. "I had long ere this time written unto you, if I could have advertised you of any course certainly taken for the supporting you in Her Majesty's service, which I have not neglected in regard of my public duty, nor the less laboured for your own particular satisfaction, who, I know, do attend from me all offices of a friend, [in] the which I will never fail you. But, Sir, we are vexed with a world of difficulties how to pour out water enough from hence to quench the fire in Ireland, where I must speak with plainness, that I do think that Province of yours hath been most pitifully abandoned to all misery by the State at Dublin. And though I will not deny it but the Council of State have suffered also many lacks, yet can I never be beaten from this, that, if any one Province had been well supplied, this general confusion could never have happened. Further you shall know that here hath been sundry consultations what course to hold in Ireland, and what General; which hath spent much time, and hindered many particulars; but, in conclusion, I think Her Majesty is now resolved of her General to be the Earl Marshal [Essex], and he shall have there a good army of 12,000 or 14,000 foot and 1,000 horse, with which force, and which Commander, I doubt not but that Kingdom shall be reduced to better terms. And thus much for the General.

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"Concerning your particular, it hath not a little grieved me to find, by my Lady your wife, your own particular difficulties, as well as by your letters the miseries of the Province. Where you did write for some supplies to be sent to Galway, both of men and victual, you shall understand that there is a thousand men, ready to imbarke within ten days, sent over particularly for that Province, under the commandment of Sir Arthur Savage, and not in the power of the Council there to distribute otherwise; but when we resolved that they should have gone for Galway, it was absolutely cried down, in respect that the navigation was held subject to so many winds, as it could not have been expected they should have arrived in that port in any reasonable time. Secondly, for the matter of victual, it was avouched by your own servants, that if you had money, you could lack none; which being so conceived, this resolution followed. Money is sent to the State, to pay all arrearages or lendings, and, by the end of this month, so much more money shall be in Ireland, as by good estimation will serve to pay the army until the end of January. And Sir Arthur Savage is commanded to go for Dublin with these 1,000 men well chosen. This support, which is sent you before my Lord of Essex come, is but by way of preparation, to put you into some life, against some greater forces arrive, whereof my Lord will sort you such numbers upon his arrival, as shall seem good to his consideration."

Meantime Sir Conyers is to make ready in Galway, or other likely places some storehouses for magazines of victual. He must take special care that no victual be transported out of the Province, but that all be kept for the use of the army, and all destroyed that cannot be kept from the enemy.

"Of these things I do now give you but a superficial taste, whereby you may know that you are not neglected, for, when Sir Arthur Savage arriveth, he will come accompanied with all circumstances fit for your satisfaction."—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, December 10. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 105, 105^b. *Copy*. pp. 2.

Dec. 10.
Dublin.

18. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of the bearer, Sir Edward Herbert, who has obtained license to repair to the Court. "I think his chief purpose is, to bemoan his private estate, greatly ruined by the iniquity of the time, wherein he hath his portion, with many others, of the general calamities which this wicked rebellion hath brought. The gentleman is a valiant servitor, always ready and faithful to perform any service committed to his charge; and for his zeal that way he hath lost most part of his goods, his livings [have been] laid waste, and his life shot at, by his Irish neighbours that border upon him."—Dublin, 1598, December 10. *Signed*. p. 1.

Dec. 10.
Dublin.

19. Captain Thomas Reade to Sir Robert Cecil. "Such is now the state and course of Ireland, that, if there were continual posts, hourly accidents and occurrences will minister cause of writing; I do see the outrage of the enemy to be such, by their daily incursions into the Pale, to the ruin and spoil of the poor subject, and to the

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great discontent and fear of the gentlemen and inhabitants of the country for the security of their lives ; seeing no resistance or hurt done unto the enemy, that the strength and wealth of the enemy doth much increase, and the subject is greatly weakened and impoverished. And, if they continue without speedy redress, it will breed an exceeding dearth, which will be the cause of an infinite charge unto Her Majesty in providing of victuals for the army, and a great hindrance to the advancement of her service in the prosecution of the wars."

Is of opinion "that the companies of foot Her Majesty hath in Ireland are many, and yet the enemy liveth in small fear of them, because the Irish presume so much of their singular footmanship, that they can take and leave at their pleasures, and make such incursions into the Pale, with so speedy a retreat, that the garrisons adjoining, wanting the assistance of horse, can little annoy them." Asks that the horse in Ireland be raised from 700 to 2,000. These, being dispersed with judgment through the kingdom, will both breed a general fear in the enemy, and also bridle them much from their nightly roads, especially into the Pale, "which is a champion ground, and the nursery of Her Majesty's kingdom, and, upon any extremity, the only magazine and relief for her army." Foot without horse avail little in Ireland, as daily experience doth manifest. The horse at present in the Kingdom are weak and unserviceable, and besides consist mostly of Irish. Many times they are forced, for want of means, to sever themselves from their garrisons into the countries adjoining, so that upon any sudden incursion, it takes about two days to draw them together. Thus the subject is impoverished and the enemy prevaieth.

"To testify this my opinion with a precedent of truth, upon the last firing of Dunboyne in the heart of the Pale, and many the like actions sithence, within few miles of Dublin ; this burning of Dunboyne being done at ten of the clock in the morning, there could not, by the command of the State, be gathered together twenty horse, before the enemy had spoiled the country at his pleasure, and was departed, carrying both the cattle and goods of the country away with him, and gentlemen and freeholders with their wives and children prisoners. Now I leave to your Honour's judgment what service a troop of horse might have performed, if they had been resident at Dublin, or near thereabouts, to have mounted at an instant upon the first alarm and notice of the enemy's entrance into the Pale." Sends a list of places fittest for the garrisons of horse within Ulster and the Pale.—Dublin, 1598, December 10. *Signed. pp. 3. Incloses,*

19. I. "*The places of garrisons, with the numbers of horse and foot to be employed, in the Province of Ulster and some parts of the Pale.*"

Captain Reade adds divers memoranda in support of his choice of these places. He considers that, in view of the general combination and revolt, the Queen's forces in Ireland should be not less than

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18,000 foot and 2,000 horse; 9,300 foot and 1,300 horse to be employed in Ulster and the Pale.

"And there doth nothing import the security of the Kingdom more, than that the Lord Deputy, whensoever he shall be disposed to draw into the field in person, be well attended with English force, both of horse and foot, wherein he must repose his best trust and strength. For the English and the English Government was never so much despised and repugned, as at this present; and it is great policy and wisdom, to avoid the inconvenience and prejudice which may be received by another disaster, to be assured to have forces of horse and foot, to raise head upon the present, which may prevent that which otherwise might endanger the Kingdom, which is in a great forwardness to be lost.

"In the writing hereof, the enemy burned within three miles of Dublin, without resistance; and, before I had finished the same, there came intelligence unto the State that the enemy was approached within two miles of Dublin; and besides two companies of foot, which remain in Dublin for the guard of the State and assurance of the city, there could not be gathered together the number of six horse, to discover the enemy's intention." Unsigned. pp. 3.

Dec. 11.
Dublin.

20. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. His grief at Her Majesty's displeasure with respect to the slowness of his certificates. Explains how the delay arose, without any fault of his. The unjust informations against him. Beseeches Sir Robert to exact of Sir Henry Brouncker what he has observed of the writer, as well in sickness as in health. In the half year next after Kyffin's death, Sir Ralph advanced Her Majesty [*i.e.*, in checks] 1,100*l.* sterling more than Kyffin did in the preceding half year. Desires Sir Robert's effectual mediation for him, and thanks him for all his favour.—Dublin, 1598, December 11. *Signed. pp. 2.*

Dec. 11.

21. George Beverley to Sir Robert Cecil. Touching his provision of grain and other victuals for Ireland, by direction from the late Lord Burghley. Desires to know if he is to proceed in that office, as the Council in Ireland have conferred it on Robert Newcomen, who is a stranger to him. Is glad and ready to employ himself in any service for Ireland.—1598, December 11. *Signed. p. 1.*

Dec. 13.
Cork.

22. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. The arrival of the 2,000 men. The great confusion in Munster. "The traitors are grown to so great a head, and their combination [*is*] so strengthened with the ground and pretence of their Popish religion, stirred up by the motions of some devilish priests working daily amongst them, as that (notwithstanding my best endeavour, which I purpose, God willing, to use), I am out of all hope to effect your Honour's pleasure in any good sort, for the combining or drawing back of them to a due regard of their former obedience and loyalty to Her Majesty, but by constraining them first to taste some great extremity, which, by your honourable favour, I think to be a course most necessary to be used for a time, the better as well to drive them to that self-regard, as to settle them in a more assured and dutiful

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affection hereafter." Unable to do it through lack of horse. Specious loyalty of some gentlemen in Munster, in order to save their countries. Has importuned the Privy Council for some money to relieve the companies now in the Province. Begs Sir Robert to further the same. If the soldier should be driven to live for the whole winter season upon such scant allowance of victual as came with him, having besides no provision for drink, it would altogether work his ruin. Victuals can be had in the towns for money, and those sent over can be reserved for use in remote garrisons, and for the furnishing out of journeys. The reduction of the forces in Ireland through lack of necessities.

The traitors have, for these twenty days, besieged Kilmallock with their greatest strength. As the town and garrison are in some distress, and the place is of very special import for Her Majesty's service in Munster, is himself preparing presently to repair thither for their relief. Hopes to perform the same without any great loss. Has no assistance of horse, save thirty of his own retinue, and twelve of the Provost-Marshal's. The traitors aim at Kilmallock, as a place of the greatest annoyance to them in all Munster. On coming thither, purposes to make the said Provost-Marshal commander of the garrison. Commends him. Prays that his 12 horsemen may be increased to 25. The men can be raised in the Province. The great losses sustained by the Provost-Marshal, and his long services.—Cork, 1598, December 13. *Signed. Endorsed:*—Received at Whitehall, 24 December. *pp.* 3.

Dec. 13.
Dublin.

23. Sir Henry Wallop to the Privy Council. In pursuance of their directions, has sent by sea John Hooper, his deputy, as Paymaster to Munster, to take charge of the treasure sent to that Province. As he is appointed to reside at Cork, and it will be very dangerous, by means of the strength of the rebels, for the forces in Kilkenny, Wexford, Carlow, and other counties, to come there for their pay, has sent Richard Archdeacon to lie at Waterford or Kilkenny, as the Lord Lieutenant shall think most convenient, and with him has dispatched 1,200*l.* of the treasure last arrived in Dublin. The Paymaster of Munster can receive instructions from England as soon as, or sooner than, from Sir Henry himself. Begs that a fit man may be appointed for that Province, to account immediately to Her Highness for the treasure sent there. Prays for his own revocation, as he is too old and infirm to do meet service for Her Highness.—Dublin, 1598, December 13. *Signed. pp.* 1½.

Dec. 13.
Dublin.

24. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. His last letters delayed by contrary winds. "I can say little more yet of the state of things here, for no new matter is happened sithence, only the appearance in general, that every day things will be worse and worse, is and will be confirmed continually." Recommends the bearer, Sir Edward Herbert, who has served Her Majesty in Ireland ever since Sir Richard's first coming into Connaught.—Dublin 1598, December 13. *Signed. p.* 1.

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Dec. 13. 25. James Sarsfeld, Mayor of Cork, to the Privy Council. His former letter concerning the rebellion delayed by contrary winds, and other stays of the ship, the *Lord President*. On November 27 eleven ensigns of foot arrived in Cork, and the citizens have dieted and lodged them as best they could. Afterwards came the bands of Sir Henry Norreys and Captain Kingsmill from Waterford, and they have been in like manner used. Craves license for the inhabitants of Cork to transport from England, from time to time during this rebellion, a meet proportion of victuals and munition for their ready money; also, that some good order be taken that the Corporation be not overburdened with soldiers.—Cork, 1598, December 13. *Holograph*. p. 1.
- [Dec. 14.] 26. List of gentlemen in the counties of Kildare, Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Louth, and Wexford. Waterford “is wholly to be suspected; besides it is a most fit place for the Spaniards to take, for that it lieth in the midst, and near to all the Irish rebels in Leinster.” Limerick, Galway, and Cork should be well manned, “for in them there may be strengths made of great force, and nothing can defend them but force.”—[1598, December 14.] pp. 3.
- [Dec. 15.] 27. “A Schedule of the 1,000 men sent into Connaught under the conduct of Sir Arthur Savage”; with names of officers.—[1598, December 15.] *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 106. p. 1.
- Dec. 15. 28. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. There are 1,000 men sent at this present to Ireland under Sir Arthur Savage. They are appointed to be shipped at Bristol, and to be landed at Dublin, and are intended for succouring and strengthening the Province of Connaught. Speedy notice of their landing is to be given to Sir Conyers Clifford, and the men sent the safest and speediest way to that Province. A proportion of 10,000*l.*, is also delivered to the Treasurer’s deputy, to be sent thither; part of 30,000*l.* that is coming after, as fast as it can be told out, and men found to take charge of the same. Out of this sum now sent to their Lordships, Her Majesty desires them to take special care that 1,500*l.* be sent presently and safely to Sir Conyers Clifford, for the provision of victuals; “not doubting but, of the late sums sent over, now sent, and to be sent, he shall be as much cared for, and as duly paid the arrearages of his lendings, as the treasure can afford it, specially being in a place where he suffereth all manner of wants, and can hardly receive new supplies.” Owing to the hazard and expense of sending victuals thither by sea to Galway, or by land from Dublin, have supplied Sir Conyers with this sum of money, whereby he may furnish his necessary lacks, presently, until the army arrive. Have given imposts to the Captains and officers of the above 1,000 men; these sums are to be deducted out of their entertainment. These officers are to enter into pay from the day they receive their soldiers into charge. The Lords Justices are to send a good proportion of powder, match, and bullet, to Sir Conyers, and give some quantity also to the men

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for use in their passage into Connaught.—1598, December 15. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 106, 106^b. *Copy.* pp. 14.

Dec. 15.

29. "Memorial for Irish causes." Money presently to be had. For levy of horse, 6,000*l*. For two months' victual to transport the Low Country soldiers for Flushing, and thence for Ireland, 500*l*. Victual for six months for 540 in the Queen's ships, that go to keep the coast of Ireland. Money for the victual of the whole army, &c. The levying of 3,000 foot for Ireland. The sending of 2,000 foot levied, &c. *Rough notes in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.* *Endorsed* :—1598, December 15. p. 1.

Dec. 15.

30. George Beverley to [Sir Robert Cecil]. Concerning the victualling causes of Ireland. A victualler to be appointed for each Province.—1598, December 15. *Signed.* p. 1.

Dec. 15.

Cork.

31. James Sarsfeld, Mayor of Cork, to the Privy Council. Since the writing of his last letters, there arrived in Cork from Saint Malo, a ship called the *Elizabeth of Hampton*, in which there was one Lynch, a merchant of Galway, as a passenger. He lately came from Spain. Incloses his examination.—Cork, 1598, December 15. *Signed.* p. ½. *Incloses,*

31. I. *The examination of Geoffrey Lynch, of Galway, merchant; taken the 15th of December, 1598.*

He departed the city of Groyne [Corunna] in Spain on November 18 last, and from thence came to Morbyon [Morbihan] in Brittany. A little before, he was taken by a Spanish pinnace about Mount's Bay in England, being bound for Galway from Hampton, and from thence the said pinnace brought him to Ferrol in Spain, where there was a Spanish army of 4,000 soldiers in nineteen galleons, under one Don Diego Brochero, bound for sea to meet the Earl of Cumberland. Hearing, however, that the said Earl went home, Brochero sent to the Court of Spain for further direction.

Being examined whether he had any intelligence of any army coming from Spain for England or Ireland, Lynch says it is so reported in Spain, and that the young King (at whose coronation this examinee was), is to come to Lisbon to view the army, at Christmas or before. At Lisbon there are twenty-five great galleons and preparation at Biscay, Seville, and most of the maritime places. Cormack M'Carthy, Dermott M'Carthy, Maurice M'Shane, and Andrew Hurley, are at Ferrol, to be employed in the army there, and, by their report, for Ireland. At Ferrol was also one Matthew Tully, a messenger from the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell. The pilots in the pinnace that took this examinee, were Lumbard and Griffin; the former, an Englishman, is the principal pilot of the army, and dwelt lately at "Pole, or Larpole, in England." Lynch says further that there was a great plague in Spain. One Parsons is come disguised to England. The ship in which he is, was off St. Giles or Rochelle, laden with salt. There were three pinnaces to be employed as spies for England, of which Englishmen are

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pilots. These pinnaces were victualled in the presence of this examine. Signed by Geoffrey Lynch. p. 1.

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32. Warrant from the Privy Council to Sir Henry Wallop, to pay Sir Arthur Savage, commanding the 1,000 men sent to Connaught, at the rate of 10s. *per diem*, in addition to his pay as Captain; to begin from the 16th instant, and to continue whilst he is in command of the said force. Out of this allowance, Sir Arthur Savage is to have an imprest of four months sent to him. —1598, December 17. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 108. *Copy. p. ½.*

Dec. 17.

Dublin.
Castle.

33. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, and the Council, to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledge letters of October 27, and November 7, 10, 12, and 17; some signed by Sir Robert alone, and others by the Privy Council. These have all been received together lately. Make bold to answer them hereby.

With respect to the first, signed by the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Robert, signifying that certain Spanish men of war were lying between the two coasts, to intercept the passage to and fro, and therefore Her Majesty's pleasure, that two of the pinnaces, sent to guard the coast, should ply over for the more safe conveying of the treasure; long before the receipt of that letter, the said pinnaces had returned home, the time limited for their abode upon the coast having expired; nevertheless the treasure has arrived safely without interruption. In the second letter, the Privy Council tell the proportions of victuals provided for Cork and Youghal. John Francis, who was to have had charge of the victuals for Lough Foyle, could not be put in charge of these for Munster, as he had departed for England, so they have written to the Governor to make choice of a fit person. By the third letter they understand, to their exceeding comfort, Her Majesty's resolution to bethink her of all possible remedies for Ireland, for which they humbly thank her. Have often charged the mustermaster with the slowness of his certificates. Trust that hereafter there will be better satisfaction in that matter. Are much comforted to hear of the 2,000 foot destined for Munster. Have no certainty of more than 400 having yet arrived. The treasurer has appointed a deputy to reside at Cork. Are most humbly thankful for Her Majesty's gracious allowance of their proceedings against the archtraitors, who conspired against the State in Dublin. Their endeavours to find John Howin, the serjeant of Lapley's band, and one Shelton, whose brother was executed as a conspirator. Have often inquired what became of the arms and munition left at Waterford, and what they were, but cannot yet get any other reckoning thereof than they have formerly signified. Will use their best endeavours for the satisfaction of their Lordships, and for the sending of powder to Waterford. Acknowledge the great proportions of arms and munition that have been lately sent to Dublin, but the action through all the parts of the kingdom has been great also. Send a certificate of the remainder in store. This will in short time be issued. Beg for a further supply speedily. According to the fourth

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letter, they have sent Jones to be Commissary in Munster, and, Tedder being deceased, they have placed another in his office. Have attended to the fifth letter, touching the musters, victual, and treasure in Munster. The companies of the Earl of Thomond and Captain Francis Stafford.

No occurrent has happened, since their last despatch, worthy of advertising, save "the daily increasing miseries and exceeding great danger of this State." The Master of the Ordnance has appointed one Davy to solicit the Earl Marshal for the speedier sending over of munition.—Dublin Castle, 1598, December 17. *Endorsed:—*Received the 31st at Whitehall. *Signed. pp. 3. Inclose,*

33. I. "*The expense and issue of the two last proportions of munition, sent from the Tower of London, and arrived in the haven of Dublin, together with the remain in store; taken at Dublin the 8th of December, 1598.*" Signed by Sir George Bouchier. *pp. 6.*

Dec. 17.
Kilkenny.

34. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. After the first placing of Sir Samuel Bagenall's regiment upon the borders of the North, the enemies' force in those parts has done little hurt. But the fire kindling in Munster and Leinster by Tyrone's working, with the unnatural revolt of Mountgarret and Cahir, and the setting up of James FitzThomas as a new Earl of Desmond, have not a little troubled him with continual travel and care. Sir Richard Bingham stayed from him by sickness first, and then by the action of the Lords Justices. James FitzPiers, a Geraldine, Sheriff of the county of Kildare, has most traitorously revolted, and stopped the passage of the bridge of Athy, and warded the castle thereupon; which will give great impediment to the victualling of Maryborough. Was not furnished with means to effect it, though he often asked the Council in Ireland for them. The fort is in danger of being lost. Sends copies of the letters he received from the Lords Justices, also the report of one David Good, an Englishman, Vicar of Maryborough, who lately came from the fort, his companion being either slain or taken by the enemy, "such is their watch for intercepting of all letters everywhere." The ward put into the Abbey of Athy joined the traitors, by the procurement of the said James FitzPiers, "so as most of the army being Irish and Connaught men, it will be most dangerous, when it shall come to trial of fight, whom to trust. There is no Province of this realm free from treason." The conspiracy of Lapley and others in Dublin. The fort of Duncannon was likewise in hazard of being lost, after Ormonde delivered it, as directed, to Sir John Dowdall, and appointed the Mayor of Waterford to furnish Sir John with necessaries. Ormonde specially willed the latter "by no means to admit any Irish into it." The town of Ross was also to be betrayed, but the party detected for the same Ormonde commanded to be executed. Kilmallock too was nearly betrayed by one of the soldiers, in it, but this was prevented. "The city of Limerick hath no garrison in it as yet, being a place of no small importance, and from whence with forces there may be daily service done in those parts of Munster."

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Mountgarrett by his demands has discovered his long-contrived treasons ; the match between Tyrone's daughter and his son, from the beginning, giving no less cause of "suspect," which, with some subsequent reasons, moved Ormonde long since to send him, with his wife and son James, prisoners to Dublin Castle. Sends copies of Mountgarrett's demands, "resting upon most arrogant, insolent, and traitorous terms ;" and of his answer thereto.

Two ships sent into Spain by the rebels for money and munition. Mountgarrett the principal actor therein. Expectation of Spanish forces. In a late journey Ormonde made towards Cahir, to prosecute the traitors, the Lord of Cahir, Doctor Cragh, and Archer the Jesuit, he took and warded the castles of Kilmanchin and Knockenanmye ; the first belonging to Mr. Fitton, who forsook it, and is gone into England ; the other to the Lord of Cahir's brother, now in action. Both castles were found in the traitors' possession.

It is to be noted how Mountgarrett, in his own distrust of the natives of the country, has wholly committed the ward of his castles to Ulster men, and has displaced his own. He also purposes to match four of his daughters to this supposed Earl of Desmond, Onie M'Rory, Donnell Spainagh's son, and Gerald M'Murtogh Kavanagh's son. Some other Lords of Munster are also suspected, whereby the general combination, being most wicked and universal, cannot but tend (as far as in them may lie), to "the utter subversion of this realm and English Government (which I pray God they may never live to see). I can write no more seriously than heretofore I have done to your Lordships, that no prosecution, by fire, sword, famine, or any other extremity, can alight too heavily upon them. And now that the time is come to such pass, as in their pride they seek to have their own desires, I humbly beseech your Lordships to consider what is the loss of this realm ; and therefore, without all regard of extraordinary charge or 'detracte' of time," to move Her Majesty to take this cause royally in hand, by sending strong forces, and experienced trained soldiers, as well by sea as by land. Lough Foyle is to be remembered, according to the former purpose. Sends copy of Captain George Thornton's letter concerning the same. "And if it so stand with Her Highness's pleasure to send a Deputy, he, with all other Commanders here, will have their hands full, before the pride of these traitors be pulled down, so violent and general is this rebellion."

Of the 2,000 men appointed for Munster, hears of none having arrived but 400 at Waterford. Has, upon some occasions, disposed of these for the defence of the towns of Kilkenny and Ross, until the arrival of the rest. Horsemen are much wanted, "such as are here being but few, and many of them not to be trusted." How some of the forces were disposed, before the arrival of the new troops. Sends a brief note, showing how the various garrisons are fronted by the traitors everywhere. Some Captains have not half their numbers, and of these most are Irish and Connaught men. As for the last 1,000 men appointed to come when Sir Richard Bingham was dispatched, whereof 800 were expected to be for

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supplies, sends note from Sir Richard, showing that nearly 300 were wanting of the 1,000, and how the rest were disposed of, leaving but 100 for supplies.

Has just received letters from the Lords Justices and Council to defer victualling the fort of Maryborough; yet has used secret means for its relief. Encloses copy of a letter from one of the parties (*wanting*), also copies of letters from the Bishop of Meath and Sir Richard Bingham. Begs for supplies of men, money, victual, apparel, and munition, with all possible expedition.—Kilkenny, 1598, December 17. *Signed. pp. 3. Incloses,*

34. I. *The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener, and the Council, to the Earl of Ormonde. Received on the 26th instant his letters of the 21st. Inform him of the revolt of James FitzPiers. He is to defer victualling the fort of Maryborough, as the Council have lately put into it 24 beeves and nine barrels of wheat. Hope that before they are much distressed, his Lordship will have a better opportunity to relieve them. Lack of victuals and money at present. Will make all preparations. The betraying of Crohan, and the killing of Sir Thomas Moore and Captain Gifford, on November 16. Have written to Sir Christopher St. Lawrence to reinforce the fort and the few private castles still holding out [in the Queen's County], and to draw with the rest of the companies to Sir Richard Bingham. Send copies of two letters from Sir Richard (wanting).—Dublin, 1598, November 27. Copy. p. 1.*

34. II. *Certificate, dated at Kilkenny, 1598, December 4, of verbal message sent by the Lords Justices and Council to the Earl of Ormonde, by Hugh Diermode. The fort of Maryborough sufficiently victualled for a month or six weeks to come, having forty beeves and six barrels of wheat lately taken in by the ward. "He saith also that the said Lords Justices and Council willed him to tell the Lord Lieutenant that, if the army were removed far off from the city of Dublin, they stood in great fear of the loss of the city, a great number of rebels being within two miles of the same." The lack of victuals. Signed by seven witnesses. Copy. p. ½.*

34. III. *Captain Michael Marshall to the Earl of Ormonde. Since Ormonde's last being there, has written three or four letters to him, which he understands were intercepted, and two of his messengers hanged. Has procured the bearer to repair to his Lordship, and asks credence for his report.—The fort of Maryborough, 1598, November 25. Copy. p. ½.*

34. IV. *"The inhabitants of the fort of Maryborough" to the Earl of Ormonde. Have persuaded the bearers, David Good and James Rogers, to endanger themselves to certify to him the state of the place. Ask credence for them. Live in hope of present aid.—The fort of Maryborough, 1598, November 25. Copy. p. 1.*

34. V. *"David Good, an Englishman, Vicar of the fort of Maryborough in Leix, came with letters from Captain Marshall, and other the officers there, being accompanied with one James*

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Rogers, which Rogers, in his view, being cast from his horse at the noise of the rebels that suddenly charged them, was taken, and whether slain or not he doth not know. Himself was forced to leave his horse behind, and came through the woods. This Good was the writer of Marshall's letters, and, where he wrote that they had munition enough in the fort, it was done of purpose, that, if it were intercepted, the traitors might not know their wants, either in that kind or in victual, whereof he said they in the fort were in great need."—1598, November 26. Copy. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

34. VI. "*The message sent from the Lord Mountgarrett by Morgan (sic) M'Brian Kavanagh, the 6th of December, 1598.*" Is content to be at peace for fourteen days, in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. Is joined and linked to O'Neill, the Earl of Desmond, and divers others in Ireland. Those for whom he will undertake. Freedom to buy and sell in any port town. Is ready to make satisfaction for any proved breach of the peace on his part, if the like is done on the other side. Copy. p. 1.

34. VII. Copy of the Earl of Ormonde's answer to the demands of Lord Mountgarrett.

"*Being of late in Her Majesty's service, in the county of Tipperary, in prosecution of the traitor your brother-in-law, the Baron of Cahir, Doctor Cragh, and other his complices, I received a paper of your demands, left (in my absence) at my house in Kilkenny, by your son-in-law, Morrogh M'Brian Kavanagh; which I perused, and the more I considered of your demands therein, the less I found in you, either loyal regard of bounden duty to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, or yet so much as any provident consideration of the shameful and headlong race you have run, to your own utter destruction, and perpetual subversion of your offspring and posterity: so as now your wickedness must denounce you to the world for a most malicious traitor to Her Highness's sacred person. And I cannot but be sorry that so unnatural and degenerate a member is descended from the house you are come of. Now for your demands, which you desire to be answered in particular; wherein, among others, you expressly declare yourself to be (as you term it) joined and linked with the Archtraitor Tyrone, and the rest of the rebels now in action in this kingdom. For one general answer to all I say, that as I account all your demands most wicked, odious, and most traitorous, so do I absolutely resolve to yield to neither of them, not doubting but the just reward of your deserts will heavily light upon you and the rest; to [the] effecting whereof assure yourself that my best endeavour shall not be wanting, to the shedding of the last drop of my blood.*"—Kilkenny, 1598, December 13. p. 1.

34. VIII. Copy of a part of Captain George Thornton's letter to the Earl of Ormonde, dated from Carrickfergus, 1598, November 3.

Was three weeks since in Lough Foyle, and had conference with Sir John O'Dogherty. This could only be in the hearing of the

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Bishop of Derry, whom they call Lord Primate of Ireland, by direction of O'Donnell, who sent the Bishop from his camp in Connaught, hearing that Thornton had burnt corn in his country. The reason was, that one of the country railed against the Queen, and, in revenge, Thornton landed some of his company, who burnt some houses and good store of corn. O'Dogherty, and many of the gentlemen in his country, would, if they were defended, be true subjects. They wonder that, in all these three years' wars, none of Her Majesty's forces have landed in Lough Foyle, which they hold to be the only way to end the wars. In coming from Lough Foyle, Thornton landed with forty of his company in the Raghlins, where they burnt all the corn and turf, and brought away some 140 sheep and goats, with some beef. He came to Carrickfergus to take aboard the remain of victual he left there, and to make new supply of beer. They lost by leakage twenty days' drink, so is forced to supply it, to his great hindrance. p. ½.

34. IX. "An abstract of all Her Majesty's forces, as they be employed in the several Provinces and places ensuing, being so in list, but not in strength; which Sir Ralph Lane, Clerk of the Check and Mustermaster General, was commanded to certify over." Names of officers. Names of rebels in the several Provinces. Total: foot, 10,090; horse, 676.—[1598, December 15.] pp. 2½.

34. X. "A note of the companies last arrived out of England, which ought to have been 1,000." Total, 706.—[1598, December 15.] p. ½.

34. XI. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to the Earl of Ormonde. An intelligence was yesterday brought to him, which concerns Ormonde. A horseman of Lord Mountgarrett's, lately sent from him to Tyrone, being well entertained, and sitting at supper with the intelligencer in Dungannon, began to tell what great things should be done in Leinster, upon the coming of forces out of Ulster to Mountgarrett, which is intended. Amongst other things, whereof the horseman made great boasting, was, that sixteen or seventeen persons, dwelling in Kilkenny, had undertaken to let in Mountgarrett with all his forces into that town. Also, that Mountgarrett's purpose was (upon the repair of some northern forces to him, which he certainly expects), first to surprize the town of Kilkenny, and [then] to take Ormonde and Sir Walter Butler prisoners. Trusts he will be deceived in his hope, and prays God to preserve Ormonde and all good subjects in this dangerous time."—Dublin, 1598, December 11. Copy. p. ½.

34. XII. Sir Richard Bingham to the Earl of Ormonde. Is prevented by illness from attending on his Lordship. As soon as any strength shall come, will be ready, either at Naas or about Dublin, to perform any service Ormonde shall command him. The strength of the companies in the county of Kildare is not much above half what his Lordship writes. Knows not how the Lords Justices will supply them. It will be dangerous to leave those

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parts unprovided for. Has sent by sea, by Hooper, one of the paymasters, certain letters to Ormonde which Sir Richard brought out of England from some of his Lordship's friends. Asks Ormonde to write to the Lords Justices to pay Sir Richard a debt due upon a former concordatum.—Dublin, 1598, December 10. Copy. p. ½.

Dec. 18.
Kilkenny.

35. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Her Highness's gracious acceptance of his urgent demands for supplies. The rebellion everywhere growing to a greater head. Doctor Cragh and Archer the Jesuit. Refers Sir Robert to his letter to the Privy Council. "And in particular I cannot but let you know that the loss of the whole kingdom standeth hereupon, unless main forces with all good means, be speedily sent. How general and dangerous the rebellion is, what treachery hath been used to surprise Her Majesty's forts and several towns and castles of importance, you may perceive by a note, which I will this bearer, William Power, servant to the Earl of Essex, to show unto you. Therefore I heartily pray you to be a[n] earnest mean to Her Majesty for the 'indelayed' sending of royal forces under the Earl Marshal, wh[o] shall not lack all the help and furtherance I can give with heart and hand, for the extirpation and rooting out of these abominable and most unnatural traitors and their confederates. I heartily pray you, as my hope is in you, to procure the speedy coming hither of some forces before hand, that may land at Waterford."—Kilkenny, 1598, December 18. *Signed. p. 1.*

Dec. 21.
Cork.

36. Sir Thomas Norreys to the Privy Council. "It may please your honourable Lordships. Since my last of the 9th of this month, and (*sic*) sent by Mr. Spenser, wherein I manifested the misery of this country, I took in hand, with thirteen of these new companies and four of the old, being very weak in numbers, and consisting most upon Irish, to march towards Kilmallock for the relief thereof, but the traitors having notice of time of my setting forward, dislodged from their siege of that town, burned their ladders, cut in pieces their 'sows' and other engines which they had prepared for the assault thereof, and addressed themselves to encounter us with skirmish and, at a pass some eight miles thence, they met with us, and began to beat us with their shot, but passing that place without any great loss, they still continued playing with shot upon us, until we came very near the gates of Kilmallock, where resting but one day I returned, and found not only all the traitors of these parts, but the Viscount Mountgarrett, the Lord of Cahir, with the greatest force they were able to make, joined together, and ready in our way to entertain a new fight, which they began so soon as we were out of our quarters, and continued whilst we marched nine miles; in which time they gave us many very hot onsets, being (as I am informed) so confident of the victory, as that they had (in conceit) divided the coats and arms of these new soldiers amongst them. But herein it pleased God so, contrary to their expectations, to assist us, as that we not only received in both days' fights the loss but of four men slain, and some thirty hurt, but

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gave them many repulses, to their loss and great shame, whereby hath grown to these new men such courage and boldness (being so far overmatched by the traitors in numbers), as that, if by your honourable means some speedy and timely help may be sent hither to maintain them in this strength, before they fall to weakness, I will not doubt but they shall be able to do Her Majesty good service."

Small store of victual remaining. Many of the men already going barefoot. Prays that their monthly lendings may be sent, according to Her Majesty's late ordinances, whereby good victuals could be found for them. The remainder of the victuals appointed to come may be sent to the remote garrisons, and for furnishing the army, when it shall be drawn into the field. The horsemen from Munster to be hastened over. They would have been of great use this last journey. Some meet maintenance to be appointed for a Serjeant-Major and two corporals. Made Captain Charles Wilmot Serjeant-Major, and in his late service he discharged the office with great valour and sufficiency. Asks that he may be established therein.

Has received advertisement out of Kerry that the traitors there, so soon as they shall hear of any forces to march down that way, purpose to break down the Abbey of Tralee, the castle of the island, and to burn the town of Dinglecush, with all other buildings fit to receive any garrisons. To prevent this, renews his former suit that 500 foot and 50 horse be forthwith sent from England to land at Dingle. These will also strengthen the country, and relieve the ward at Castlemaine, the boat sent to which place by Sir Thomas was taken by the traitors.

In the garrison places only thirty-two barrels of powder remain, and no lead or match. Prays that a supply of all three may be sent, as also of pikes, culivers, and the like, whereof the old companies stand much in need.

Recommends to their Lordships' most favourable regard his own poor estate. Has not had any entertainment for nine months past, and so is altogether unable to bear or continue the charge incident to his place. The bearer, Mr. Francis Wenman, having been an eye-witness of the disorders in Munster, can acquaint their Lordships with particulars thereof.—Cork, 1598, December 21. *Signed Endorsed*:—Received the 29th at Whitehall. *pp.* 3.

Dec. 21.
Cork.

37. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers to his letter of this date to the Privy Council. The new soldiers have acquitted themselves very well lately. Lack of victuals for them. Prays that their monthly lendings may be sent over. The arrears of his own pay. Has no help now, but what he shall receive from England. Begs Sir Robert to further his suits in the preceding letter.—Cork, 1598, December 21. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Dec. 21.
Drogheda.

38. Piers Nugent, Mayor of Drogheda, to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. A Scottish ship arrived last evening from Spain, with some wines for merchants of Drogheda. All the

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Flemings of Holland and Zealand in Spain were taken, their goods seized for the King's use, and the chief of them committed to the galleys. A great army of 50,000 at Cadiz and Lisbon. Whither they are going is not certainly known; some say they are for England or Ireland.—Drogheda, 1598, December 21. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Dec. 21. 39. A list of Her Majesty's forces in Munster, and how they are placed in garrisons. *Endorsed*:—1598, December 21. p. 1.

Dec. 22.
Dublin.

40. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I would I had other occasions to write to you than of the miseries of this realm, which, having been suffered to master the outward limbs, as I have often advertised, are now gathering about the heart, to overthrow it. The rebels of Leinster, having brought under them the greater part of that Province, do now work into the English Pale, to lay it waste by daily taking of preys, not in the night, but in full daylight, and not in the borders, but in the heart of the Pale, which they could not, nor durst not do, but that they see no course taken to resist them. Divers towns in the county of Meath, near unto Trim, the shire town of that county, were preyed the last week in the open daylight by the Connors, who came to the very walls of Trim, and carried away prisoner the Constable of the castle of Trim; and very near this city of Dublin, the like is done almost every night by the mountain rebels, who, in their pride, entered the suburbs two nights past, and took sundry poor men's cows, carrying them away peaceably, and not so much as one bullet delivered against them. These barbarous bravadoes given against the State, not only in the heart, but in the eye of the State, it grieveth me to consider how deeply they blemish the honour of the State, especially that they pass, and not so much as one blow given against them. But the main purpose of the rebels in making these frequent incursions into the Pale is, to lay the whole Pale waste, and by taking away their cattle, and burning their corn, to leave no means to feed the army, both that which is here already, and give help to others to be sent out of England; a dangerous device of the rebels, who know the Pale to be the only grange and nursery to minister food to the army in all times of necessity, and (as I may say) that now the poor English Pale is the whole kingdom, the rest being in effect under the tyranny of the traitors; so, by preserving the Pale, there will be left to Her Majesty a ground to recover the whole again. I would this were taken to heart here, more than I see it is; and I humbly wish your honour to forewarn the Lord Deputy there, by way of advice, that his Lordship above all things seek to preserve the English Pale, and the commodities thereof, for that out of it he and his must be relieved, and without it his Lordship shall find little other helps.

"The bulk of Her Majesty's forces in these parts of Leinster have remained long time at the Naas (as hath been formerly advertised), and being thrust up there altogether, as it were in one place, your Honour may think that all the other parts of the Pale

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lie open to distress and invasion, and the daily events make it true; for that the rebels seeing Her Majesty's forces garrisoned in one place, and no itinerant army to be stirring to defend other parts, they take advantage to break into several parts, and havock the subjects in all parts but where the bulk lieth, which they may easily do, having none of the army to impeach them. Out of this advantage are grown the daily outrages done by the rebels to the subjects of the Pale, of which I have noted some particulars to your Honour, and I fear the total ruin of the Pale will ensue thereby, if a better course be not taken out of hand. The Marshal, whose particular charge it is to direct these matters, hath continued sick ever since he came into this realm, and I fear his weakness is such as he will hardly recover, at least, not to be able to do that in the service, which is expected, and, I assure myself, he hath goodwill to do. And therefore it were good the Lord Deputy should consider to bring with him good choice of Commanders for the wars, such as, for their experience and understanding in the wars, his Lordship might employ in several places under him; for the service here being divided into many parts of the realm, it will be requisite for his Lordship to employ several Commanders, and those to be brought with him, lest he be disappointed, if his Lordship look to find them here.

"Here is a company of vagabond people, pretending to be legates from Rome. They are natives of this country, and by profession Jesuits and friars, who of late do use, in the houses of gentlemen and some noblemen, to have solemn meetings, under a supposed and most ridiculous authority from the Pope, by virtue whereof they conspire factions and partialities against Her Majesty and her government, assuring the same to be lawful, and warranted by directions from Rome. And in their assemblies they have proposed how requisite it is that a natural Prince, born in this realm, should take upon him the government of the realm; whereupon it is gathered that Tyrone is the man to whom this Papal fry seek to confer the government of this kingdom. I do advertise this to your Honour, only that you may see upon what slight foundations they build, and how ready they are upon every nugation and trifle to tempt the minds of the people, not settled in religion. An honourable Deputy, sincerely affected to Her Majesty, and thoroughly enabled by Her Highness, with countenance, favour, and means, will make an end of this work, to Her Majesty's honour, and securing of this kingdom, so as he be sent away with all possible speed; wherewith, in discharge of my duty, I most humbly beseech you to acquaint Her Majesty."—Dublin, 1598, December 22.

[*Postscript.*]—"Her Majesty may think it strange to hear of so many dishonourable attempts made by the rebels in the eye and heart of the State, and suffered to pass without revenge or resistance. I can give no other reason thereof, but that God hath blinded our eyes that we cannot see, and bound up our hands that we dare not strike." *Signed. Seal. Endorsed:*—Received 2 January at Whitehall. pp. 2.

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Dec. 22. 41. Sir Geffrey Fenton to John Francis, deputy postmaster at
Dublin. Chester. Praying him to hasten the despatch of the enclosed
letter [? No. 40] to Court.—Dublin, 1598, December 22. *Signed*.
Seal. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.
- Dec. 22. 42. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending
Dublin. the bearer, Anthony Ravenscroft, for the command of a company, out
of the next forces that shall come for Ireland. He has seen service
abroad as well as in Ireland, and is valiant and discreet, and very
sufficient to discharge that place, or a greater.—Dublin, 1598,
December 22. *Signed.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.
- Dec. 22. 43. "A supply of munition to be sent for out of England, the
22nd of December, 1598." *Signed by Sir George Bouchier.*
p. $\frac{1}{2}$.
- Dec. 23. 44. The Privy Council to Sir Conyers Clifford. The troops under
Sir Arthur Savage sent to his assistance. The Queen has also had
this special care, that Sir Conyers shall not depend upon any
directions from Dublin, as to what will be allotted him, for she has
not only reproved the Council for their neglect of him, but has
precisely enjoined them to send the men, as soon as they arrive,
and also 1,500*l.* for provision of victuals only. Further, that out of
the treasure now sent and coming to Ireland, Sir Conyers be paid
the arrearages of his past lendings, and that from time to time these
continue to be paid. The treasure should suffice for all payments
to the end of January, after which Her Majesty will furnish the
army that shall be kept in Ireland with all things belonging to the
same.

Upon the arrival of the above forces, Sir Conyers is to accommo-
date them with all such things as may be necessary to preserve
them in health and strength. He is to see them continually trained
and disciplined, and is to look particularly to the musters. All
special places of importance, such as command straits and passages
are to be carefully guarded. Sir Conyers is to take some of the
best pledges he can get from those he suspects, and to report how
the latter stand. He is to see that no victual or grain be transported
out of Connaught, and that all that is, or shall be, imported be
preserved for the provision of the army. "Her Majesty can be
content that it be made known, that she will by her power
pluck down the insolency of the rebels, how much soever it cost
her." All such garrans as shall be necessary for the use of the
army to be preserved. Such victual as cannot be kept [from the
enemy] to be destroyed. To certify as to the state of places of
defence. What victuals and fodder can be had in Connaught.
Her Majesty has resolved upon Galway as the fittest place for
keeping victual, apparel, and other provisions. She promises to
make herself "master" of the field in Connaught, as in the rest of
Ireland, and to possess herself of Ballyshannon, Ballymote, and
Sligo. This is a private notice to Sir Conyers of Her Majesty's
purpose. Do not doubt but he will do all things that a provident
Governor or "judicial" Captain shall think fit for such a design.

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He is not to waste the troops in hazardous prosecutions, but to employ them only in necessary services.—1598, December 23. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 106^b-108. *Copy.* pp. 2½.

Dec. 23.

Dublin
Castle.

45. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning certain corn claimed by Lady Burgh as due to Lord Burgh, late Deputy of Ireland. Will answer the Queen's letter of October 12 thereupon, when the Lord Lieutenant and others return to Dublin.—Dublin Castle, 1598, December 23. *Signed. Endorsed:* —Received 14 January. p. 1.

Dec. 23.

Dublin.

46. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends "a project for service answerable to the urgent necessity of the time." Considers the execution thereof will free the Pale from "the ruinous daily incursions, or rather secure possession, of the rebels," and extirpate the Archtraitor's main forces in Ulster.—Dublin, 1598, December 23. *Signed. Seals.* p. 1. *Incloses,*

46. 1. *The project for service, by Sir Ralph Lane; addressed to Sir Robert Cecil.*

The public state distracted and broken in all parts, "as never erst the like, and (with grief I speak it) almost even desperate." The daily insolencies and proud attempts of the rebel "even at the gates of Dublin, and within the suburbs of the same, notwithstanding all Her Majesty's forces," under the Lord Lieutenant, Sir Samuel Bagenall, and the Marshal, Sir Richard Bingham. The last, in the opinion of the physicians, is "sick unrecoverably, even to the death, having of long time not been able, through the infirmity of his body, to give any assistance in his person, or any advices like himself in his healthful state."

The mountain rebels, joined with the bastard Geraldines of Kildare, "a matter most strange to all this nation," having dared to engage themselves between Her Majesty's army at Naas and Dublin, fourteen days ago burned Dumboyne, within seven miles of Dublin, and four days ago did the like to Symonds Court, distant only one mile and a half from the town; "and lastly, two nights past, a very few of them, at eight o'clock at night, brake into the bawn of St. Patrick's, and took out of the same a number of cows belonging to my Lord Chancellor's tenants, of St. Patrick Street, and with very insolent words and cries railed upon the English in the hearing of the town, saying that, as they had now their cows, so would they also have their heads, ere it were long.

"All which, I say, notwithstanding, the two English bands in the town, commanded by Captain Francis Stafford and Captain Richard Atherton, two very sufficient commanders, the bands also very good, and they joined with two like bands of townsmen, neither they durst, neither was it fit they should (considering the unassurance of some of the townsmen themselves, which all they underhand are discovered to entertain within their houses rebels), make any sally out after them.

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"Myself having conferred with Sir Richard Bingham, the morrow following, being in great weakness, he told me that the care of this desperate declination of the State, to the which he in his person, through his increasing weakness, could in no sufficient manner be available unto (sic), did much more afflict him in mind than his approaching death, and mightily blamed (as justly he might) as that most fearful resolution of the State, in his absence at the Naas, to shut up the gates of the town by day, whereunto he attributed the cause of these dangerous indignities offered by the rebel; so in like sort the overgreat husbandry in this time of the State, in a long restraint of Her Majesty's known princely bounty to loyal men of worth and 'undertaking courages.'"

James FitzPiers, like his father all his life, was, until a few weeks past, not only loyal, but very serviceable in valour, even against his own blood. He was first depressed, and now thrust out headlong into rebellion, by Ormonde's known displeasure towards him.

Case of Captain Thomas Lee, who, in a precise construction of law, is accused, but not convicted, of treason. *"All the world here, and particularly the few loyal subjects of Kildare, do hold him guiltless, who greatly, in my view of some of their letters to the State, have by humble suit urged the sending of him amongst them, with either some joint or absolute command of some good forces."* The greater and better sort of Her Majesty's Commanders and Captains do so affect his courses in services, which Captain Lee formerly had the handling of, that the Serjeant-Major of the forces at Naas, Captain Cuny (a commander in truth of very singular worth) told Sir Ralph that, to have Captain Lee in the service with him, he would be content, not only to move the Lords Justices to have him in equal commission with himself, but also, rather than the service should want him, to have him in commission set down before himself, and in some sort to be directed by him.

The strength and monstrous pride of Tyrone. Besides his main forces in the North, he has an army in Leix and Offally of the O'Moores and O'Connors, under his appointed general, Onie M'Rory. These, joined with the rebels of Westmeath, are bruited to be above 2,000 horse and foot. Tyrone has a second army in the county of Wexford, under Donnell Spainagh, who has suspended for a time his title of King of Leinster, and has accepted the title of General of that part of Leinster, and of the mountain men, with whom are joined the bastard Geraldines of Kildare. These would fain make James FitzPiers assume the title of General amongst them. This second army is said to be above 2,500 horse and foot. Tyrone has a third army in Munster, under Viscount Mountgarrett. To reinforce him 2,000 foot and 100 horse are every day expected under Con, the Earl's base son, "by his lewd father sent with a commission to be his Lord President for Munster."

The unhappiness of the State is increased through present want of sufficient Commanders-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces, as well

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as of experience of "the plots and draughts of this country nation, particularly, as in a general martial skill, ordered and disciplined for strong fights, both of horse and foot, as well upon hard grounds and plains, which must be certainly expected and provided for, as upon their bogs, passes, and straits, when Tyrone shall in person come up to the Pale, which he purposeth very shortly to do, if he be not with some 1,500 English foot and 100 horse forthwith entertained at home, that is to say, for the present, in the Clandeboys and at Coleraine: 600 of the foot to be at Belfast, and 900 foot and 100 horse at Coleraine. In the Clandeboys they naturally hate Tyrone, and now follow him only for fear. The force at Coleraine will instantly draw the Scots from him, "for fear of the loss of their cows, which they love as their lives, and far better than him." Tyrone, by means of the Scots, is supplied by sea with powder and munition, and may be reinforced at all times with any numbers of men, "only with certain signals of fires by night upon the sea coasts, in certain places affronting the out Isles of Scotland, and of certain smacks by day."

Greatly doubts that his next letters to Sir Robert will be of the departure from this life of Sir Richard Bingham. Recommends as his successor Sir Henry Brouncker, whose rare and singular good parts are known to Sir Robert. The hard hand holden upon Bingham in the matter of supplies, notwithstanding Her Majesty's goodness declared "to himwards."

"So also at the instant lieth most dangerously hurt and deadly (as some advertisements are) Sir Samuel Bagenall, by a mighty bruise, both in his body and in his head, that he lately took by the fall of his horse, which maketh the services cold in the parts of his government, with the weakness of his regiments, not in the numbers of men, by the certificate of Tudor a little before his death, but by reason of sickness for lack of clothes, the same defect being universal."

Recommends that, before the arrival of a Deputy, some principal Englishman in Ireland, well disciplined in the wars, be appointed Commander-in-Chief of two strong camps of 1,500 each in Leinster; also, the forces, as above specified, at Belfast and Coleraine, both of which may be commodiously victualled from the sea. Thus not only will Tyrone be forced to forbear his irruption into the Pale, but he will also be constrained immediately to recall home all his forces in Leinster and Munster. The rebels in these Provinces can soon be worn out, when the countenance, strength, and sinews of their wars, viz., the Ulster rebels, are taken away.

Begs to be appointed to the Coloneley of the garrison to be settled at Belfast. Will be able to perform special services, through the good opinion he has obtained from certain of the principals of the Clandeboys, as also from the Scots, and will save Her Majesty a Colonel's pay of 10s. per diem. Refers Sir Robert for further particulars to a gentleman whom he is going very shortly to send to him, and who may most sufficiently serve for conducting the said forces, and landing of them "with most convenience, shortest cut by sea."—Dublin, 1598, December 23. Signed. pp. 6.

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Dec. 23.

47. "Catalogue of sundry [Irish] families in Munster."
Endorsed:—1598, December 23. *One sheet.*

Dec. 27.

Kilkenny.

48. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. Since his last despatch of the 17th instant to their Lordships, he received from beyond seas certain advertisements by one James Tobin, a native of Kilkenny, who served abroad for the space of thirteen years, and was drawn to Ireland, by Ormonde's procurement, to do service there. Incloses the said advertisements; also, a message sent him by word of mouth from Mountgarrett by his messenger, upon receipt of Ormonde's answer to his demands; also, a copy of a letter written to Sir Walter Butler from a servant of his sister's, being late wife to Mulmorey O'Reilly, who was slain at the defeat at Armagh. Their Lordships may thereby not only gather Mountgarrett's "malicious, traitorous, and wicked practices," and those of his partakers, but discover in general the disposition of all fugitives, and other enemies in foreign parts.

"Amongst other counties in this kingdom, I may not omit to make known unto your Lordships the carelessness and negligence of the gentlemen and others of the county of Wexford, which being the place whereof Englishmen were first possessed in this realm, the traitors, without any resistance of late, made an incursion thirty miles from their fastness into the inland next the sea, spoiling and robbing the subjects at their pleasures, where, since the conquest, no Irish Kavanagh or traitor did ever attempt. Yet are there garrisoned in that part of the county three companies of foot, with whom if they had joined, they had not only saved all their losses, but had done good service upon the traitors. Yet they, as obstinate and unwilling people, look that Her Majesty should not only defend their goods, but ward and keep their castles, for which purpose many of them have been suitors unto me." Prays for the hastening over of forces. Is careful of the maritime towns, and others of importance. All of them are as yet safe, "notwithstanding the practices that are daily used for the betraying of them." Sends copy of a letter from the Mayor of Waterford touching some advertisements from Spain.—Kilkenny, 1598, December 27. *Signed. p. 1. Incloses,*

48. I. Roger Aston to [the Earl of Ormonde]. *Recommending the bearer, James Tobin, and four others of his countrymen, who have lately arrived out of France. "If your Lordship have any occasion to use the King my master in any thing that may concern Her Majesty's service, your Lordship will find him most willing and ready, as by his proclamation and other his actions known to Her Majesty may appear. If anything pass from hence, that may either furnish or pleasure the enemy, it is rather for greediness of commodity than any allowance of the authorities."*—Edinburgh, November 7. *Endorsed*:—1598. *Copy. p. 1.*

48. II. "James Tobin's advertisements." *List of the names of certain English and Irish pensioners with the King of Spain. Among them are, Sir William Stanley, Captain Stanley (his*

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brother), "Mr. Fawxe, pensioner at 15 crowns per mensem," the Earl of Westmoreland (whose pension is 200 crowns per mensem), "Captain Thresham, 40 crowns per mensem," Mr. Hugh Owen ("this Owen is the chief solicitor for practising against the estate of England"), Mr. Stokes ("attendant in the Court—this Stokes once racked in England"), Lieutenant, and Richard, Brymygham (both born in the Pale), and Thomas and John Stanikurst.

Tobin, coming out of France, met with some countrymen of his, who were sent to O'Neill with letters from the Archduke, and "a thing passing in print," calling him by the name of "Prince of Ireland."

"The said Cardinal hath sent one Doctor Lumbardo to Rome, to procure that O'Neill may be made King of Ireland, and to have authority to coin money, and to excommunicate all such as will not bear arms against Her Majesty."

Passing though Scotland, Tobin met with one Fleming, whose father carried one Hugh Boy into Spain from Tyrone, to bring men, money, and munition from thence, as stated in a letter lately received by Fleming from his father. Their purpose is to land at Limerick or Waterford, where they will fortify.—[1598, December.] pp. 2.

48. III. The answer of Mountgarrett, declared to David Hickie, servant to the Lord Lieutenant General, to be delivered to his Lordship, in answer of the said Lord Lientenant's letter of the 13th of December, 1598, delivered by the said Hickie unto the said Mountgarrett.

"We (whose names are underwritten) were present when the said David Hickie deposed upon the Evangelist this present day, that upon Sunday last, he delivered the said letter unto the said Mountgarrett, at Clangibbon in Munster; and craving answer at his hands, he willed him to attend no longer for other answer, than to bid the said Lord Lieutenant to do what he might for the Queen, and he would do what he might for O'Neill. At Kilkenny, this 21st of December, 1598." Signed by Sir Henry Power and four other English officers. Copy. p. ½.

48. IV. Thomas Carney to Sir Walter Butler. Purport of the message sent by Mountgarrett to the Earl of Tyrone. All the gentlemen about him have joined. Doubts not to cut off Sir Walter Butler before long. The Earl asked how that might be done, and the town of Kilkenny taken. The messenger said that there were those within that town who had undertaken to betray Ormonde and it to Edmond Butler. If this failed, that there were those in Sir Walter Butler's company, who had promised to yield his body to the said Edmond. A friend of Carney's about the Earl pressed the messenger for the names of those men, but could not get them. Mountgarrett craved Tyrone to repair with his forces to Meath, and he with all his forces would meet him wherever he appointed. If Tyrone could not conveniently perform the same at that instant, then Mountgarrett prayed him to send Con. his son, with 1,500

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shot, and by that means he would destroy all such of those parts as would not hold with him. This the Earl liked very well, and promised to send the said shot.

The Earl is come to the Fews with all his forces, and means to keep there this Christmas, and live upon the spoil of the Pale; and, after the holidays, to draw into Meath.—*Dublin, 1598, December 9. Copy. p. 1.*

48. v. Thomas White, Mayor of Waterford, to [the Earl of Ormonde]. On the 17th instant, a Waterford ship arrived, having left Lisbon about four weeks past. The merchants, being examined, say that about two months past there was a general stay of all nations in Spain. These were all soon after released, except Hollanders and Flushingers. The city of Lisbon sent a petition to the King, declaring that its inhabitants could not well live without the trade and haunt unto them of the Hollanders and Flushingers, and praying that they might also be released. The King returned answer to leave off their suit, for that they, being his subjects, were become rebels against him. There was, by common report, a levy of 24,000 soldiers in Andalusia; and the old navy at the Groyne and Ferrol was a preparing, but for what place was not known. The messengers of the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell were at the Court of Spain, called by the name of "the Irish Ambassadors." Restraint of the Irish wine trade with the south of Spain, procured, it is said, by those messengers, who boast to effect a restraint of all Irish trade with France.—*Waterford, 1598, December 18. Copy. p. ½.*

Dec. [27].
Kilkenny.

49. The Earl of Ormonde to Queen Elizabeth. Begs for the hastening over of royal forces; otherwise there will be a hazard of the loss of the kingdom. Her Majesty may think that, by reason of the greatness of her army in Ireland, the prosecution of the traitors might have been better followed. Yet the army is so employed in several garrison places far distant, bordering everywhere upon a multitude of traitors, that he cannot draw 500 men into the field, without leaving some towns and holds of importance unguarded. Sends note of traitors from beyond sea, who are to be sent to help the rebels in Ireland; also, copy of a letter from one Aston, who is very near the King [of Scotland]. Wishes some course might be taken to stay the Scots from selling powder and other munition to the northern traitors, with whom they do chiefly traffic, especially from Glasgow. It were more meet that the powder he bought for Her Majesty's service, than bestowed against her. Forbears to trouble her further, as the Privy Council will make the particularities of his letters known to her. His prayers for Her Majesty's happiness and prosperity.—*Kilkenny, 1598, December [27]. Holograph. Seal. pp. 2. Incloses,*

49. i. "James Tobin's advertisements." Duplicate of No. 48. ii. with slight alterations.—[1598, December]. pp. 2½.

49. ii. Roger Aston to [the Earl of Ormonde]. Duplicate of No. 48. i.—*Edinburgh, 1598, November 7. Copy. p. 1.*

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Dec. 29.

Dublin.

50. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Has this day received a letter from Sir George Colley, Sir Henry Warren, and John Moore (son of Sir Thomas Moore, lately murdered in his house by the rebels), pressing him very earnestly to recomind to Sir Robert their suit to the Privy Council, contained in the petition now sent thither by the bearer, their agent. They are all three sons-in-law to himself; therefore he is the more unwilling to be troublesome to Sir Robert in their behalf, though he knows they have tasted of the miseries of this country, more than any other of their sort in all the kingdom. Will thankfully acknowledge any favour afforded to them as done to himself. By reason of their followers and experience in the county where they dwell, they will be able to do far better service than any others, being strangers, that shall be employed there.—Dublin, 1598, December 29. *Signed.* p. 1.

Dec. 30.

Dublin.

51. Sir Henry Wallop to [Sir Robert Cecil].—His letter of the first of December came to Wallop's hands on the 28th instant, at which time there arrived also the 12,000*l.* last sent. Out of this he has, according to his directions, deducted 4,000*l.* for Munster, and, for conveyance thereof to Cork, has provided a pinnace, which will pass away, as soon as the wind serves, "for by land, without an army, there is no sending." Has appointed Dudley Norton as paymaster at Cork, and has despatched a man to Waterford, to attend the receipt and issue of the money sent from England to Munster.

Is very sorry there was lack of servants and agents of his at the Court. Thought he had taken sufficient order already to prevent it. Six have come over to Ireland with three treasures within these five weeks, and two more, he understands, are at the waterside. Returns three, and has appointed one to attend the charge of the moneys to be conveyed to Munster. The exceeding charge and danger lying upon Wallop. Besides his many deputies in England, he is constrained to employ four clerks (three at 40*l.* a year, and one at 30*l.*), and seven paymasters in several parts. Enumerates these. The hazard to him having to answer for them all. Would rather they were appointed by Her Majesty, than chosen by him. The strict dealing of the Lords Justices with respect to them. The heavy charges of the paymasters, and of himself. Endures it in hope that he shall not long continue in his place, for which he grows so insufficient, by reason of his old age and many infirmities. Still sues for his revocation. The exercise of his office in this stirring time requires one younger and stronger than himself. The great comfort of Sir Robert's last letters to him personally, "howsoever in these public misfortunes you may have occasion to write sourly." Was afraid Sir Robert was displeased with him, as he had received no letter from his Honour for almost twelve months, and was told Sir Robert had used words showing dislike of him. Exceeding joyful at his last letter. His devotion to Sir Robert. Burghley often wrote to Wallop "very sharp and bitter letters in matter of the public," yet in private he ever found his Lordship's favour.

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Besides other benefits, Burghley bestowed three good wards upon him. Where the discontented occasions of Ireland minister many causes of dislike in England, and Wallop, like others, often incurs suspicion of blame, prays Sir Robert to suspend his opinion until he has heard Wallop's answer.—Dublin, 1598, December 30. *Signed. pp. 4.*

Dec. 30.
Dublin.

52. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Received a packet from him last night, enclosing a letter to Sir Conyers Clifford, which he will send away to-morrow in the safest manner he can, "considering how dangerously the ways are laid with the rebels, between this place and Athlone."

It is bruited that the Earl of Essex is appointed to come to Ireland, with a royal army, for the suppression of these rebellions. Hopes his Lordship will remember that, before he enters into the North with force, it is requisite that a strong garrison be settled first at Lough Foyle; this garrison to consist of 2,000 foot, at least, and 100 horse, thoroughly furnished with victual and munition for four months. Before the end of that time, they will doubtless make their own provisions, both in Tyreconnell and Tyrone; those two countries being rich in corn and cattle, having engrossed the best part of the wealth of the English Pale. Besides, such a garrison will so entangle both those countries, that Tyrone will be driven to draw home, for his own defence, such companies as he has sent into Leinster and Munster. These companies are the chiefest support and bearers up of the stirs in those two Provinces. When they are called away, it will be no hard matter to end the work there, at least in Leinster. Is bold to note thus much touching Lough Foyle, as it is "a matter of very great weight, especially for the cutting down of those two proud houses of O'Neill and O'Donnell, without whose utter extirpation it is but in vain to labour to ruin these traitors of Ireland, and reduce the people to a settled obedience, for when the serpent is killed in the head, his poison hath no further force in his limbs."

His servant, after eight months' attendance at Court, has just returned, but without "a line of a letter" from Sir Robert. Fears he did not acquaint his Honour with his coming away. If this be the case, prays Sir Robert to let him know by his next. Incloses a certificate, brought by his servant, touching his suit for Tarbert. Submits himself to Sir Robert's decision therein. Has written six or seven letters since the beginning of November last, chiefly concerning the stirs and troubles of Ireland. Knows not whether they have come to his Honour's hands, as he has not received a line of answer. Prays to know by his next whether the letters had safe passage.—Dublin, 1598, December 30. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½. Incloses,*

52. 1. *Petition of Sir Geoffrey Fenton touching the grant of the seignory of Tarbert. Sir Robert Cecil appends a note, referring the same, by direction of the Privy Council, to the Chief Baron, the Master of the Rolls, and the Solicitor General, in Ireland. These indorse the petition with a certificate, dated 1598, November*

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26, in favour of Sir Geoffrey Fenton as against Mr. Justice Goold. p. 1.

Dec. 31.
Whitehall.

53. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. By late letters received from Sir Thomas Norreys, they perceive that, when he wrote, he had received neither money nor munition from them out of the treasure or store lately sent, although they were specially directed to send 4,000*l.* to him; "wherein if your goodwill had been as ready, as you might have had convenient means, we doubt not but he had been supplied long ere this. For though we know the ways by land to be unpassable, yet we are not ignorant that by sea it may pass, as we then wrote very earnestly unto you. So again we charge you in Her Majesty's name, as you will answer for the inconvenience that may happen by your default," that, if the said 4,000*l.* has not already been sent to Sir Thomas Norreys, he may be supplied therewith as speedily as possible, and also with some quantity of powder and shot, whereby the soldiers may be relieved and encouraged. Hear nothing at all from the Council of the treasure lately sent, whereat they marvel very much. Pray them not to forget to certify in their letters from time to time, the receipt of all treasure, munition, and victuals, sent to Ireland.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, December 31. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 110^b. *Copy*. p. 1.

[Dec.]

54. "Articles of contract, made and concluded upon by the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, the Earl Marshal of England, the Lord Admiral of England, and the rest of the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Privy Council, on the behalf of Her Majesty, on the one part, and Marmaduke Darell, Esquire, one of the Surveyors of the Victuals for Her Majesty's Navy, and John Jolls, of London, merchant, of the other part; for and concerning the providing, shipping, and the transporting, of the provision of victuals hereunder mentioned, out of the realm of England, unto the ports of Dublin, Cork, Galway, and Carrickfergus, in Ireland, for the victualling of ten thousand men there for three months, containing eighty and four days."—[1598, December.] *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 108^b.–110^b. *Copy*. pp. 4½.

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55. Entertainments of the Civil Officers in Ireland. Total, 5,626*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*—[1598.] *Three Sheets*.

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56. Walter Hussey to———. Has dealt with his brother Bremicham concerning the matter the correspondent knows of. Bremicham's repair to Dublin. He desires the Lord Lieutenant's warrant to deal, for the party is coming to his Lordship. Thinks the Lord Lieutenant will give the party the benefit of his title at the Council Board, and not drive him to the dilatory course of common law. Redmond's submission, and his Lordship's honourable dealing therein, to encourage him to it. He may be a very good instrument to bring all his countrymen in, who are now maintaining the supposed Earl of Desmond in his rebellion, and to have those settled on their own lands in Connaught, who were banished by

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the Bingham's extortion. These, being old enemies of O'Donnell (until of late some by necessity were forced to rely upon him), may be of good assistance in winning Ballyshannon, which is the only key and strait betwixt the two countries. If it were in Her Majesty's possession, O'Donnell would never be able to annoy Connaught. Necessary garrisons for Ulster. The great murrain that was among the cattle in that Province, after the truce taken between Sir John Norreys and O'Neill. The consequent famine through lack of milk and butter. Tyrone's spoiling of the Pale. The Constable of the Castle of Belahoe told Hussey, a fortnight before the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, that the Captain of Ferney, and the rest of the Lords and gentlemen to the Blackwater, were, a month before that time, made prisoners, for fear they should go to the Lord Lieutenant upon his coming into Ireland. Soon after, with some politic discourse, O'Neill told them he was sorry to put them in that mistrust, and that he would enlarge them, having their pledges. Whereupon all the gentlemen were enlarged, upon giving of the same. But some told the Constable of Belahoe that, if they knew they were accepted by the Lord Lieutenant, they would suffer their pledges to be hanged, rather than depend upon O'Neill. The latter's extortion: "so miserably could we never live under the English." The Constable was prayed to tell the Lord Lieutenant.

Has bestowed some time to know what would help "the poor five obedient shires" from these daily spoils done by the Ulster and Leinster rebels; and has found that, if the straits of these counties were fortified and garrisoned, they would quickly recover what they had lost; "the people, as you know, being very industrious of themselves to till the ground, and being saved by this means, where could the enemy supply themselves again, if Her Majesty's forces did take from them what they have already taken from the Pale? No, doubtless their bonnaghts and companies would disperse for famine. It is a rule in martial discipline that policy is better in the field than fury. Four days for lack of victual would starve an army. God knoweth whom fortune would favour, if the cause were tried by battle, for it is not good to put the stay of a country upon a day's service." Played the part of a bad Secretary in praying the correspondent to desire the Lord Lieutenant to protect the Connors. "If zealous minds would put things in execution, that would be devised for the appeasing of this trouble, assure yourself it would not be so difficult as men think; but there be few, I am sorry, of that sort. When my book is written fair, which you were desirous of, you shall prefer it to my Lord Lieutenant, and myself and mine withal."—"Moylusse" [? Moylusk, co. Antrim], [1598]. *Signed. In a very mutilated condition. pp. 3.*

[1598.] 57. Memorandum concerning the affairs of Munster [*a portion of some manuscript history: see also No. 112, pp. 286-288 above.*] The Lord Lieutenant, being at Kilmallock, called certain of the undertakers and demanded of them the cause why they, being strong if they had held together, forsook their houses and castles

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and lands, which they held of Her Majesty, to her dishonour, their great shame, and the animating of roguish rebels and rascal traitors. There was a great fault in Sir Thomas Norreys that, having special direction out of England, and from the Earl of Ormonde, afore this rebellion grew ripe, to take pledges and good security of the noblemen, gentlemen, and suspected men throughout Munster, for their loyalty, from time to time, he took slender bonds, and bastards and children, all not worth a rush. When the rebellion came, then it appeared to his shame, and he could render no good answer to the Earl of Ormonde. Again, if he, in discretion, had drawn to a head, and had animated the inhabitants of the Province, he had found of the Englishry and Irishry a sufficient number of able men to withstand the forces of the rebels. For in the year 1590, eight years before these troubles, by virtue of a commission directed to the President and Council of the Province, there were mustered in Munster, able men furnished, 9,331; able men furnished and unfurnished, 10,490; and, in this later time, the country was better peopled than in many years before.

The Lord Lieutenant, from Corrabbeey, wrote to the Lord President of Munster to call before him such undertakers as he had not formerly met withal, and take assurance from them to appear when called for, to yield reason of their flight.

[*In the margin* :—"The causes of the misery of the Englishry."] "I may not (gentle reader) with silence pass over the misery of the Englishry in their flight, and, in examining the causes, neither enter into God's judgment, neither write in disgrace of the nation.

"First of all, I note their great wickedness formerly rooted, not purged, by change of air, but found still procuring the wrath of God, according to that of the past, "*cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*," they change the air and not the mind that cross the seas. Notwithstanding many wise, godly, and virtuous, yet there were out of England, and other countries, traitors, murderers, thieves, coseners, conycatchers, shifting mates, runners away with other men's wives, some having two or three wives, persons divorced living loosely, bankrupts, carnal gospellers, Papists, Puritans, and Brownists. If the enemy, by the permission of God, had not come with a scourge against them (as Josephus said some time of the Jews in Jerusalem), it is like with other plagues, the earth would have gaped, and swallowed them up.

"Secondly, division, contention, and emulation, among themselves, a great cause of their misery. They could not be content to scrape from the Irishry, but one inveighing and suing the other, troubling the courts, and disquieting the country. The English gentlemen in Leix and Offally contended among themselves. In Munster they jarred one with another, so that the Mayor of Cork gave forth that most suits depending before him were between the Englishry. The inhabitants of Curryglasse were so famous, [seeing] they were never quiet, while they had a penny in their purses, but arresting and binding to the peace, that they were called the clampers of Curryglasse.

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"One great fault they found in the President of that Province, that, if they had just cause of complaint against the Irishry, the President, laying aside English sympathy; favoured the Irish more than the English; for he brought somewhat in his hand, and the English came empty, and empty he went away. They were so imperious, that every gentleman would be in commission of the peace; the Lord Chancellor's fault was to grant it. There was one in Munster, a great swearer, they called him Justice God's Wounds; another, killing of Irish cows, [and] selling hides and tallow, they called him Justice Tripes; another, having no land, but a stock of money, hunting, and hawking, and gaming, and coming once a year, they called him Justice When-ye-will. Such insufficiency there was in their service.

"Thirdly, it cannot be but the wickedness, insufficiency, and lewdness of the clergy procured this plague; and to say the truth, as it was delivered in the late Council of Trent, *omne malum a pontificio culmine*, all the mischief cometh from the high prelates; such archbishops, bishops, deans, and men of unworthy dignities, as no kingdom hath the like; very few learned and reverend; of the rest, some weavers, some tapsters, and men of occupation out of England; others, mere Irish, having neither learning nor honesty, going in mantles and Irish 'trooses,' tipping of ale and aqua vitæ, getting of bastards, and never giving themselves to study or preaching; yet these have been by the Governors and magistrates, for rewards and affection, commended into England, Her Majesty therein mightily abused, and God's people disappointed. What shall I say of the inferior sort of priests, English and Irish, all alike for the most part lewd and ignorant? Divers of the English have not one word of Latin, divers of the Irish, broken Latin, meeteth for the tavern than for the temple. A scholar meeteth one of them and saith, 'Come out of the alehouse ["allho..."], *Domine*; he, thinking it was, *quomodo vales, Domine*, answereth, *ago tibi[i] gratias*. The bishops, given to gain and covetousness, and being ignorant themselves, will have no learned and sufficient men, but Irish priests, in their dioceses; for the English ministers will see unto them, will not bribe them, as the Irish do, therefore call they the Irish priests, good milch cows. The bishops grow infamous; by authority and countenance they will carry things away; and doubtful oftentimes it is, where to find them, and how to trust them. Richard Meredith, Bishop of Leighlin, being charged by an honest gentleman, Mr. Thorneborowe, then newly come from England to be Bishop of Limerick, that there were found great fault with him for breach of promise, answered, 'My Lord of Limerick, when you have been here a twelvemonth, no man will believe one word that you speak.' Shameless dealings have shameless answers, and such was the corruption of the time. The Bishops have winked for gain at laymen, children, their own kindred and household servants, and granted them sequestrations and faculties to hold sundry ecclesiastical livings. The Bishops have suffered Papists, Puritans, Brownists, atheists, in their dioceses and households, to preach, to reason, to prate, to

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gather conventicles, without contradiction or reformation. The example of Derby Cragh, calling himself a Doctor of Divinity, whom the Pope made Bishop of Cork, and graced with the title of *Nuncius Apostolicus*, and James Archer, of Kilkenny, a cosening mass priest, is fresh in memory. This Derby confessed among the traitors, that he had been in Ireland the space of eighteen years, day and night, among them, persuading to rebellion, which he termed the Catholic faith. He wrought the combination, and effected the whole mischief over Ireland, which then took place. Yet no Governor, no Bishop, weighed this matter, and when massing priests and friars were apprehended and brought afore the State, as the Bishop of Dromore and others were, they were quickly set at liberty, and found more grace and favour than they that furthered the service.

"Fourthly, and lastly, the corruption of the Governors, magistrates, and Council in general hath deserved this plague. The Irishry desireth no better than a bad cause, and a great bribe to give; then doubteth he not but he shall speed; and such is the nature of them that, when they have corrupted any, they will be the first that will bewray it." *pp.* 3.

[1598.] 58. "A vewe of the present state of Irelande, discoursed by waye of a diologue betweene Eudoxus and Irenius"; *by Edmund Spenser, the poet.*—[1598.] *Contemporary copy.* *pp.* 127.

[1598.] 59. "A briefe note of Ireland." *Endorsed*:—"A briefe discourse of Ireland by Spencer."

"The Kings of England have lands of inheritance as Lords of Ireland in good substance, beside the title of the Crown, as the Earldom of Ulster; wholly Lords of Connaught, Meath, of four parts of Leinster and four parts of Munster." Towns in Ireland, 5,530.

"There is of arable land in it, 38,640 ploughlands, besides rivers, meadows, bogs, and woods; every ploughland containeth 120 acres; every acre 4 perches in breadth and 40 in length; every perch 21 foot; every foot 12 inches." In Edward IV.'s time, Ireland yielded the Crown of England 14,146*l.* sterling, taking but a noble for a ploughland. Besides, that King received for customs, fishings, and other royalties, 100,000 marks, yearly paid to the Castle of Dublin, as yet appeareth by record. Above this, he had his yearly rent of Ulster, Connaught, Meath, Leinster, and Munster, amounting to 22,000*l.* sterling. "More than this had they advowsons of many churches, wards, marriages, and gift of divers other good things."

The discourse proper is addressed to the Queen, and begins:—

"Out of the ashes of desolation and wasteness of this your wretched Realm of Ireland, vouchsafe, most mighty Empress our dread sovereign, to receive the voices of a few most unhappy ghosts (of whom is nothing but the ghost now left), which lie buried in the bottom of oblivion, far from the light of your gracious sunshine," &c.

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The first cause of the rebellion. The Earl of Tyrone's entrance into treason, and the causes thereof. Division between Sir William Russell and Sir John Norreys. The spread of the rebellion in Munster. Cruelties of the rebels. Sufferings of the English. The causes of the mischief in Munster. The inhabitants should have been disarmed, and compelled unto other more civil trades of life.

"But the deviser thereof [*i.e.*, of the settlement in Munster] perhaps thought that, the civil example of the English being set before them, and their daily conversing with them, would have brought them, by dislike of their own savage life, to the liking and embracing of better civility. But it is far otherwise, for, instead of following them, they fly them, and most hatefully shun them for two causes; first, because they have ever been brought up licentious, and to live as each one listeth, which they esteem half happiness, so that now to be brought into any better order, they account it to be restrained of their liberty, and extreme wretchedness; secondly, because they naturally hate the English, so that their fashions they also hate. The cause of this original hate is for that they were conquered of the English, the memory whereof is yet fresh among them, and the desire both of revenge and also of recovery of their lands, and daily revived and kindled amongst them by their lords and counsellors; for which they both hate themselves and our laws and customs. Therefore, in the first institution, [it] should have been provided for, that, before [a] new building were erected, the old should have been plucked down. For to think to join and patch them both together in an equality of state is impossible, and will never be without danger of a great downfall, such as now is happened. How then? Should the Irish have been quite rooted out? That were too bloody a course; and yet their continual rebellious deeds deserve little better. But then, when this Province was planted, they were so weak that they might have been framed and fashioned to anything; then should they have been disarmed for ever, and strong garrisons set over them, which they should have been forced at their own charges to maintain, without any charge to your Majesty, since their disloyal dealings were the cause thereof. Which they would then have been most glad to bear; by which means your Majesty might have had, even out of this Province, 3,000 or 4,000 soldiers continually maintained unto you, whom you might at all times have used to your service, with continual supply and change of new."

The charge now borne by Munster would maintain as great a garrison. At the settling of the Province the occasion was let slip. Until Munster be again subdued, "we poor wretches, which now bear the burden of all oversights, pour out our most humble and piteous plaint unto your most excellent Majesty, that it may please you to cast your gracious mind unto the careful regard of our miseries, which (*sic*), being quite banished out of our inhabitance, and the lands upon which we have spent all the small portion of our abilities, in building and erecting such trades of husbandries as we have betaken, have now nothing left but to cry unto you for

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timely aid, before we be brought to utter destruction, and our wretched lives (which only now remain unto us) be made the prey of dogs and savage wild beasts."

Counsels Her Majesty to show unto "these vile caitiffs" the terror of her wrath. Hopes that God has put "this madding mind so generally into all this rebellious nation," to stir Her Majesty to take vengeance on them. Craves pardon for his boldness in writing. The rebels, in their common meetings and their priests' preachings, speak so lewdly of Her Majesty, "that it pierceth our very souls to hear it." She must not temporise any longer with pardons and protections.

Here follow, "Certain points to be considered of in the recovery of the realm of Ireland."

The question is, whether it be better and easier for Her Majesty to subdue Ireland thoroughly, and bring it all under, or to reform it, and to repair its decayed parts. Which may be done with less charge and peril, and in less time? The assumption is, the former. If you seek to reform it, then you must retain and save the parts that seem sound, and afterward recover the parts that are unsound. To save and retain the sound parts is very hard and almost impossible, for from them the unsound parts will receive both secret and open succours. Recovery must be either by warlike pursuit or by mild and gentle entreaty. To make offers is most dishonourable, and perhaps they will not be accepted, which would be more dishonour. To abide till the rebels seek peace would be chargeable and also perilous, for they will not seek it, till they be driven to it by force. Therefore they must needs be driven. Advantages of effecting this by means of a large force. "The greater force will finish all in one year, or two years, which the less will not do in four or five years." Less peril to the forces themselves, and to both the realms. "Great force must be the instrument, but famine must be the mean; for, till Ireland be famished, it cannot be subdued."

But if reformation shall, nevertheless, be intended, then these propositions are to be considered: "that there can be no conformity of government, where [there] is no conformity of religion: that there can be no sound agreement between two equal contraries, viz., the English and Irish; that there can be no assurance of peace where the worst sort are the stronger; that all which make the head of any faction is (*sic*) to be removed or weakened."

A force of 10,000 men recommended. The war to be begun in Munster, and thence northwards. A competent force of horse necessary. The Queen to make herself mistress of the field. Before the great force go forth, proclamation of "pardon of life only" to be made to all who will come in, the principals excepted. Fraudulent leases by many of the Irish Lords.—[1598.] pp. 10.

[1598.] 60. "A declaration of the present state of the English Pale of Ireland, and of many the causes which hath (*sic*) brought the same to misery and ruin."

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"The said English Pale consisteth of five shires, viz., Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, and Louth, not much larger in all than Yorkshire in England; whereof the county of Louth, that part of the county of Meath which lieth north and west the river of Boyne, the county of Westmeath, the county of Kildare, and that part of the county of Dublin lying by south the river of Liffey, are for the more part spoiled, wasted, and consumed, by burning or otherwise, save some castles in each of the said shires, where the owners do shroud themselves from the rebels, which they cannot long hold without your Majesty's speedy relief.

"This waste and destruction is grown by these three ways, viz., by the incursions of the traitors and rebels; by the daily great insolencies, extreme outrages, and disorders of soldiers; and by the manifold burthens laid on the subjects by your Majesty's Governors, Council, and Commanders here."

The spoiling by Tyrone and the various septs. Lack of resistance from the army. Details of the violence, extortion, and outrages of the soldiers, horse and foot. Utter waste of the English Pale.—[1598.] *pp.* 9½.

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61. "A summary discourse of this Realm of Ireland, whereby may partly the means be seen whereby it is brought out of square."

It is manifest, as well by sundry records as otherwise, that King John, at his being in Ireland, divided the parts of the same, and English colonies were planted in twelve shires, to be governed under English laws, viz., Dublin, Meath, Louth, Kildare, Catherlogh, Wexford, Kilkenny, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry. In Henry the Eighth's time, Meath was divided into East Meath and West Meath. The countries of various Irish septs interlaced with the above. Besides the English Pale, the rest of Ireland, "though with some intermixture, as occasion of times did serve," was governed by English laws, and especially the English part of the county of Wexford, and all the county of Waterford from Youghal to the Passage, for, in most of the other counties out of the English Pale, the Lords, partly upon occasion that they were employed to defend the English inhabitants against the Irishry, partly also by an imitation of the Irish government, retained "kearntye" [kern], and some of them entertained gallowglass, and became so absolute as, instead of the laws, whereof there was little more left than a shadow, they governed according to their own wills, sometimes making incursions upon the Irish, and otherwhiles making a truce or league of friendship with them, as they listed. The Irishry likewise in those countries were ruled by the Brehon Laws, either under their own natural Lords, or under Captains appointed over them by the State, who governed also by their wills, without respect of the laws of the realm, making their gain by the disorders of those inhabitants, and defending and countenancing them against their bordering neighbours, whereby it grew to this event, that no two Captains adjoining could agree, or live in concord or good amity. They have also endeavoured to exclude

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Her Majesty's Sheriffs and other officers of justice from intermeddling there, and to have all warrants from the State directed to themselves, and held the people so far at their back, as they durst not complain to any but to themselves, no not to the State, and grew hereby to that pass, that the Prince had no dependency there. Misconduct of Captains and soldiers. The English colonies in King's County and Queen's County. Admission of Irish husbandmen by the colonists. Feagh M'Hugh and Onie M'Rory. The O'Farrells in Longford; the O'Reillys in Cavan. These two Irish countries have felt the weight of their own Lords and of their Sheriffs. Thomond and Connaught have also been reduced to counties. Complaints of their inhabitants.

"And it was observed by some that men did more 'ambite' to be Sheriffs in the Irish countries than in the rest, and especially than in the counties of the English Pale. Ulster also hath been of late divided into shires, but the countries and they could not agree long; perhaps the Sheriffs straining them at the first too hard, or else because they are given to licentiousness, and cannot easily abide any government. But sure it is that Sheriffs in some counties there have been removed by the State, and in other violently expelled. Things thus proceeding, Connor Roe, O'Donnell, Shane O'Neill's sons, and others, made escape from the Castle of Dublin. They were kept awhile in Feagh M'Hugh's country, where a combination was made betwixt them and the Ulster men, and, by the help of Feagh's men, they were safely conducted northward. The Governor, being loathe to make war, deferred to answer the beginning. In this while, Tyrone, whose ambition is known to be unsatiable, entertained divers Irishmen, brought up in Her Majesty's army at the first as soldiers' boys, and some of them becoming soldiers who trained his idle men; and, having provided munition and other furniture, became an open rebel; and to the end the State should not look only to him, but should have work nearer hands (*sic*), he stirred Feagh M'Hugh and his sons, Donnell Spainagh, and Brian M'Donogh, Onie O'More, and the O'Connors, with some bastard Geraldines and many Irish septs, to raise rebellion in Leinster and Meath, and made Connaught men, who of themselves are most apt thereunto, to rise upon the sudden; and as many idle kerns, as were restrained from their coin and livery, thought it a meet time to fall to their old trade, who [were] wont to affirm that the law was then waxen lame. Such other, likewise, as stood in danger of the laws, and unthrifths, that sold or mortgaged their lands, and such Irish soldiers as were displeased with their Captains, went to Ulster, and increased his numbers, and, when parleys were made with Tyrone, and cessations proclaimed, divers priests of the English Pale persuaded him that it were a godly work to restore the Romish religion, which they call the Catholic faith. By these and other the like means, he drew to his side in a manner all the Irishry of Ireland. Yea, he hath given courage to James FitzThomas to claim the Earldom of Desmond, and to call himself Earl upon his admission only. And it is (not without

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great credit) given out that there was a crown consecrated for Tyrone at Rome.”—[1598.] pp. 3.

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62. “A note of divers abuses done and suffered by the Council of Ireland, which, out of the true love and zeal that in duty I owe unto your Honour, I thought good to reveal the same unto you, humbly craving pardon for my presumption.”

“First, there are some Captains of foot companies that do give to some Councillors the one-half of their pay, as well their own as their soldiers.’

“Also, those Captains of horse that are country dwellers be served by their tenants, and put all the Queen’s pay in their own purses.

“Also, when any pledge is put in to the Queen, if he be of any worth, within one year by bribing they are got forth, putting in some base child in their place; as namely, Randal M’Sorley Boy was in the Castle, and got himself released, putting in his bastard brother of the age of ten years; and when I would urge them for my liberty, alleging that he was their brother and of their blood, they would answer me, he was but a bastard and a child, and they could have him better brought up, and better cheap there, than in any other place; and, when they were disposed to have him out for 100*l.*, they could have him, and put in another, and so one after another, at their pleasures.

“Lastly, one that is secretary unto James M’Sorley Boy, told me that, about Hallowtide last, he being with Tyrone about his master’s affairs, there was sent out of Munster a priest, that came from the Pope, and that the said priest was by the way three nights in Dublin, and had there secret conference with one of the three chiefest in authority for Her Majesty, and by his directions was conveyed from thence to Tyrone in the night, with a convoy of ten horse, and so came in the night to Tyrone, and was not seen by any but Tyrone, he himself and one more. But the next day the priest was seen with divers, but the horsemen returned that night secretly. Further he said that he saw the priest ‘deleve’ divers letters from Rome, Spain, and from that man in Her Majesty’s authority, and said that if it so fortun’d that his master should be restored to Her Majesty’s favour, he would then, for a reasonable consideration, at any time avow the same to be true.

“Many other things I did both hear and see during the time of my imprisonment, which as they come to mind, I shall put in writing, and deliver unto your Honour, if so it may stand with your good pleasure.” *Endorsed*:—“Abuses in the Council of Ireland. 1598.” pp. 1½.

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63. Rough notes in Sir Robert Cecil’s hand touching Carrickfergus, Offally, and Leix.—[1598.] p. 1.

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64. “Advertisements of Tyrone by a Scot,” *addressed to Sir Robert Cecil*. Her Majesty’s charges and losses in Ireland. There are but two remedies, besides those already used. First, Sir Robert

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knows how abundant in people Argyleshire is, and how many men yearly and daily go thence to aid Tyrone. They are like the Irish in suffering of cold, hunger, and long marches, and are a great deal more desperate.

"These people having nothing to look for at Tyrone's hands, but what they can steal, how much more glad and willing would they be to serve for pay (little though it were), who, in respect of their complexion, shall be a great deal fitter for Her Majesty's service there nor (*sic*) Englishmen, and without all doubt, two regiments of Scottish Irishmen, with English leaders, should be more easily maintained nor one English regiment. They also may at all times be sent forth to all desperate service and enterprises, and will meet the Irish in their own form of fight, and without all question overcome them, if they have cunning commanders and leaders.

"The other way to bring Her Majesty's care to an end is this. The Earl of Tyrone keeps a guard of two hundred musketeers about himself, who will run afoot all the day long with their furniture as hard as the Earl can ride; of which guard the better part are Argyle men, naturally avaricious, bloody, and covetous; who for money will refuse to enterprise or perform no murder, without respect to father, brother, master, or friend whatsoever; and by this kind of 'dilling' was the worthy Lord of Cashel, by a shot in at his window, killed. Many instances could I bring of such enterprises well performed by that damnable people, which also (by correction of your Honour) I durst 'paud' my head to make be performed on rebellious Tyrone, if your Honour will but say, *Amen, fiat.*"—[1598.] p. 1.

[1598.] 65. Rough memoranda in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. One thousand men to be sent to Connaught, to land at Galway, with victuals for two months and treasure. Forces for Munster. The treasure from England to be expedited. The horse for Sir Thomas Norreys. The horsemen's pay. Letter to the towns that have resisted Sir Thomas Norreys. Money for the troops in Munster.—[1598.] p. 1.

[1598.] 66. "Garrisons and forces to be disposed of, according to the number of 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse," in the four Provinces.—[1598.] pp. 1½.

1598. 67. List of Captains serving Her Majesty in Ireland. *Some of these were slain at the Blackwater.* Endorsed:—1598. pp. 4.

1598. 68. Modern copy of the preceding. Endorsed:—1598. pp. 3.

1598. 69. A note of victuals for Ireland. Total, 8,672*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* Endorsed:—1598. p. 1.

[1598.] 70. Note of the cost of making 420,000 pounds of biscuit. Total, 3,710*l.*—[1598.] p. ½.

1598. 71. Entertainment of sundry officers in Ireland in 1574, before Sir Henry Wallop's time. Endorsed:—1598. *One sheet.*

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72. "The pay of 1,000 horse, 12,000 foot, and divers chief officers of the army, for a year." Total, 201,510*l*. *Sir Robert Cecil has put a few rough memoranda on the dorse. Endorsed:—1598. p. 1.*

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73. Note of the rates of pay of officers and soldiers in Ireland from 1560 to 1585; also in 1597–8.—1598. *p. 1.*

[1598.]

74. Petition of Thomas Reynneck to the Privy Council. Has brought letters in his behalf from the Lords Justices. His thirty-six years' service in Ireland, and his hurts. Prays for a lease in reversion of lands within the English Pale, to the yearly value of 30*l*. sterling, for forty years.—[1598.] *p. 1.*

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75. A discourse to show "that planting of colonies, and that to be begun only by the Dutch, will give best entrance to the reformation of Ulster."

Two opinions held touching the rebel Tyrone, and the suppression of his forces. One, that the building and manning of fortresses upon certain straits was the only way to spoil him of his cows, and so starve him; or to keep him within certain bounds, and so confound him. The other, that Tyrone should be pursued by a strong army, and that "heart and haste" should be used in the expedition to prevent aid being given him. The rebel is not to be supplanted by any of these courses alone.

The difficulties of victualling garrisons, and the mighty charge of the same, with their burthen to the subject. The dishonour if they are lost or quit. The difficulties of supplying an army, also "the whole Province being in [the] nature of a desert, where men must only trust to what sustenance they carry with them." The Irish manner of evading an army, until it be worn out with travel, cold, hunger, hurts, and sickness, and then attacking it continually.

"The only way, then, must be to plant colonies, and that by giving absolutely to one great personage some one shire, assigning him some certain number of gentlemen of estimation, to whom the whole may be distributed in sundry parts, with a sub-division from those men to a lower sort, and still planting near together, that they may be the better able to second each other upon all occasions; provided always they be wholly English." The planters to keep certain numbers of English horse and foot, and to observe English orders and laws. Evils from the selling or subletting of lands to Irishmen and others. Precedents from Henry the Second's reign. Grants to Strongbow and others.

"In like manner, Robert Fitzhammond, before that time, in William Rufus' days, with the King's license, invaded Glamorgan-shire in Wales, standing then in as bad terms as now Ulster doth; and, having slain Rees, the possessor thereof, invested himself in the seignory, divided the whole between twelve gentlemen of estimation, with condition to be by them sub-divided in form aforesaid; whose forces and followers did set in such sure footing, as no resistance could withstand them, nor violence nor malice of the

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Welsh expel them, to this day, as may appear by such families as are yet extant in that country, namely, the Strodlings, Turber-villes, St. Johns, Saywards, and Sullies, the remnant of that noble colony."

Thus former kings gave away whole countries to such great personages, and contented themselves with small tributes, the conquest being no way chargeable to them, accounting that their wealth and strength consisted chiefly in the multitude of their good and rich subjects. Profits in time derived from these, as wardships, reliefs, subsidies, customs, &c. The bond uniting these great personages and those holding under them.

"Now, for an entrance to such proceedings, considering the unaptness of our English nation (in a time of such bliss) to expose themselves to [an] attempt of much hazard and small certainty, my opinion is, that the Dutch are the fittest and aptest, for many good considerations, to break the ice of that enterprise.

"First, as they are very expedite in their consultations, condemning utterly that slowness, which at last becomes plain dulness in kingdoms, to the breeding of many mischiefs—besides that they are the best choosers of executioners for their consultations, and most firm in prosecuting their resolutions—so are they the most ready and perfectest artists that be, having the greatest store of ships of any men, wherewith they can with great facility carry frames of timber and lime with them thither, where they shall find stones in great plenty to build houses withal. All which they can do quickly, and will perform it willingly, Her Majesty giving them large immunities, privileges, and liberties, with some good proportion of lands, and freedom of fishing in Lough Foyle, the Bann, and such like, which Her Majesty may do without her hurt; and they thereby be brought to plant some two thousand inhabitants, wheresoever the conveniency of their dwelling there may be thought fittest for best steadying Her Majesty's forces.

"The benefit of whose victualling (being the best staplers of victual in all the world), and of harbouring, being a place of sure retreat upon all occasions, their example of husbandry, handicrafts, traffic, and observing good orders (whereto that nation are much inclined), will draw other men to their imitation, they being still able to give much furtherance to those purposes.

"If any think it out of the way to appoint Flemings rather than homelings to this business, let him remember how, in Henry the First his time, a great part of Flanders being drowned and overcome by the sea, the inhabitants of those territories, by the King's license, possessed themselves of a great part of Pembrokeshire, where their posterity remains unto this day, in little England beyond Wales, for so the Welshmen call it, for their language, and for their faith and service to the English in those troublesome times. And, albeit they were much hated and persecuted by the Welsh, yet would they never be rooted out, but did continue as a principal mean for the reformation of those countries, as well by their valiance, as by the commodity of their dwellings and victuals, whenssoever the

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King invaded those nations, then continually in rebellion, and as far from conformity and civility as the mere Irish now.

"The conclusion is, that no good can be done in Ulster, without planting and inhabiting some good strong city; and that the best to begin the same are the Dutch. And to overspread the country, whole territories must be given as aforesaid to great men, and such as shall possess the same under or for them, to pay very small rent for a time; and they to be held in the first constitution with the authority and power of the said great men, whereby in short space the generation of those rebels may be rooted out, or brought to due obedience, as the English Pale be at this present by the like means. For all the cities of Ireland were planted first by Easterlings, and not by the Irish, for they never yet builded yet (*sic*) any city."

The difference between the mere Irish, and the inhabitants descended of the English race in Ireland, with some shows of their mutual hatred.

"Because that, to my seeming, the same is not well understood, or, if it be, it is not so feelingly apprehended, as the cause requireth.

"Those of the English race do retain still all marks of their original (*sic*) and their conquest, viz., their names, surnames, language, habit, building, tenures of lands, and conformity to the King's laws; in all which they are altogether English, to whom also they 'ancere' in the manner of service in their houses, in their husbandry, handicrafts, and traffic.

"How opposite the mere English [*sic, error for Irish*] are in all and every point of these, may appear in examining the particulars aforesaid.

"For none, with his good-will, will be called Henry, Edward, Richard, George, Francis, or such like English names, but rather Morrogh, Moriortagh, Tirlogh, and such harsh names, both for a difference to distinguish them from the English, and as a mark of their offspring, which they observe with as great care, as they joy therein with great boast.

"For language, they do so despise ours, as they think themselves the worse when they hear it. As did appear by old Con O'Neill, father to the now rebel, who upon his deathbed, left his curse to any of his posterity, that would either learn English, sow wheat, or make any building in Ulster, saying that language bred conversation, and consequently their confusion, that wheat gave sustenance with like effect, and in building, they should do but as the crow doth, make her nest to be beaten out by the hawk.

"For the rest, as habit, English manner of attendance, &c., they so much abhor them, as they count all those that use them but *boddagh gall*, that is, English peasant, or churl; and, in their rhymes and daily jests, they hold nothing more ridiculous and reproachful.

"As for husbandry, handicrafts, and such like, they hold them so base, as they curse those that acquainted them first with such wild

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ways of living, so misled are they in idleness, and inured to the hatred of all good. So much for marks of difference.

"Of their natural hatred. They hate the race of the English, as whose ancestors did first dispossess them of all that is holden in Ireland by the laws of England; as those whom the Kings of England did before these time[s] ever use as the instruments to abate their pride, [and] so, being made their continual scourge, hath (*sic*) hatched a continual hatred between them. They also hate them, as those that do continually aid the English with their lives and goods, harbouring and victualling all their forces, without which, they say, the English could never prevail against their four powerful Captains, as Captain *Travel*, Captain *Hunger*, Captain *Sickness*, Captain *Cold*. The mere Irish do as duly respect the restoring again to their old Pentarchy, as the Jews did the restoration of Israel; which infinitely may be proved by their observing their genealogies from the old Kings, with what truth it skills not, so the name remain, which must do, even because the reputed natural child is always in as good estimation among them, as the legitimate. Hereof may Donnell Spainagh at this present be an example, who forsooth derives himself from the old Kings of Leinster, being indeed but a very base fellow.

Also, their bards and prophecies do so lull them asleep, with such tickling hopes, as they count no present misery burthensome, in respect of their future expected felicity.

"If the mere Irish should prevail, the old English are sure to be rooted up, driven out, and slaughtered, without commiseration, as were, in Ulster, the Savages, Lacys, Bissetts, and Stranges; in Munster, the Cogans, Brunells, Bardolphs, with many more; in Connaught, the Berminghams, Stauntons, Jordans, Mortimers; in Leinster, the Marquis Carey, Giffords, Escotts, [and] Molyneux; all very noble, numerous, and valiant families. And, since these late troubles there, the inhabitants of Leix and Offally are suddenly blown up, that did, as it were, sit down there but the day before. Only the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, Louth, and of Dublin, which precinct is called the English Pale, do hold out against them, still abiding the brunt of the enemy, and the burthen of the soldiers.

"Thus the difference between them, and their natural hatred, mutually weighed, the extract of the English nation there ought not to be excepted unto, but rather employed against the Irish, as they have ever been since the conquest, in that they are daily seen to fight against them for their honour, lives, patrimony, and sepulchres of their ancestors, and of whom, in these late broils, no one of 10%. freehold is gone to the enemy.

"These proofs being had of them, with their daily protestation of faith and loyalty, if their truth may not acquire trust, they think violence to be offered to nature herself, in depriving the child of his mother's milk, and in taking from them the reward of their faith and valour. Which partly proceeds, that the descent of the English (to their great grief) are here called and counted Irish, though there (of the mere Irish) reputed and called English;

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as in all the ancient statutes and records of that land (where they are so called and reputed), may appear."

Cases of the Greeks and Romans in their colonies, and of the Spaniards in America. "And so in Calais the English race were still called English; yet the poor descent of the English in Ireland may in no wise be allowed that grace or privilege.

"And whereas in some laws there be exceptions taken against the Irish, as that none of them shall be governors of certain named forts and holds, nor be elected Lords Justices by the State there, upon the death of the King's Lieutenants or Deputies; notwithstanding those cautions were made against the mere Irish, as appears by the subsequent words in every such Act, naming Macs and Oes, yet is the meaning thereof now erroneously enlarged to the excluding those of English race from any such trust, contrary to former precedents, than which nothing was less intended, nor can be more hurtful to the government there.

"And for a lantern to look, as it were, into their very hearts, methinks their devotion to the laws of England might very well serve, whereto they are so much addicted, that there be always here [London] above an hundred students, where if they hoped not to be ruled thereby, they would never take the pains, nor be at the cost, considering it is as true a saying as it is old, *New Lords, new laws.*

"I could wish, therefore, that the English were looked upon with some good and gracious aspect at Her Highness's hands, that is the well of remorse, the shrine of Justice, and the true pattern of a good Prince, which by the square of Christianity levels all her proceedings; who, I pray God, may long prosper and abound in those blessings that have gained her the title of a goddess on earth, and highly may she be rewarded in heaven for righting her poor subjects in Ireland." *Endorsed:—1598. pp. 9.*

[1598.] 76. Copy of the preceding.—[1598.] pp. 7½.

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77. A particular note of the alterations made by Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Chancellor [Fortescue] in the payments to divers Irish servitors. *Showing the system of compromise adopted by the English Government with respect to their debts to officers, soldiers, and others. Signed by the Solicitor-General, Sir Roger Wilbraham, and by Mr. James Ware. Endorsed:—1598. p. 1.*

[1598.]

78. Note of munition supplied by William Chapple to Sir Thomas Norreys, in December, 1598, at Cork and Youghal. Total, 85*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* p. ½.

[1598.]

79. Rough memoranda in Sir Robert Cecil's hand relating to the affairs of Ireland.—[1598.] pp. 4.

[1598.]

80. "The particular defalcations made from the Captains for money imprested them in the months of March and April last, by Sir Henry Wallop."—[1598.] pp. 3.

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[1598.] 81. Paper on the condition of Ireland, endorsed 'by Sir Robert Cecil, "Observations."

"The universal corruption which is crept as well into the hearts of all the inhabitants of this kingdom (that are in external show subjects), as also of the army, is grown to that height of ill, as that I hold it far more easy to conquer the realm, if the people were wholly defected from their obedience, than to reduce it to the estate it was in before the rebellion."

The Irish Lords and gentlemen, who "are subjects in show (for subjects in heart are here rarely found), are tied in affection to the rebels, both by the bonds of nature, being allied to them in blood, and by religion, all being Catholics and do equally with them repine at the English Government, from the yoke whereof, as well as the rebel, they desire to be freed." No service can be expected at their hands. They repine more at the taking of meat from them by the army, although paid for, than they are grieved at any spoil taken from them by the enemy. They say they cannot serve unless they have entertainment from Her Majesty. Ill effects of bestowing charges of horse and foot on some of them. "And in truth (except it be upon a muster day) their companies are the weakest in the kingdom, and those which they have for the most part have been traitors, and the rest bear no malice to the rebels. Besides this juggling to deceive the Queen in their pay, if these Captains be either discharged, or commanded to remove their garrison place (for all of them are 'garryzed' upon their own livings, which was granted unto them, because they pretended best ability to do service upon their own borders), some of them will turn rebel, and he that is most dutiful will say his company will break, and that he cannot 'contain' [continue] them subjects; so as I must conclude that the wages bestowed upon them is (*sic*) merely lost; and to discharge them is, on the other side, exceeding perilous. Moreover, these Irish Captains, during the time of their employments, engross as much munition into their hands as possibly they can get. Some part of it is laid up in store for after times; the rest by means goes to the rebel, but herein such cunning is used, as nothing can be proved." Such companies it were good by degrees to let fall, and not to erect any more, "but upon great desert and blood-drawing; for upon such entertainments are well bestowed. But such a Captain of this country birth (if any such be now in the army), is a black swan." The Lords and gentlemen, who are not in wages, repine at the good fortune of their neighbours. Their refusal to give meat at reasonable rates, or help with carriages. To colour their refusal, they plead, besides poverty, "ancient freedoms given to their ancestors by the conquerors of this realm, by Her Majesty's progenitors, who had their lands freed from all impositions but personal service at general hostings, only for the space of forty days in the year." This affects two-thirds of the English Pale; the remaining third is already consumed by the wars. Constraint cannot be used, as it would lead to rebellion, "for so tickle is this people, that the least offence puts them out." Many go out as the readiest way to get reward of entertainment.

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The towns are infinitely declined from any desire to serve or give aid, as they have been accustomed. In Dublin, the Mayor and his brethren (for poverty's sake, as they pretend) refused to lodge and victual the soldiers who go for Lough Foyle, except ready money were given, according to their own rates; "a thing never accustomed, being more than their pay can bear; and without ready money, credit for a day's meat cannot be had, though the army starve. Of their defection to the Irish there is no fear, but to remain neutrals in this action is their desire, being either seduced by their priests to this strange alienation, for fear of damnation, or else they have some vain hope to make themselves free states, if the English should be beaten out of the country.

"The army likewise is not free from errors and corruptions, in the which all sorts, from the greatest to the meanest soldier, are in some degree to be tasked; every one faulty, and all discontented." This grows principally for these reasons, the non-payment of their lendings in due season, their apparel, and the check by discretion. The non-payment is the chief hindrance of the service. The apparel is grievous to the soldier, for he finds it made of stuff not fit for Ireland. It is quickly worn out, he endures great misery, and perishes. Discontent of the Captains at not receiving the full number of suits for their men, and at the checks imposed upon them for these suits. "I have heard one of them, who is of as good birth and place as any in this kingdom, protest upon his salvation, that thirty suits of apparel was (*sic*) checked upon his pay for thirty of his men, that were slain and stripped by the enemy, for the which he produced good proof." The price of the apparel, together with that of meat, very nearly eats up all the soldier's wages, and then nothing, in effect, is left for alms and powder. When a soldier's arms are lost or broken, the Captain will rather discharge him than repair them at his own charges. The check by discretion is most hateful to the Captains. A great proportion of their pay is stayed by the treasurer. The shifts consequently used by the Captains. "And farther, as the treasurer detains part of the lendings due to a company, to answer the comptroller's check, the Captain in like sort detains a part of the soldiers' lendings, to recompense the check by discretion that may fall upon him; which starves the poor soldier, who for want pines away, or runs away, and sells his arms, which, at the second hand, is (*sic*) bought by the rebel, or gives them to his Captain to procure a discharge." By this discharging of those willing to return to England, or of those that are sick, the companies are ever kept weak; and the poor sick men, turned away without relief, creep to the port-towns, "where they die, or return miserably into England, to the terror of such as can live there, to serve in this kingdom." The soldier's heart is broken, and the Captain is careless of his reputation. The army cannot be strong, until some reformation is made.

"Besides these corruptions, which the Captains pretend are merely exercised out of necessity, not being by any other means able to live, they are not void of their faults, and that in the

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highest degree. For their humours are so impostumed with rising fortunes, every one reaching after advancement beyond their merit or quality, that no man is satisfied with a private company, but enables himself to be a Colonel, and whoso is not preferred to that rank, thinks he is wronged. Of these high spirits this army is stored in a great measure, for the most of our Captains are either in blood noble, or dignified with knighthood, which doth so pamper their ambitions, that nothing may reasonably content them."

Understands that Birkinshawe, at his now coming over, has brought order that no more checks by discretion shall be used, in respect of the multitude of Commissaries. This will greatly advance the Queen's service. But another instruction brought by Birkinshawe is as inconvenient as the check by discretion, viz., the defalcation upon the lendings for arms and munition, "a thing impossible to be perfected, without the apparent breaking of the army, or keeping the same in extremest misery." The check upon the apparel will countervail the arms, and, if that be done, the army will, without cause of complaint, be kept strong; if not, some other way may be found to save the Queen harmless, for her arms must be paid for.—[1598.] pp. 3½.

[1598.] 82. Rough memoranda about Ireland; Edward VI. to Elizabeth. —[1598.] pp. 1½.

[1598.] 83. Tractate entitled "Ulster's Unity": by Francis Jobson. First comes an address to the Queen. Jobson, after referring to previous plots of Ulster, especially to some by Captain Dawtrey, speaks of his twenty years' service in Ireland, during which he surveyed both Ulster and Munster. The former "inhabited with a most savage and rebellious people, from whose cruelty at that time God only, by His Divine power, delivered me, being every hour in danger to lose my head." His description of Ulster, which he was appointed to make by Sir William Fitzwilliams, and of which only Tyrconnell and Fermanagh were of necessity unperfected, he delivered in 1591 to the Lord Treasurer. The minute details contained in his plot. Appends a discourse, showing how the rebellion in Ulster may be rooted out at small charge to Her Highness.

Here follows the said discourse, beginning, "The greatest strength, riches, and relief of these rebellious people, in this Province and other parts of Ireland, consist chiefly upon great herds of cows, goats, and horse, which so long as they may have scope to range up and down in to pasture and feed, they both can and will ever at their pleasures (without regard of God, Prince, or humanity), rebel and make havoc."

Recommends the sending of an army of 11,000 chosen men into Ulster, to be planted in eight several places (as set down in the accompanying plan). Important position of these places, which must be fortified. The incursions of the rebels will be hindered, famine in short time will join in fight with them, "and in one year,

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or little more, make an end of all those miserable toils and troubles," and of the great charge of Her Highness. Manner of levying the said 11,000 men. Proclamation to be made to the gentlemen and others of England and Ireland. Grants of land to be promised. Two thousand out of the said 11,000 to be horsemen. How these several garrisons will serve for the overthrow of the rebels. The cutting of the cattle from pasturing is the mark chiefly to be shot at. Will finish the rest of his plot if Her Highness accepts of this first part. Indicates the points to be treated of. The force cannot be less than 11,000. In his second plot to come, the Province of Ulster is to be divided into 225 seignories, each containing 16,000 acres. The chief of each seignory is to have 1,000 acres, and the residue is to be divided among forty-nine men.

Here follows an address to the Earl of Essex, with which is sent to his Lordship a description or plan of his barony of Farney and Clancarroll.—[1598.] *pp.* 15.

Accompanying the above are: 1. A coloured plot or description of the barony of Farney and Clancarroll, and the church land therein, containing in all 63,945 acres. 2. A coloured plot of Ulster, showing the eight places where the army of 11,000 should be garrisoned. These are, the Abbey of Coleraine, Strabane, the fort of Blackwater, Ballyshannon, or Bundrowes, "some part near Lough Erne, Maguire's country, called Fermanagh," the Abbey of Monaghan or Farney, Newry, and Belfast. *Bound in parchment.*

[1598.] 84. "A note of such strangers as are entertained by the traitors of this Province, under the name of Connaught men." Among them are: James FitzThomas of Desmond, Captain Tyrrell, Dermott O'Connor, Donogh O'Connor (cousin to O'Connor Sligo), Tibbott Burke, Lord Roche, Piers Lacy, Morrogh M'Shee, and the "Clankennedy, who are the greatest destroyers of Englishmen to their power."—[1598.] *pp.* 1½.

[1598.] 85. — to Captain Thomas Lee. Wishes his best fortunes. Were it not that the writer is now with a charge in the Low Countries, he could wish himself with Captain Lee in Ireland to see the effect of these gallant preparations, which cannot be but to the general good of the whole country, by reason it is managed by "the only martial Earl that liveth in this our English age, whom I beseech God to prosper with all happy success, to the good of his commonwealth, and to the great increase of his honour and virtue." The promises made by Captain Lee to the writer. These he knows would have long since been performed, but for the troubles and other affairs that hindered. Asks Captain Lee to help him to a brace of very fair Irish greyhounds, one black, and the other white. Wishes to make a present of them.—[1598.] *Fragment, in a very mutilated condition.* *p.* 1.

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Jan. 2.
Dublin.

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1. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. His great comfort from Sir Robert's letters of 30 November last. Thanks him for the good despatch his brother had with certain horses, which are now safely landed in Dublin. Is not a little glad to understand that Her Majesty is purposed to subdue the traitors with her princely sword. Wishes all parts to be so royally supplied, that they may proceed with assurance. "These people are grown [so] proud by their unexpected success from time to time, that it will be requisite Her Majesty send rather too much than too little." Tyrone, being the head of the rebellion, is to be chastised accordingly, and there is no doubt that, when he is once overthrown, the rest will be easily dealt withal; "whereas, otherwise, he will raise new stirrs daily, and be a further scourge to England. He taketh upon him now the office of a King, raising and putting down in these Irish titles whom he pleaseth, and practiseth what he may with Her Majesty's enemies abroad. But Her Highness's forces being once put in by sea behind him, and the prosecution by land advanced near him likewise, there is good hope divers will fall from him, and join with Her Majesty, both to revenge his tyranny, and preserve themselves from danger."

In this Ulster action, is still of opinion that a regiment or two of Scots would do exceeding great service, besides the discouragement it would be to all the rest of the traitors, to hear that their friends were waged against them. They are made to believe that they have the assistance of the King of Scotland, and this might be an occasion to stop their powder and munition from thence. Tyrone is now in hand to send forces up into Leinster, to strengthen the rebels of Leix and the Geraldines. This argues some purpose against Dublin and the parts of the Pale, "but if we might have the aid of a thousand men more, and unite ourselves with Sir Samuel Bagenall and those forces (although Tyrone made head himself likewise), I would hope to give them a good blow for all their numbers, whereof they brag so much. Nothing hath so much overthrown this realm as the universal arming of this country men, which hereafter must be looked unto, and a strict order observed by all men; for there be bands of 100, which, sithence the wars began, have prepared and furnished the rebels with 400 able and well-armed persons, which were but boys before, and no way fitted to be soldiers; so as these Irish companies must be reformed with some good course, and yet not discharged from the service.

"I am not a little grieved to be at this time held with sickness, whereby I cannot be abroad as I wish, albeit our strength yet will not carry us far from these parts. But, as God shall make me able, nothing shall be omitted or neglected by me."—Dublin, 1598, January 2. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

Jan. 2.
Waterford.

2. Justice Nicholas Walsh to Sir Robert Cecil. The ways betwixt Waterford and Dublin are held by the rebels. As the Lords Justices cannot therefore ascertain the state of those parts, thought it needful to signify the same to Sir Robert. The number of rebels

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daily increases, though they were somewhat discouraged upon the arrival of the late forces sent for Munster. They labour to have assistance of men and munition from the King of Spain and from Tyrone. Wishes for the speedy arrival of further forces of Her Majesty, which will stay a number of doubtful men. "And if God Almighty hath decreed that this war will end with a general famine, it will be more comfort for the English soldier to come when there shall be some relief for him, than upon trust only of victuals out of England; and the Irish rebels have ever gained more safety by wastefulness than by habitation. The chief counsellors of the Munster rebels, Doctor Cragh and James Archer, can hardly keep them in unity, and I do assure myself that with small labour they will be brought to division, after it shall be seen that Her Highness's army can any long time hold the field." —Waterford, 1598, January 2. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 3.
Limerick.

3. James Gromwell, Mayor of Limerick, to Sir Robert Cecil. The Corporation, having determined to send the bearer, one of their aldermen, to Her Majesty with certain petitions, and remembering Burghley's continual care for their well-doing, resolved to commit the bearer to Sir Robert, who is, "for affability, wisdom, virtue, and calling, the right and lively heir of your said most honourable father." Crave he will second Burghley's affection to their poor city. Its misery since the rebellion began. Desire speedy dispatch for the bearer.—Limerick, 1598, January 3. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 4.
Dublin.

4. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Mr. Birkinshawe, since his coming to Ireland, has used very good endeavours, both to discover the frauds in the musters, and to devise how to remedy the same. His travail has not been without much envy of the Captains, and some danger to himself in the journeys he has made; yet he has not spared to proceed in that charge, so far as the time would suffer him. Has given Birkinshawe his best advice and assistance, and will not fail to do so. The discontent of the Captains and soldiers, and the murmur of the country. "Out of this main evil are grown many other disorders and enormities in the government, which I know will be a tough matter for Mr. Birkinshawe to redress, without a stronger hand than his own." Wishes Birkinshawe were directed presently to repair to England, to disclose what he has found, whereby a course for reformation may be taken accordingly. Letters and instructions, however well conceived in England, and severally directed to Ireland, will work little, unless Birkinshawe personally gives the true grounds, how those matters may be managed.—Dublin, 1598, January 4. *Signed.*

[*Postscript.*]—"Since the writing of this letter, I am advertised that the rebels of Leinster are assembled to one head, and are come down within six or seven miles of the Naas, pretending to set upon that garrison, either in the town, or to draw them out by stratagem, to cut them off, and so to pass to this city, to distress it as much as they can. But I think rather they make this gathering as a countenance to receive the Ulster rebels, who are now ready to come into Leinster; and so, having all their forces together, to

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run upon the Pale, and lay it all waste, whereby neither the army here, nor the forces to come from thence, shall find no (*sic*) succour." p. 1.

Jan. 4.
Athlone.

5. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. "It had been most happy for Her Majesty and the great quiet of that kingdom, if your Honour's opinion for the preventing of the ruin of this kingdom had been followed in time by those that had the managing of the causes here, whereby such troubles had been prevented, as now cannot in reason, but by the sword; to such a height of pride is this rebellion grown.

"For my particular, I have often solicited the State here for means that the Province of Connaught might be taken from the northern faction, and have gone so far to persuade, as I have, under my hand, taken upon my life that, with the means I knew they might spare, I would constrain the people of this Province thereunto.

"I will trouble your Honour no further with that which is over-slipped, either to approve my services, or to condemn others. I hope now to show with means what I could have done. I have presumed to find this great favour from your Honour, which in this time of some extremity is confirmed to my comfort. My presumption is not grounded upon any desert in me, but upon the knowledge I have that your Honour is always willing to show favour to such, as to their power respectively affect the same.

"Her Majesty's resolution for the choice of so worthy a general will, I hope, be in time sufficient, though, under correction, sooner, for charge, had been better." Will trouble Sir Robert no further with "this ragged hand."—Athlone, 1598, January 4. *Holograph*. p. 1.

Jan. 5.

6. "Remembrances for my Lords, the 5 of January, 1598." *These are by the Earl of Essex, and relate to his expedition to Ireland.*

The army to be made up to 1,000 horse and 14,000 foot, if the supplies already thought of be not sufficient. Commissaries to be sent to the ports of Bristol, Chester, and Milford. Ample supply of treasure to be made. The army to be increased if the Spaniard come. Pinnaces and strong long barges required for use in the north of Ireland. A Treasurer for the Wars to be resolved on. For a copy of the Earl of Sussex's commission, that the necessary alterations and additions may be made in the one to be granted to himself.

Sir Robert Cecil has put a marginal note to each "remembrance." pp. 1½.

Jan. 9.
Dublin.

7. Captain Thomas Reade to Sir Robert Cecil. "Right Honourable, the news of my Lord of Essex's repair into Ireland doth breed a great and general content unto Her Majesty's poor subjects and soldiers; and the action he doth undertake will assuredly redound to Her Majesty's great honour and I hope it will purchase a

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perpetual obedience of the Irish; but, under your Honour's correction, I will presume somewhat to yield my opinion.

"My Lord of Essex is a mere stranger unto the country of Ireland, and altogether unacquainted with the manner of the war here, and with the condition of the people; and, upon his arrival, perchance his worthy mind will think to carry the course of his wars, as he hath already done in France and Cadiz ('Cales'), and other his honourable journeys and attempts, wherein his singular wisdom may soon be over-reached, if beforehand he do not judicially consider of things. For in this war, which he doth undertake against the traitor Tyrone, which is the head and fountain of all this mischief, he must not think to find a gallant enemy, which will meet him in the field, and end this cause by the trial and fortune of a battle. But his manner of fight will be by skirmishes in passes, bogs, woods, fords, and in all places of advantage. And they hold it no dishonour to run away, for the best sconce and castle for their security is their feet. Therefore his Honour must be sure to place his garrisons at Lough Foyle, Ballyshannon, Carrickfergus, [*marginal note*:—"The Governor of Carrickfergus must in his own discretion employ his forces in places of most annoyance, but especially he must fortify upon the strait and ford at Toome, whereby he may hinder the passage of Tyrone's creaghts, during the time of my Lord's prosecution"], Armagh, the Cavan, Newry, to take in the Blackwater, and to free and open the passage there; and that all these forces may be settled and established before his Honour undertake in person the general prosecution, whereby when his Lordship intendeth to draw into the field, every garrison may be in readiness to receive their directions, and, according their several days prefixed, to fall upon the enemy in the quarter next them; and that at that instant there may be no defects, or cause of stay, or breach of command, but that the traitor and his accomplices may be assaulted in many places at one time, which will be a cause that the traitor shall be constrained to separate his forces for the safeguard of his followers and country. And by this means he shall not be able to keep his forces in bulk, which hitherto he hath been accustomed to do, and it will also yield my Lord a far easier and more sure passage unto Dungannon, wherein will consist the peril of his journey, and the goal of his Honour; for truly I do assure myself that, if his Honour pass safe from Armagh unto Dungannon, which is but twelve miles, and withal assure his retreat, the rest of his war will be easy against Tyrone.

"Now for the arrival of his forces, it were not fit that the season of this spring of the year should be omitted, whereby each garrison, upon their landing, may have some time to entrench and fortify, and to accommodate their soldiers' munition and victuals, before the times of their employment.

"Further, when all these things are perfected, I do judge that, if my Lord do land by the latter end of March, it will be the latter ending of May, before his Honour shall take in the Blackwater, and assure that passage, and settle his garrisons of the Cavan and Armagh, which must be the first enterprise of his war.

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“ I do not also hold it convenient that his Honour with his army should, at that present when he doth take in the Blackwater, attempt the passing unto Dungannon [*marginal note* :—‘ The reason is the great want which then will be of grass and forage for the finding of his horses of service, and the carriage horses of the army, which will be very many ’], but in his wisdom I would have him make his retreat into the Pale, and there, for the space of two months, to reinforce his army, and to hearten and refresh his soldiers ; and that there may be provision made of all things necessary for his army against a new journey, which I would have his Honour undertake about the latter ending of August unto the Blackwater, and then to attempt the passage unto Dungannon. Which journey unto Dungannon being once performed, his Lordship shall have the country of Tyrone subject unto his will ; and then may the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, and his own army, burn, spoil, and sack all Tyrone and Tyrconnell at their pleasures ; and then shall they have great store of grass and corn, which will mightily relieve his army, and feed his horses. And I would not have my Lord to depart those countries before the end of October, in which time, if the cause be well followed, Tyrone shall be so impoverished, as that his country shall not be able to harbour his followers, and to find his men of war ; but that they shall be forced to disperse, for the safeguard of themselves, their goods, and their wives and children. And assuredly, in the time of my Lord’s ‘ remainder ’ in the country, many, which now make fair weather with Tyrone, will draw and repair unto my Lord of Essex, which will be a principal cause of Tyrone’s ruin and overthrow. And then, in the end of October, his Lordship may return his soldiers of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon to their garrisons, and he may draw with his own army to Dungannon, and so to the Blackwater, and from thence unto Dublin, where my Lord shall have the time and liberty of the winter to prosecute the rebels of Leinster ; provided always that, during the time of my Lord’s prosecution of the traitor, there may be great care taken for the security of the Pale, for fear of the enemy’s invasion ; and the like for Leinster.

“ And for the safe and better passage of his hurt, sick, and weak men of the army, there must attend his Honour shipping at Lough Foyle and the Bann, which may furnish his army with victuals, munition, and other necessities during his abode in those parts ; and to be in a readiness to prevent or impeach any provision of munition or arms, which otherwise will repair to that coast for the succour and maintenance of the enemy ; which being held and detained from them their war is easy, and can be of no continuance. And besides, they may transport all unserviceable men of the army, and, upon the retreat, unburthen the army of a great mass of their carriages ; which will be a cause that the army may fight with better strength and less disadvantage.”

If this advice be followed, the sequel will be most honourable ; but, if it be not followed, beseeches Sir Robert to carry in mind what

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now he writes, and to compare the future event with the opinion now delivered.—Dublin, 1598, January 9. *Signed. pp. 3.*

Jan. 10.

8. "A schedule of the several counties from whence 100 horse were levied for the service of Ireland," under Sir John Brooke and Sir Anthony Cooke.—1598-9, January 10. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 111. *Copy. p. ½.*

Jan. 12.

Whitehall.

9. "Articles of contract made and concluded upon by the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, the Earl Marshal of England, the Lord Admiral of England, and the rest of the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Privy Council, on the behalf of Her Majesty, on the one part, and Marmaduke Darell, Esq., one of the Surveyors of the Victuals for Her Majesty's navy, and John Jolls, of London, merchant, of the other part, for and concerning the providing, shipping, and transporting of the proportion of victuals hereunder mentioned, out of the realm of England, to the ports of Dublin, Cork, and the Newry, in Ireland, for the victualling of ten thousand men there, for the month of February next ensuing, containing 28 days."—The Court at Whitehall, 1598-9, January 12. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 111-112^b. *Copy. pp. 3½.*

Jan. 13.

10. "A note of the principal leaders, commanders, and other notorious traitors executed, and put to the sword, at the Lord Lieutenant's going to victual the fort of Maryborough, the 11th of January, and in his return the 12th and 13th of the same, 1598." Total (including a few wounded), 254. The first in the list is "Lysagh Oge O'More, slain, being one of the chiefest of the Moores, and a principal leader." *pp. 1½.*

Jan. 14.

Whitehall.

11. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. "Whereas it hath pleased Her Majesty to take resolution for the sending of our very good Lord, the Earl Marshal, with as much speed as can be used, into that realm of Ireland, there to undertake the managing of the wars and government of that state, far engaged in the power of the rebels, and thereupon is likewise pleased, for the better enabling of his Lordship in the place, and for the advancement of her service, to give him the honour that such means, commodities, and pre-eminences as that State may afford, shall be reserved and kept entire for his Lordship against his coming thither," they give notice hereby that no offices or places of charge, &c. that are now, or shall be vacant, before the Earl's arrival, are to be disposed of, so that they may be ordered by the said Earl Marshal upon his coming.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598-9, January 14. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 112^b, 113. *Copy. p. 1.*

Jan. 18.

Whitehall.

12. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. Concerning the lease corn claimed by Lady Burgh. Requests them to terminate the business.—The Court at Whitehall, 1598, January 18. *Draft, with alterations, in Sir Robert's hand. pp. 1½.*

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Jan. 18. 13. Copy of the preceding, with some alterations.—[The Court at
[Whitehall.] Whitehall, 1598, January 18.] pp. 2½.

Jan. 18. 14. The Earl of Ormonde to Queen Elizabeth. Received on the
Kilkenny. 6th instant, from the Lords Justices, a transcript of her letters of December 1 to them and to him. Therein were set down sundry omissions of great moment concerning the army. These, in probable appearance, might seem justly to be imputed to his want of due consideration and care. Craves her accustomed clemency and favour, in giving ear to what he shall truly and sincerely declare for his own discharge in that behalf. His efforts for the training of the soldiers, and for the maintenance of discipline. The officers near him have performed his directions. Where he could not be in person, he was compelled, in these matters, to rely on those appointed by Her Highness. "For the numbers unjustly and falsely certified in list, what care hath been taken by me to the contrary, is very well known to all inferior officers of that charge, and my extraordinary diligence used therein, so far offensive unto them all, as some letted not to say their denominations to offices were to small effect for their own benefit, when I used to send private persons, of trust with myself, to control what they have formerly done by ordinary course." As for discharging soldiers, to pass back again into England, has only so licensed such as were incapable of serving through incurable sickness or wounds, and these not exceeding the number of ten persons; "howsoever it pleased the Lords Justices, without such consideration, in my absence, to dispense with a far greater number." Proclamations made in marine towns. Apprehension of soldiers intending to pass; some, for example's sake, executed by martial law.

Of the 3,000 last appointed to Ireland for supplies, only 2,306 arrived; and of these companies the Lords Justices have disposed without his privity. "For the list of 9,000 certified, if any untruth were therein, it justly lighted upon the Mustermaster and his Commissaries; and the numbers set down by them, employed by my direction, to places of service and necessity, as by the list sent herewith (*wanting*) may appear; and none scantied, of the defences of Munster and Connaught, at any time, but the same increased, as probable opinion grew of any extremity or danger in those parts.

"And for my absence from the place of residence of the State here, it is well known I always resided there during the greater time of my charge. And as in reason I ought so to do (no urgent cause falling out to the contrary), so, in like reason, the Province of Leinster being brought to most miserable state, and the Province of Munster almost quite overrun by the rebels, I could not, with any due consideration, remain in Dublin, but speedily resort unto those parts, for the relief and comfort of the subjects, and the annoy and prosecution of the traitors, both which I many ways performed, as well in prosecution of them, as in assuring (the best I might) your Highness's incorporate towns of Kilkenny, Ross, Thomastown, Clonmel, Cashel, Fedarth [Fethard], Callan, the fort of Duncannon

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and other important places, standing in great fear and danger, and intended by the rebels to be surprised and betrayed (as in my last despatch I advertised), and had so been, had not my special care prevented the same. And yet for all this, I never set forward from Dublin, before order left for the defence of the northern borders, and places adjacent about Dublin against the mountain rebels, according to the forces then in strength, as then I advertised your Highness; and nothing done herein without former consultation with the Lords Justices and Council: no cause also being sufficient for my remain in Dublin, your Highness having expressly commanded the war of Leinster to be followed this winter; and since that time, many great and urgent occasions of my repair hither fallen out, as the rebellion of Mountgarrett, Cahir, and their complices, beside the universal traitorous revolt in Munster. And albeit no such unexpected disasters had happened, yet the continual sickness of Sir Richard Bingham (as the Lords Justices and himself wrote unto me), whom I never saw since his arrival in Ireland, drawing him of necessity from following the service in Leinster, I could in no wise, in regard of my bounden duty, leave the same exposed to the incursions of the rebels, and great endangering of the incorporate towns, the traitors being there and ever sithence in great strength and intolerable pride. Yet would I at this present have made my repair unto Dublin, were it not for my undoubted resolution that, in my absence, and withdrawing the few forces I have from these parts, the incorporate towns had been taken and destroyed by the rebels, the rest of the country overrun and utterly wasted, and the subjects in both spoiled and murdered; which (in discharge of my duty) I thought fit to make known to your Highness, resting nevertheless most ready, upon your Majesty's pleasure signified, to follow what course it shall please you to appoint me."

Will continue to take pledges for loyalty from the noblemen and gentlemen of Leinster, and has required the President of Munster to follow the like course.

"And for your Highness's pleasure signified of all good means to be used for conservation of victuals and garrans for use of the army that shall arrive, and that wheresoever there is any victuals not likely to be kept from the traitor, it be rather destroyed than reserved, it may please your most excellent Majesty, to understand that, albeit this last harvest, in regard of fertility, hath yielded great store of corn in this country, yet such hath been the incursions of traitors abroad, and continual charge of borough towns in victualling no small number of your Highness's army, as very little store remains, either within or without, to serve for sustenance of the townships, or yet relief of the army, if any such necessity thereof shall be urgent; which scarcity of victuals, and want of staples in places convenient for the same, have been no small impediment to your Highness's service, necessity enforcing the sending of companies to boroughs far distant, from whence they could not be easily drawn without danger, nor in so secret manner, but that the rebels must have knowledge thereof; and thereby their drawing to head dangerous to themselves, and the service to be

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performed greatly hindered ; the borough towns also like to be left desolate, their provisions and victuals being so consumed ; and, this nine months past, no payment made unto them due for their tickets.

“And lastly, your Highness’s pleasure for sending over a true certificate of the strength of the army, it is already accomplished and sent, as by letters lately received from the Lords Justices I am advertised ; which, long before the receipt of your Majesty’s letter, I often importuned them unto, and yet am of opinion that the strength certified is far greater than they are in deed.

“Most gracious and dread Sovereign, I presume in no small grief of mind to complain unto your Highness of the cold disposition I find in the Lords Justices (what show so ever they give outwardly to the contrary) for furtherance of any special service intended by me ; as may be apparent unto your Majesty in the course they held with me for this last victualling of the fort of Leix ; who being most earnestly importuned by me very many times for forces, victuals, and other necessities, speedily to effect a matter of so great consequence, have still protracted the same ; at some times alleging the want of victuals in a readiness, at other times the want of money and weakness of forces, and at all times some one thing or other to ‘impedite’ the same. And now, last of all, in answer of my letters to that purpose, have signified that, as well the forces agreed upon betwixt us, as sufficient victuals and other necessities, stood in a readiness, desiring a time and place certain to be set down by me for that victualling, where the forces from thence, and those few I have here, might join together. Whereupon I precisely appointed a time and place for our meeting, desiring, in regard of the great harm that might ensue thereof, not to disappoint the same ; and, having despatched my letters to that effect, which came in due time to their Lordships’ hands, and receiving no answer from them to the contrary, I set forward in my journey, and, understanding by messengers sent by me to the place appointed for our meeting, that no forces nor victuals were come thither, and, considering the forces I had were drawn together (whose returning back doing no service might fall out to be as dangerous as the going on for so good purpose), I presently levied of my own cattle a convenient proportion, which, with other necessities sufficient for three months’ victuals, I took with me, and therewith proceeded towards the fort, being not in number above 700 foot and a 140 (*sic*) horse ; whither passing in my way, the rebels gave impediment in woods and other places of advantage, through which having passed, and victualled the fort, returning back again, I was entertained with a more hotter (*sic*) skirmish than before, and presented with a battle of 1,200 foot, besides many wings of shot, and 30 horse ; whom I encountered, and (by the help of God) forced them to retire to their fastness, with the loss of some of their chiefest men, and with the killing and wounding of not so few as 200, as more particularly appeareth by this enclosed note, with no loss of your Highness’s side (I thank God) than two soldiers slain and ten hurt ; whereof Sir Henry Power and Captain Esmond were two, and are, without danger of

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death, like to recover ; who, with the rest of the Captains and soldiers, both English and Irish, most valiantly acquitte[d] themselves ; and no small grief unto me to see your Highness's soldiers of so good desert, so poor and naked for want of their clothes, for which I have often written to the Lords Justices, and now at last am answered, that the proportions last sent over are already bestowed, wherein I think myself very hardly used, these few men being most employed in your Majesty's whole army."

Craves pardon for his long letter, and prays for her prosperity and the confusion of all her enemies.—Kilkenny, 1598, January 18. *Holograph. pp. 9. Incloses,*

14. 1. *Note of the principal traitors slain and hurt at the time of the Lord Lieutenant's victualling of the fort of Maryborough.* Almost the same list as that in No. 10.—1598, January 11[–13]. p. 1.

Jan. 18.
Kilkenny.

15. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. His desire to have conference with Sir Richard Bingham disappointed. Delays of the Council in Ireland with respect to the victualling of the fort of Maryborough. His own efforts and success. Put in seven barrels of powder and victuals for three months. Defeat of the traitors who attacked him. The very day of his coming to the fort, the garrison had killed two horses, which were all the food they had. Is hardly dealt with for money and clothes for the soldiers. The towns have received no diet money for nine months past, and are much impoverished. They are also debarred from all trade in the country, through its being possessed by the rebels. Recommends the sending over of "some pieces for battery, with all necessaries and skilful officers," to take the castles of Lords Mountgarrett and Cahir, which are a great annoyance to the subject. "The traitor Mountgarrett ceaseth not daily to incite and draw together all he may possibly, to attempt some great action, especially towards this town of Kilkenny, in revenge of the great loss he and his sustained at the said last victualling of the fort in Leix, as partly the enclosed copy of a letter from William Harpole doth specify." One or two thousand men should be speedily sent over to Waterford, before the greater number, with victual and munition, the Earl of Thomond, who was reported in Ireland to be coming over with some forces, having not yet arrived. God be thanked, Her Majesty's towns and forces are yet safe, though in many of them treachery has been practised, and some have been executed for the same. Hopes his former several letters sent to the Privy Council by Captain Plunket and William Power will procure speedy relief to "this poor and woeful kingdom, being in the same or rather worse state than before was certified." Great comfort to the few true subjects from that part of Her Majesty's letter of December 1 last, touching present relief to come over.—Kilkenny, 1598, January 18. *Endorsed :—Received 28th at Whitehall. pp. 3. Incloses,*

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15. I. *Note of the principal traitors slain and hurt at the time of the Lord Lieutenant's victualling of the fort of Maryborough.*—Duplicate of No. 14. I. p. 1.

15. II. *The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Earl of Ormonde.* On receipt of his letters of December 3 they consulted about the victualling of the fort [of Maryborough]. For aught they can learn, it is yet in no great distress, and, if they husbanded well the proportion last put in unto them, they have store yet for some good time. Sir Warham Sentleger has this day affirmed that he is assured they have store of corn to serve them a good while. Notwithstanding, to prevent the worst, and especially the great inconvenience which may happen by victualling it with an army, they have attempted again to relieve it by some secret means, and are in good hope very shortly to have 100 barrels of grain and some good store of beeves put in. Hope his Lordship likewise may devise some course to relieve them with beeves and salt, rather than adventure the hazard of the army. As the forces with Ormonde are, as he writes, both weak and discontented, so those under Sir Richard Bingham (who yet lieth sick, and not like a good while to undertake any travel), will come nothing near the strength his Lordship expects. They are but fifteen companies in all. Two at least must be left at Naas for its safety, and one at Kildare; the rest will not make much above 700 by poll, whereof many are Irish, and the English not yet well trained; "so as we would be very loath your Lordship should adventure such another day's work as was at the Blackwater, if otherwise it may possibly be holpen." Leave it nevertheless wholly to Ormonde's further resolution, and will advise upon receipt of his next letters. Meantime, the victuals and munition are in a readiness. How the forces with Sir Richard Bingham may be strengthened from other places, they see not, unless they should be drawn from the borders of the north; whither they have sent Sir Christopher. St. Lawrence's company to Kells, and Sir Edward FitzGerald's to Ballymore, thinking it more meet rather to strengthen those parts than to weaken them, considering the Council receive daily intelligence of Tyrone's coming up to the borders, and of his purpose to send 1,500 men to Mountgarrett.

Are advertised from the county of Wexford, that the same is well-nigh wasted and overrun by the bordering rebels, without any resistance, the forces appointed thither being unable to make any defence; and therefore wish Ormonde to make the companies there 500 foot and 40 horse strong, whereby they may be able to encounter the rebel, "the rather for that Her Majesty's pleasure is, that, next the Pale, that county should especially be respected." Sir Henry Wallop is advertised from Enniscorthy that there is yet good store of corn in the country to maintain a good garrison, if the same be of strength to command it; and that likewise the townsmen of Wexford have built a strong barge with two cast pieces and thirty muskets in her, which will be able (being made to row with twelve oars) to victual at all times the garrison at Enniscorthy. Think the companies at Newry are too many to keep the town only, and

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too few to perform any other service. At the earnest entreaty of Sir Conyers Clifford, and especially for the safety of the town of Galway, they sent him Captain Lister's company, in the place of which they appointed the company of Sir Edward FitzGerald.—Dublin, 1598, December 11.

[Postscript.]—After the signing of this letter, Lord Delvin came and told them that, within these twelve days, he had a spy with Tyrone, who informed him that Mountgarrett sent a messenger in English apparel to solicit the Earl to send some forces into Leinster, assuring him that, when they besieged Kilkenny, there were some within the town, who would deliver it unto them. Doubt not that Lord Delvin has signified so much to Ormonde. Copy. pp. 1½.

15. III. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Earl of Ormonde. His letters of 14th and 15th December were delivered to them yesterday. By the first of these they understand that theirs of the 11th December were come to his Lordship's hands. Have by divers means put into the fort of Maryborough, 22 beeves, and 26½ barrels of wheat, all of which is paid for. Their other endeavours for its relief. "Nevertheless doubting the uncertainty of men's promises in these days, and the iniquity of the time considered, our cares have been the greater for the preservation of that piece of so great importance." Have therefore often written to his Lordship to use like means on his side, and understand of his honourable care in the same, and hope to hear of his success. "But, howsoever it be, as it is dangerous to trust to such uncertainties, so it is high time to consider how it may be thoroughly relieved, for we have some inducements to think this manner of victualling it by piecemeal will in the end hazard the loss thereof, and we may well conceive that those rebels, who peradventure are not yet so strong and well-provided as they would be, can be rather content to suffer it to be fed thus by little and little, than by interrupting the same (before their expected northern forces shall be come to them) to procure us to set up a rest in supplying the wants by force; and your Lordship may the more easily believe it, that your advertisements and ours do concur touching the coming of forces from the north. At which time, if they shall pass without interruption, there is no doubt but they will (by all the ways they can) hinder the victualling thereof at any hand." Again recommend the care of it to him, and will always be ready to assist him to their uttermost.

Sir Ralph Lane has sent away a certificate of the state and strength of the army, which they hope will hasten the sending of forces. As to the soldiers' apparel, which his Lordship wishes to be sent to Waterford, one of the merchants who had charge thereof is dead, and the other is at the point of death. Will use their best means to accomplish his Lordship's wish. For the 9,000 and odd in list, only 5,000 suits have yet come. Have delivered 1,200 suits for Sir Samuel Bagenall's 24 companies. Have sent 1,200*l.* to Waterford for the present relief of the soldiers. Durst not adventure a greater portion. Hope the treasure out of England for Munster

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has arrived at Cork. Have given direction to Lord Delvin, Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Samuel Bagenall, and others to prevent, as best they may, the sending of forces from Tyrone to Mountgarrett. Glad to hear of the safety of the town of Ross, and of the execution of the traitors who conspired against it. As to the sending of the companies of the two Captains Atherton to Waterford, the Captain Atherton who came from Belfast, brought not above thirty men with him. Have appointed him 46 of the supplies last arrived (until Ormonde should otherwise dispose of them), and have placed him in Dublin, with the other company appointed to Captain Stafford. Both are too few for the defence of the city, "considering the nightly alarms which we have here, and the threats of the army near adjoining." The other Atherton and Harvey remain at Naas, under Sir Richard Bingham. The daily increasing strength of the enemy. No companies can be drawn from Newry to Wexford. Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield and his allowance.

By Ormonde's second letter, of the 15th of December, they understand the Castle of Blackford is lost, for which they are very sorry. Fear of indirect practices against the house of Catherlogh. His Lordship may, with more conveniency than they, provide for its safety, and for that of Leighlin house. Will, as far as in them lies, see Ormonde's directions in these martial affairs performed. If Captain Flower's company is drawn from Munster, Her Majesty's pleasure is that another should be sent in its place.—
Dublin, 1598, December 23.

[Postscript].—"We would gladly know what time your Lordship shall be ready to rise with your forces towards the victualling of the fort, when you shall determine the same, and when you would have the forces at the Naas ready to meet your Lordship in that service." Copy. pp. 2.

15. IV. The Earl of Ormonde to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. Received their letters of the 23rd of December on the last of the same month. Takes knowledge of their grave advice for the speedy victualling of the fort of Maryborough. Since his letters of October 31 has always been most willing to set this victualling afoot. The daily increase of the traitors' forces. The loss of the castles at Athy and Blackford. His want of means. The stay and sickness of Sir Richard Bingham. The weakness of the companies. Not above 500 men with him. Reckoned on having 1,400 foot from them, and 150 horse. Requires now 2,000, or, at the least, 1,600 foot, and 150 horse. Will have 400 or 500 more from where he is. All the horse and foot to be at Carlow on January 10, where he will meet them. Through the loss of Athy and Blackford, must take another way.

"I earnestly pray your Lordships to consider of this so weighty a cause, by the example of the defeat at Armagh, that the full numbers last before mentioned do hold time and place, well furnished with no less than 24 barrels of powder, with match and lead proportionably, and then ten days' victuals at least, besides the victuals for the fort; the whole carriages to come strong and lightly laden, with their drivers and other the necessities mentioned

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in a note enclosed (wanting). And for powder, in respect of the greatness of this Her Majesty's army, with the strength of the traitors, there will be the more cause of a larger proportion than at the last victualling, having then spent eighteen barrels in two days; and some munition also is to be left in the fort, where I hear there is some want thereof." Sends copy of a letter from one he used, who writes of the delivery of 20l. sterling to one who undertook to put into the fort the value thereof. It is very likely that most of the traitors will draw together to hinder this journey. The forces left behind on the northern borders and other parts have many companies in garrison. These, with the noblemen, gentlemen, and other subjects of the Pale may at least make a defensive war of it, as Ormonde purposes to do, where he is. If the Marshal may not come with the forces, special choice could be made of a Commander and other officers. Hopes, after meeting with the forces, to accomplish the intended service. Trusts the advertisements in his letters of December 25 have come to their Lordships' hands, and craves for speedy answer, that the course now determined on by him may be followed without delay; unless their Lordships do find the higher danger, by the Archtraitor's proceedings, to hang over them. If certified in convenient time of this interval [i.e., until January 10], will be ready upon three days' warning. Without such great cause, will not for anything be disappointed of those numbers of men, or of anything meet for that service, having absolutely resolved upon it. If their Lordships hear of greater forces to come from the north unto the traitors, prays them to send greater forces to him.

"I am glad the certificate of the musters is sent over, and yet I fear that the strength of the army is certified in a far greater number than they are, which may be a let of sending sufficient forces for suppressing of so great and violent a rebellion." The want of money and apparel for the forces with him. Many have gone to the enemy. Holds it most meet that the two companies in Dublin, or the like number, do attend there, for the safety of the place. Again begs for the sending of the forces he has asked for. Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield and Wexford.—Kilkenny, 1598, January 1. Copy. pp. 2.

15. v. Terence O'Dempsey to [the Earl of Ormonde]. Received his letters on the 10th of December. Edmund M'Rory came with 200 men, and lay two nights watching over the passages. Nothing can pass, and now the enemy have got a strong castle upon the way, which they keep well manned. To accomplish Ormonde's pleasure, has put 20l. sterling into a friend's hands, who has promised to convey the value thereof unto the place nominated. This is the only safe way, "by reason of the multitude of enemies swarming in every corner, which have mewed me up in my castle so that I dare not come once abroad." The writer's brother is with the rebels, and has drawn away most of his followers and countrymen, "in such sort that nothing can come into the country, or out, but it is presently intercepted." The pride of the enemy, and the small hope they have of reformation. The hope of this alone keeps

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the writer in heart. Prays for Ormonde's success.—1598, December 13. Copy. p. 1.

15. VI. Copy of part of the letter from the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Earl of Ormonde, dated the 8th of January, 1598-9, and received at Carlow on the 13th of the same month, after the victualling of the fort of Maryborough.

Received his letters of January 1st late at night on the 6th of the same. It was impossible to send the forces and supplies he asked for to the place specified, in four days, even if there were no other impediments. Find much hardness and exceeding great danger in drawing any companies from the borders of the north, to make up the numbers required by his Lordship, since Tyrone has been for these eight or ten days in the Fews, and is there still, expecting an opportunity either to attempt some mischief against the Pale, or to convey some aids of men and munition to the Leinster rebels. These are grown to that height of pride, that very lately they approached near Naas, whereabouts, and in those parts, they have continued these eight or nine days. The Sergeant-Major had some skirmish with them. The mountain rebels yesternight burnt all the town of Kilmainham, and part of Cromlin; so it is apparent that the Pale is the only mark they now shoot at. For defence thereof, the forces in it should be rather increased than diminished. Agree that the fort of Maryborough should be victualled, but see not how it can be done without his Lordship's presence in Dublin, which they expect very shortly now. Hope he has received their last letters, enclosing copy of Her Majesty's letter. Will give him all the furtherance they can. Have the three months' victuals still in a readiness, but fear greatly it will be very hard to provide in any short time the necessary carriages for that journey, the county of Kildare being in a manner wholly possessed by the rebels. p. 1.

15. VII. William Hartepoole [or Harpole, Constable of Carlow] to the Earl of Ormonde. Lord Mountgarrett and Onie M'Rory, with all their confederates, intend to visit his Lordship in the Irish town of Kilkenny, within these two or three nights. They have warned all the forces of Leix to be at "Knocke Arde O'Gurry" [Knockardagur] in Gallin to-morrow, Tuesday. They have given out that Con O'Neill is come to them. Hears this is not so. All the forces that were near them met Ormonde at the Rede Moor, as the Doynes, those of Ossory, the Dempsies, the Geraldines, the Brennuns, the Keatings, and 200 with Lord Mountgarrett's sons, and certain of the Burkes, who lost the best commander they had. There were some sixteen of their best men slain the last day, and many hurt. Lysagh Oge was buried the day Ormonde came from the fort [of Maryborough]. His attempt has scared the rebels mightily, and they do not know how "to be even with" him, but by an attempt on Kilkenny.—Carlow, "this present Monday, at night, at ten of the clock." Endorsed:—Received the 16 of January, 1598. Copy. p. 1.

Jan. 18.

16. Report by divers Welshmen concerning the Earl of Tyrone.

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That he was proclaimed King of Ireland, and that he was called "Earl Terowyne, which is a word of Welsh, which is in English, the Earl of Owen's land," also, that "he descended of Owyne Clyne Dore, who had interest both in Ireland and Wales," and "that there was a prophecy the Earl of Tyrone should prevail against the English nation." Further, that he was proclaimed Prince of Wales, and that he had friends in Wales that looked for him, as he was both favourable and bountiful to Welshmen; affirming that time and place were appointed for the Earl of Tyrone and the Spanish force to meet together to visit England. That the Earl would visit England shortly; and that within six weeks last past there had been a general stay of shipping in Spain. That the Earl of Tyrone had in his service 500 Welshmen, whom he had made officers in his band, and "rewardeth with double pay above the Irish nation." Griffith John, of Llanridene in Glamorganshire, "reporteth that no Welshmen should be used in service against the Irishmen, because they were not to be trusted," and Philip William, of Escrode Cenles, in Brecknockshire, made the same report. *Endorsed*:—1598, January 18. *pp.* 1½.

Jan. 18.

17. "An abstract of letters from Rochelle of the 18 January 1598."

"Captain Crofton came from Dublin hither with a great quantity of butter, to the number of 270 firkins or barrels, with some other provisions.

"Robert Tyler came from another port in Ireland, and brought hither bread, beef, and match. These provisions are surely conveyed away by the Captains or officers put in trust by the Lords. I think it the part of a good subject to acquaint their Honours therewith, whereby it might be prevented in time, so that Her Highness's service be not hindered thereby."—*Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"Cap[tains] that steal from Ireland." *p.* ½.

Jan. 19.
Dublin.

18. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Privy Council. "We are now, to our great grief, occasioned to signify unto your Lordships that Sir Richard Bingham, Her Majesty's Marshal of this realm (having for the most part, since his arrival here, been very sickly), is now this last night departed out of this transitory life, whereby we are left very bare and destitute of a commander, fit to take charge of that army in this time of great and present danger. His companies, both of horse and foot, were so strong and well furnished, as very few companies in this realm are like unto them." Thought it their duty to keep them together, until further directed, and have continued Captain John Bingham, who led the foot and [Captain] John St. Barbe, who led the horse, in their respective charges. St. Barbe, however, having obtained license to repair into England on his private affairs, they have appointed his Cornet, one Gilbert, to take charge of the horse. Have signified Sir Richard's death to Ormonde, to whom they have, in three several despatches, sent copies of Her Majesty's letters with regard to the fitness of his abiding in Dublin. Have not heard from his Lordship either in that or any other

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matter. Are credibly advertised that this last week Ormondo victualled the fort of Maryborough for some time, and returned thence to his house at Kilkenny.

The Leinster rebels grow strong daily in number, but, through the special care taken, both in Dublin and all other towns, to restrain the sale of arms and munition, are in very great want of powder and lead. Believe this the rather, because they have not, in these three last weeks, so boldly attempted as formerly to do mischief. Understand now that the great Archtraitor has not only supplied that want in some measure from the north, but has also increased their traitorous crew with the number of about 800 shot and pike, under his base son Con, who met them in Leix about the end of last week. Had notice that the rebels purposed to pass into Leinster through Westmeath, and sent despatches to Lord Delvin, who commanded in that county, to Sir Conyers Clifford, and to Sir Samuel Bagenall, that they might "have correspondency" in stopping the rebels' passage; "yet by some unhappy accident, or rather negligence, as we conceive it, the foresaid 800 rebels passed, even at noon time of the day, through the same way, in the lower part of Westmeath (which we directed to be diligently attended) without stop or encounter of any of Her Majesty's forces, save only one foot company under the leading of Captain Willis, and some few horsemen of the companies of Sir Conyers Clifford and Captain Theobald Dillon, who, together with Francis Shaen, the Sheriff of that county, and such small number as might be drawn together of the country forces, had some bickering with them, near to the town of Ballymore-Loughsewdy, in the said county of Westmeath." The Sheriff was shot through the leg, and his horse was slain under him. Captain Dillon's horse was hurt under him, and divers of the soldiers and country gentlemen were slain and sore galled in that fight. Had it been well attended and seconded, as they set down the plot, there had been very great service performed, and such a blow given to the rebels, as would have been a great quiet to Leinster. Have intelligence from divers parts that the Archtraitor Tyrone, who is now at the Fews, about five miles from Dundalk, has "made an atonement" with his half-brother Tirlagh M'Henry, whom he has set at liberty, and has summoned him, with O'Donnell, Maguire, and all the rest of his northern adherents, to come with all their forces unto him, with a month's victuals, having a purpose by several ways to invade the Pale.

"Thus do our sorrows increase by the loss of this worthy gentleman, whose life and presence would have been a great daunt to these traitors, whose pride is by his death increased, and your Lordships may conceive how our dangers do still multiply; but our great comfort is, that God and Her most excellent Majesty will in short time deliver this her distressed kingdom, and us her poor servants and subjects, who live in it, from these calamities." Have sent letters both by sea and land, to the Lord Lieutenant General, and hope he will the sooner be drawn to Dublin for their succour. Meantime, will use their best endeavours to defend those parts, although some of the Captains, knowing the absolute

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managing of these martial affairs to be in the Lord Lieutenant General, do not so fully obey their directions as were meet.

"There is a great disorder grown among the said Captains and the soldiers touching their apparel for this winter season; for the merchants, agents of that apparel, had given out that they had brought a full proportion to serve Her Majesty's army; and yet, when it came to be distributed, we found that they had not above two thousand five hundred suits. Whereupon, being desirous that the nakedness of each company might in an equal measure be relieved, we made our warrants to deliver to each Captain sixty suits, with direction that they should carefully observe to furnish such of their soldiers as stood in most want, until the rest should come. But most of the Captains and their companies (especially that regiment under Sir Samuel Bagenall's command), have utterly refused to receive the same, although we have sent the said proportion of apparel to their garrison place unto them. Whereby the soldiers are in great nakedness, so as we doubt we shall hardly prevent a dangerous mutiny amongst them; which we have thought meet to signify to your Lordships, to the end it may please you to give direction for examining where the fault lieth."

Enclose a certificate of the strength of the horse and foot companies under Sir Richard Bingham, as mustered on the 12th of January.—Dublin, 1598, January 19. *Signed. pp. 4. Inclose,*

18. 1. "*The certificate of the strength of the company of horse and foot, late under the leading of Sir Richard Bingham, knight, as they were mustered at the Naas, the 12 of January, 1598.*" *Signed by Sir Ralph Lane and Ralph Birkinshawe. p. 1.*

Jan. 19.
Dublin.

19. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The forces, which he wrote were preparing in Ulster to be sent up into Leinster, being between 800 and 900 men, are now come, and are commanded by Tyrone's base son, Con O'Neill. Albeit warning was given to all the commanders upon the borders to lay for them in their passage, yet those rebels made their entry through the heart of Westmeath in the open daylight. No force used against them, except that Captain Willis with his 100 foot, and Captain Theobald Dillon with his 25 horse, skirmished with them a whole afternoon, without any great hurt, "because they were not seconded by the residue of the forces laid in those parts, under the charge of the Lord Delvin, who was sufficiently forewarned from time to time by the State, to be in readiness to attend that service. Captain Willis and Captain Dillon have written to me that, if they had been answered by the residue of those forces in Westmeath, as they looked for, they had either driven the northern rebels back again, "or else cut them off altogether." Hears they are gone to Mountgarrett, and, being joined with him and the rest, intend to divide themselves into two strengths, the one to set upon the Earl of Ormonde in his country, and the other to invade the Pale. This they may easily do, for the old impediment still continues, namely, that there are no fit commanders to lead the companies to the service, other than Sir Samuel Bagenall, who has charge to defend the northern borders, and lies there with his regiment. Now that the Marshal is dead, it

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will go worse with them in Leinster, for there are none to take the superior charge of the army. Prays that Her Majesty may haste away the Lord Deputy, and also constitute another Marshal. It greatly increaseth the danger of the kingdom, to be destitute at one instant both of a Deputy and a Marshal. Above all, it is thought strange that Sir Arthur Savage, with his regiment of 1,000 foot, is not yet come, considering how long the easterly winds have hung favourably for him.

Sends certain extracts of a letter written to him by Weston, whom he has long employed about Tyrone for intelligences. Has often written of his good discoveries, and has found him to do the best service, without charge to Her Majesty. The intention of Spain continues to send forces to Ireland to subtract the kingdom from Her Majesty. Fears Scotland "is of the pack" with Spain, notwithstanding all the fair semblances made to the contrary. "If the Lord Deputy, and the forces assigned to come with him, were here, it would do much to cross the Spanish attempts, and break many confederacies with the Irish, who, finding this destitution of a Deputy and further forces, take boldness to combine more and more amongst themselves." Importance of sending over a Lord Deputy out of hand, with forces and provisions. The longer that is deferred, the more way is given to the utter hazard of the kingdom, "wherein for my part I have so often written thither, as I know not what to write more, and yet the necessity urgeth to write still, howsoever it be taken."—Dublin, 1598, January 19. *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 28th. *Signed*. pp. 1½. *Incloses*,

19. 1. *Extracts from a letter written by Richard Weston to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, dated Newry, 1598, January 15.*

The messenger whom Tyrone and O'Donnell sent into Spain last, has written letters to them lately, sending the same by the way of Scotland. The letters are dated the 10th of November last.

The King of Spain had assured Tyrone that he would send 6,000 men into Ireland, and that these were already preparing in three several places. They would be ready within fifteen days before or after Christmas. If "the party" could get the whole 6,000, he intended to land at Limerick or thereabouts, but if the numbers were under, then he would make for Lough Foyle or Carlingford. If he would have come away with money, munition, and furniture, he needed not to have stayed one fortnight in Spain. Tyrone and O'Donnell should not spare beeves, garrans, or anything else they could provide for the Spaniards, and their horses of service should be kept in very good plight. The King of Scots made a challenge to Tyrone for sending the copy of his letter to the Lord General. This was sent into England, and from thence to the King again. Tyrone's man, called John Bathe, who remains in Scotland, had procured of late a warrant from the King, for powder and munition for Tyrone, by virtue of which warrant he had bought great store. p. 1.

Jan. 19.
Dublin.

20. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Sir Warham Sentleger, having long time remained lame of a wound

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received in Her Majesty's service in Ireland, has got leave to repair into England, hoping to find a more perfect recovery there. During the time of his sickness, the house where he lay in Dublin took fire in the night, and was burnt to ashes, together with all his goods; "and himself, lying lame in bed, was hardly rescued from the fire, being by strength of his men borne out, and set in the streets in his shirt, not having so much as a garment left to cast upon him." Besides this loss, being (it is thought) the greatest part of all he had gathered together, in the whole time of his service of above 25 years, he was a little before spoiled by the rebels of all his cattle and other substance in the country. His house was assaulted by the traitors, but valiantly defended by his men, who slew sundry of the best of them. By these two afflictions, coming almost together, the poor gentleman is overthrown in his estate, to the utter impoverishing of his wife and children, without Her Majesty's gracious comfort towards his reparation. He has served long in Ireland, "with good credit, and without reproach; and, by the experience he hath gotten, he is well able to acquaint your honour with the estate of his ruined government, and to give advice how it may be restored."—Dublin, 1598, January 19. *Signed. p. 1.*

Jan. 20.
Dublin.

21. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. His hearty thanks for Sir Robert's commending speeches of him to Her Majesty. Craves him to suspend his judgment till Wallop's answer made, "when either I may be hardly reported of, or may myself seem to give the cause, an unhappiness that I note to accompany all our services here." Will not touch more on that point.

"For the present estate of the country, I am sorry to have cause to continue my former course of writing, that all things in generality decline and wax worse and worse." In particular, no special accident has happened since their last [letter], save the slipping out of the north of Con O'Neill, with some 800 men, to the aid of Mountgarrett. "Whether the purpose be, that those forces shall be used still for Mountgarrett's assistance, or for backing the Munster rebels, we as yet discover not." Victualling of the fort of Maryborough by Ormonde. They seldom receive intelligence from him, and the passages are generally so stopped, that they cannot expect to hear much from others. Their earnest desire for Ormonde's repair to Dublin.

"On Thursday night last, being the 19th hereof, it pleased God so to free Sir Richard Bingham of his long-lingering sickness, as to take him to Himself. In whose life, sickness, and hour of death, such constancy hath appeared as hath seemed rare; and we, Her Majesty's servants here that remain, cannot but be grieved to see her service and ourselves deprived of so worthy a gent, whose sufficiency (especially for this country service, in this so broken a time) gave us as great an hope of good success as from one of his place could be expected. The Lord grant a good choice in his room, and that we may speedily be comforted with the relief (that this kingdom needeth) of one absolute authority here over all, whereby the threatened ruin may be prevented, which to your

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wisdoms there is to be left, who know all, and can best consider of all."

The 4,000*l.* appointed for Munster has been detained three weeks by contrary winds. The weather being now very fair, the treasure may go at any tide.—Dublin, 1598, January 20. *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 28th. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Jan. 20.
Dublin.

22. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommends Sir Henry Brouncker for the post of Marshal. The Lords Justices and Council consider him the best man for the place. Brouncker's long experience in the north of Ireland, in the time of the old Earl of Essex, and in the late wars. The singular good-will of all the martial men of Ireland to him, for worthy parts universally observed in him.

It will be a great saving of charge to Her Majesty if, instead of the 1,000 horse proposed to be sent with the Earl of Essex, she be pleased to entertain, for present service in Ulster, 300 Scottish horsemen from the borders of Scotland. These will be sufficient to beat all the horse that Tyrone and O'Donnell can keep in the field, till midsummer next; although at midsummer, when the grass is good, they will be able to bring into the field 1,000 horse at least, "if, in the meanwhile, their plumes be not plucked." The saving to Her Majesty will be 3,000*l.* His monthly musters of Sir Samuel Bagenall's troop; "very fair and serviceable horses at his first landing, now so decayed, and all for the most part dead, and turned to Irish, both horses and men." Has also advertised the Earl Marshal thereof. Has sent Mr. Maynard a breviat of Her Majesty's whole charge for Ireland, for the half year ended 30th September last; and has given him the reasons for the stay in sending the whole books, with certificates of checks, &c.—Dublin, 1598, January 20. *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 29th. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 20.

23. Document endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "20 Jan. 1598, a list for Ireland," giving the salaries of the military establishment in that country, under the Earl of Essex. p. 1.

Jan. 24.
Cork.

24. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my last by Mr. Spenser, here hath happened so little matter, as I hold it not fit to trouble your Honour therewith." Refers to his letter to the Privy Council. Prays for speedy supply of men and provisions. The great want of money. Although he has endeavoured to preserve his men to the uttermost, yet are they decayed by sickness above measure. "The Captains impute it to the small allowance, and badness of the victual, which hitherto they have received; which, (I assure your Honour, if they be not by your honourable means better provided for,) will altogether ruin them. The traitors daily increase in strength, fresh supplies resorting unto them out of all other parts of this realm, without resistance of any; so as it will be hard for me to judge what force may serve to suppress this rebellion, or to what issue the war will sort unto, unless by Her Majesty's forces in other places the foreigners be restrained from

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coming hither." To supply the present want of munition, has taken up a quantity from the bearer, a man of Barstaple. Recommends him.—Cork, 1598, January 24. *Endorsed* :—Received at Whitehall, 6 February. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 25.

25. "Proclamation for Ireland, 25 January, 1598": *with alterations and additions in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.*

"Although our actions, and carriage of the whole course of our affairs, ever since it pleased God to call us to the succession of this Crown, being uprightly considered, may as evidently manifest to all our subjects, as our conscience doth clearly witness to our self, how earnestly we have affected the peace and tranquillity of the people of our dominions, and how much we have preferred clemency before any other respect, as a virtue both agreeable to our natural disposition, the sincerity of the religion which we profess, and always esteemed by us the greatest surety in politic government, when our subjects' hearts are assured to us by the bond of love rather than by any other obligation: notwithstanding, it hath fallen out, to our great grief, that this our gracious intention in the scope of our government hath not wrought in all men's minds a like effect, nor brought forth everywhere that fruit of obedience which we expected, and mainly in our kingdom and people of Ireland, where (as oftentimes heretofore), so now, especially of late years, divers of our subjects, both of the better sort and of the meaner, perverting our lenity to their advantage, have unnaturally, and without all ground or cause offered to (*sic*) us, forgotten their allegiance, and, rebelliously taking arms, have committed many bloody and violent actions upon our loyal subjects. And though their own consciences can bear them witness that, both by us and by our ministers there, more ways have been attempted to reclaim them by clemency, for avoiding of bloodshed, than did well beseem the dignity of our estate, or the power we have to reduce them by other ways, yet have we not therein reaped those fruits, which so great a grace deserved, if there had been in them any sense of religion, duty, or common humanity. This is the true cause that, after so long and almost impossible patience, we have been compelled to take resolution to reduce that kingdom to that obedience, which by the laws of God and nature is due unto us, by using an extraordinary power and force against them, assuring ourselves so much in the justice of our cause, as we shall find the same success which ever it is the pleasure of God to give to Princes' rights against unnatural rebellions. Wherein, notwithstanding, because we do conceive that all our people, which are at this present actors in this rebellion, are not of one sort, nor carried into it with one mind; but some, out of feeling they have of hard measures heretofore perhaps offered them by some of our ministers; some, for fear of the power and might that their adverse sects and factions have, by advantage of this loose time, grown into; and some, for want of due protection and defence against the wild and barbarous rebels; and many inveigled with superstitious impressions, wrought in them by the cunning of seditious priests and seminaries, crept into

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them from foreign parts, suborned by those that are our open enemies; and a great part, out of a strong but misconceived opinion, infused into them by the heads of this rebellion, that we intended an utter extirpation and rooting out of that nation, and conquest of the country; we have therefore thought it good, and answerable to that justice and clemency which we profess to be with us in account above all other royal virtues, to accompany our army which we send thither with this signification to our subjects, that we are not ignorant of the divers causes that have misled them into these violent actions, and that we both can and will make distinction of their offences. And for their better comfort touching the apprehension of conquest, wherewith the capital and unnatural traitors do seek to harden the hearts of those that have less offended us, thereby to bind them faster to ruin their desperate fortune; we do profess hereby to the world, that we are so far from any such purpose, as the very name of conquest seemeth so ridiculous to us, as we cannot imagine upon what ground it could enter into any man's conceit, that our actions, tending only to reduce a simple and barbarous rabble of misguided rebels, should need any such title of conquest, having in that our kingdom, to our great contentment, the best part of our nobility, the people of all our good towns, and multitudes of other our subjects, so assured in their loyalty to us, as they never yet gave suspicion of diverting from their duties. Of which our true and princely meaning we require all our subjects there in general to take comfort, and such as are for any cause revolted from their duty, to bethink themselves betimes of the extreme misery whereinto they shall throw themselves, if by persisting in this rebellion, they give us cause to use against them the last but worst of all remedies, the sword, which, for repairing of our honour, the safety of the rest of our people, and the assurance of the course of our justice, we are both forced and so resolved to do, except they shall with all expedition, penitence, and humility prostrate themselves to our mercy, as their only way to redeem themselves from their calamities and confusions, whereof their own hearts cannot feel beforehand the horror. For confirmation of all which resolution, as well how to proceed with the grieved and humbled hearts, as with the obstinate and obdurate, we have made choice of such a person to be in that realm the minister both of our justice and mercy, whose valour, wisdom, and success in other public actions, which we have committed unto him, and the force of our good subjects with which he shall be attended, as it may be a just terror to the wicked in making them see before their eyes the short and desperate end of these their barbarous and unnatural courses, so may this election of a servant of his place and rank, every way, both in our councils and our kingdom, sufficiently assure our dutiful subjects there of the great care we have of their preservation, of the abundance of our clemency, and gracious disposition to those that shall deserve mercy, and of our resolution to extirpate the rest, as enemies to God, and traitors to our Crown and dignity." pp 7.

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Jan. 31.

26. The Privy Council to the Mayors and officers of the ports of Chester, Milford, Pembroke, and Haverfordwest. Increase of the forces in Ireland. The number of 2,550 foot and 200 horse to be sent over by the end of February. To have shipping in readiness for that purpose, also a proportion of sea victual. To take order for their lodging and victualling, if the wind do not serve for their transportation immediately after arrival. The rates to be 6*d.* a day per man for the footmen, and 2*d.* in money to be given daily to each. The horsemen merely to be lodged, they will have ready money for their victualling. Further forces will arrive after these; shipping and victual to be in readiness.—1598-9, January 31. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 113, 113*b.* *Copy.* pp. 1½.

Jan. 31.

27. The Privy Council to the Mayor of Bristol. One hundred horse, under Sir Henry Davers, to be levied for Ireland, and to embark at Bristol, by the 20th of February, for Dublin. Shipping and victualling to be in readiness. Order to be taken for lodging, if necessary. Further forces, both horse and foot, are to come to Bristol very shortly. Shipping and victuals to be ready for them.—1598-9, January 31. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 114. *Copy.* p. 1.

Jan.
Kinsale.

28. Captain Thomas Phillips to Sir Robert Cecil. His success since his landing. Is in garrison at Kinsale. Went with Sir Thomas Norreys to victual Kilmallock. Since then no great exploit attempted by them or by the enemy. "All the Province of Munster is very unquiet, and such gentlemen as continue subjects can neither command their kinsmen, tenants, nor followers, in sort as they ought, for the performance of any service. The rebels are many, though for the most part naked and unarmed. The cities and corporate towns are our only relief and comfort for our soldiers doing (*sic*) daily decay, being worn out this last journey somewhat out of apparel, and by that means come to sickness, and we not having as yet any pay to succour them." The victualling of the fort of Maryborough. Sir Thomas Norreys has been from Kinsale for six days, having drawn out two of the companies from the garrison. Phillips appointed to keep the town. Repulsed a party of the enemy. Has now begun a fortification in an old abbey adjoining the town walls. The townsmen are unwilling to help. Is fain to do it himself, as it is of great importance, and will make the town stronger by 300 men; and if the latter should be taken, the fortification will serve, for it may be kept with twenty men from all the rebels. Sends a list (*wanting*) of as many of the principal rebels of the Province as he can learn of.—Kinsale, 1598, January —. *Holograph.* *Seal.* p. 1.

Feb. 1.
Cork.

29. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Has received intelligence of all the force of the strangers and mercenary men entertained in Munster under the name of Connaught men. Has thought fit to recommend the same to Sir Robert's consideration, whereby he may be acquainted both with the names of their leaders and their numbers. The coming of Con O'Neill with 2,000 men is

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daily confirmed. With the numbers Norreys has at present, and considering that many of the companies must be employed for the guard of the weak port towns, it will be very hazardous to draw to the field, the revolt being so general. Readiness of the enemy's forces. Prays for speedy supplies of horse and foot.

In a late skirmish, Donogh M'Cormack M'Carty, *alias* M'Donogh, chieftain of Dowally, was shot in the thigh, and had two or three blows on his head, so is not likely to live. Some of his men, also, were slain.

John Hopper, deputy of Sir Henry Wallop, has come to Waterford, and is directed not to pay anything to Norreys or his company, seeing Norreys receives the revenue from the undertakers, and also the composition of Munster. Has sent his accounts up till Easter last to Wallop; much is due to him; and, as these general troubles happened somewhat before Michaelmas, could not receive either revenue or composition. His great expenses. His credit engaged with divers. Unless he receive his entertainment from time to time, as it grows due, will be disabled from doing Her Majesty service, and will live with disgrace in the place he holds, "knowing well that Sir Henry Wallop will yield me hard measure, if he be not by your honourable favour overruled therein." If the treasure remain at Waterford, the companies appointed for Munster can in no way be relieved by Hopper, for by land there are no means for any to pass, without a great and strong army, and by sea the winds are very uncertain, and the passage much frequented by pirates. Prays that Hopper's place of residence may be appointed at Cork. —Cork, 1598, February 1. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

Feb. 2.
Cork.

30. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his last yesterday, received the enclosed from the Mayor of Limerick. It is written by Justice Goold. The English Captain and the Spanish gentleman therein mentioned were taken in the ship in the river of Shannon, of which he formerly advertised. The Englishman is named Davies, one of Plymouth, and affirms he had been long before prisoner in Spain. Cannot learn the name of the Spaniard, but he pretends to have a brother prisoner in England, and was purposed to repair thither to sue for his enlargement. He reports that he had letters to Sir Robert and the rest of the Privy Council, which were taken from him by one Tieg Keogh M'Mahon, a traitor in Thomond. They intend to take their journey to Galway, and so, through Connaught, to Dublin, and from thence into England. A couple of pinnaces might do great service by lying up and down in the Shannon, and thereabouts. Would willingly repair to Limerick, but cannot without apparent hazard.—Cork, 1598, February 2. *Signed. p. 1. Incloses,*

30. 1. The Mayor of Limerick to Sir Thomas Norreys. He may learn of the bearer the news of the English Captain and of the Spanish gentleman; also of the rescue of their ship. Is advertised that the Spaniard delivered in private that there are 8,000 men ready at the Groyne, under the command of a nephew of his, for the purpose of coming into Munster; and they bring great

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preparation for battery. O'Neill's bastard [Con] is come into O'Carroll's country, where he has done his will without resistance, saving that O'Carroll refuses to join him; his company is 2,000, and M'Brian says that he is coming thence into Limerick. O'Donnell is in Connaught. His purpose was to be at Lord Bremicham's yesternight, and to-night at Ardragh in Thomond, within eighteen miles of Limerick.—"ultimo Januarii, 1589" (sic; 1598). Endorsed by Justice Goold:—"Teig Keogh M'Mahon and O'Connor do keep this river, and, if there be any bark coming hither, she cannot pass; for they have a bark of fifty tons with four cast pieces, a galley, and three other boats. If it were possible to send some ship hither, she may do great service." [This letter is written on a very small slip of paper, so that it might be readily concealed.]

Feb. 3.
Dublin.

31. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Privy Council. James Ware arrived at Dublin on January 28, and delivered these two letters from their Lordships, both dated the last of December; the one consisting of directions for preparations to be made against the coming of the Earl of Essex, and the other for sending into Munster the sum of 4,000*l.*, and some quantity of powder and shot. Are right glad it has pleased Her Majesty to make choice of so worthy a nobleman as the Earl Marshal, for the government of Ireland. No industry or duty shall be wanting on their part for the furtherance of the service under him.

"And for putting in readiness of Her Majesty's houses of Kilmainham and this Castle of Dublin, with the rooms for lodgings, and stowage for his Lordship's use, against his coming, the same shall be performed with the best diligence we can, having for that purpose given present order to survey the ruins of Kilmainham, and to have them repaired; as, also, we have given scope to James Ware for the freeing of the Castle of Dublin, and to accommodate the rooms and lodgings for his Lordship's use, as he shall think best. And, for his better help, we have also given order to the Master of the Ordnance to remove such powder as is here, from the tower, where it was laid for safety before, to the old place of store always used for the office of the Ordnance, though with some hazard of danger and inconvenience, by reason it is directly under the public Courts of Law and Justice, within the Castle. And where your Lordships have very gravely noted that the stowage of all Her Majesty's store of powder and munition is directly under the same roof, where the ordinary terms are kept, and therefore dangerous, through the concourse of people having cause to follow their business there, in which respect your Lordships require us to take present order for the terms to be kept in some other convenient place in the town; we know not for the present of any means to remove the terms out of the Castle, for that there is no place that can be aptly accommodated for that purpose in the town, but with great charge to Her Majesty in new building the same, and long search of time, by reason the places must first be purchased, and afterwards made fit for that use, and all at Her Majesty's expenses,

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Nevertheless, we see not that there will be as yet any great danger by the terms, for that as, through the troubles in the realm, they have discontinued lately, so, by the same necessity, they are like to be put off still, till it shall please God to send calmer times."

The Lords Justices' portion of the port corn belonging to the State shall be reserved for the Earl of Essex. Only some small tithes have been passed away. Will assist James Ware in taking up any other provisions.

Touching Sir Thomas Norreys's charge that he had received neither money nor munition from them out of the treasure and store lately sent from England, they have been as willing and diligent to have him supplied with those provisions as they could, but the danger of the ways was too great by land, except with such a convoy as they could not spare, as they were driven to depend upon the wind to send by sea the said provisions, together with the requisite officers. The weather did not serve until the 25th of January last, so there has been no fault on their part.

Sir Arthur Savage, with his regiment of 1,000 foot, arrived four days ago. Are now in hand to despatch him with all speed into Connaught. With him came one ship of Hamburg, freighted with corn and other things, the other bark that came with her having, about the Lizard, slipped away by night into Spain, but whether by consent of the pilot, or other compulsion, they know not. Are now giving order to have the goods unladen and inventoried, and will send by their next a particular report. On January 28 arrived the 10,000*l.* last sent out of England. The Treasurer will, ere it be long, send a perfect certificate of the issue thereof, as well as of the 12,000*l.* sent in December last. He will also send at the same time a book of the state of the army.

Ormonde's continued absence from Dublin. The service there now is of the greatest moment in Ireland. Heard nothing from Sir Thomas Norreys of his proceedings in Munster till about three days past, he wrote somewhat of the raising of the siege of Kilmallock, "not worth the transcribing to your Lordships."—Dublin, 1598, February 3. *Signed. Endorsed:*—Received at Richmond the 11th. *pp.* 3.

Feb. 3.
Dublin.

32. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. The delay in sending the 4,000*l.* to Munster caused by contrary winds. The arrival from Chester of 10,000*l.*, parcel of the 30,000*l.* assigned for the service of Ireland. Coming of Sir Arthur Savage and his regiment from Bristol. Further treasure for Munster. Out of the 10,000*l.* has sent 1,500*l.*, as directed, to Sir Conyers Clifford for provision of victuals, and also a further sum for the payment of his own entertainment and for the Connaught garrisons.

"It may please your Honour, the troubles of this land diminish not, but rather increase. For, even about this town, as in all other places, some rebels in small numbers are nightly very busy, burning and taking small preys. We have some intelligence that they purpose to do all the mischief they can before the arrival of my Lord Lieutenant, which my Lords Justices (my Lord General not

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being yet come hither) have care to prevent as much as they may. Yet are the numbers of them so great, and they are so generally dispersed in all parts, as it is not possible to prevent their spoil by burning and preying in the night, which a very few of them may do."

Prays for his revocation. Ormonde's letter of January 28, referring to another he wrote on January 26. The latter has not come to hand, nor can they learn who was the messenger. "By his foresaid letters of the 28th of January, he writeth that the rebels in that part where he is are so strong that without danger to the service he cannot as yet come hither."—Dublin, 1598, February 3. *Signed.* pp. 2½.

Feb. 3.
Dublin.

33. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Tyrone's base son, who entered Leinster with a force of 800 or 900 of the Ulster traitors, has been since in most of the Irish countries of Leinster, taking pledges of some to join with them, and spoiling others of their cows and wealth, whereby they have greatly strengthened Tyrone's side, and much enriched themselves. Now they are drawing towards Westmeath to make spoil there, and so into Meath itself to lay all waste so far as they go. Doubts they will not hang long upon this pilfering course, but will take their time to attempt some notable exploit before the coming of the Earl of Essex, whom they hear to be appointed for the government of Ireland. "And it is usual with all rebels of this country to take the opportunity of the change of the Governor to do all the mischief they can, but they have a greater commodity to strike some dangerous blow, if Tyrone shall either break into the Pale himself, or thrust up his brother Cormack with more forces to strengthen the bastard further, a matter which I greatly doubt."

The victualling of the fort of Maryborough by Ormonde. Losses of the rebels; "Sir Henry Power shot into the forehead, the bullet sticking there still, but with no danger of life."

The bearer, Hugh Collier, has received 10*l.* for carrying this packet. Considers this sort of charge to Her Majesty might cease. Leaves the restraint thereof to Sir Robert.—Dublin, 1598, February 3. *Signed. Endorsed:*—Received at Richmond the 11th. p. 1.

Feb. 5.
Dublin.

34. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Having lately received direction for licensing the Earl of Kildare to repair to England when he should require it, and the Earl having now proposed to take his journey to the Court, begs to accompany him with his letters to Sir Robert. Has known the Earl from his childhood to be of a very good and honourable disposition. Can bear witness of his good and dutiful regard at all times toward the State. Doubts not (if the Earl's ability were equal to that of his ancestors) he would before this time have given testimony of his forwardness to advance Her Majesty's service; but such is his present estate, by the division of the Earldom betwixt his mother and his two sisters, the ladies dowager, that he has in a manner left him only the bare title of nobility. Commends the Earl to Sir Robert's favour.—Dublin, 1598, February 5. *Signed.* p. 1.

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Feb. 5.

35. "Instructions for Captain John Goyte, one of the Commissioners for taking up of shipping for the transportation of Her Majesty's army into Ireland." Signed by the Earl Marshal alone.—1598-9, February 5. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 114^b, 115. *Copy*. pp. 1½.

[Feb. 5].

36. Similar instructions for Captain Robert Davies sent to Chester, Liverpool, and other ports thereabouts. Signed by the Earl Marshal alone. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 115, 115^b. *Copy*. pp. 1½.

Feb. [5.]

37. "A schedule of the counties from whence 3,000 men were levied for the service of Ireland, in the month of February, 1598." Giving also names of Captains and ports of embarkation. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 115^b, 116. *Copy*. p. 1.

Feb. 6.

38. "Intelligences sent to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, sent with the letters of the Justices and Council, of the 6 of February," 1598-9.

Meeting of the intelligencer and Tyrone at Durrogh. Tyrone made small account of his news, saying he was sure that Essex never meant to arrive at Carrickfergus; that if any English forces were sent that way they would land at Lough Foyle; that the speech of the Spanish peace was but a dream of them that wished it were so. Tyrone would suffer none to be present at these speeches but his priest, Robert Arthur, *alias* Chamberlain.

Conference between Sir Charles O'Carroll's messenger and Tyrone. Thinks by the sequel they did not agree, for the next day Tyrone sent out 1,200 light shot, with a proportion of horse, into O'Carroll's country, with commandment to burn and spoil all they could, to kill all they found bearing, or able to bear, arms, and to bring the prey of that country to his camp. If their prey did fly they were to follow it, and not to return without the same.

Sir Terence O'Dempsey's priest came to procure safety for his master's country and people. He had answer that, unless his master came to Tyrone in person, or sent his sufficient pledge by the following Friday, he would be prosecuted by Tyrone with fire and sword. M'Laughlin seems to have submitted to the Earl, who also made an Omalaughlin, and offered to make Brian M'Geoghan the chief of that name, but Brian stood upon his guard, and would not come to him.

On Tuesday, Tyrone removed from Durrogh, marched to Fercall, and encamped at a place near Ralian ["Raleaghan"], or O'Molloy's house called Gortacorra ["Gortacurr"]. There he remains till this day or to-morrow, and goes from thence either through O'Carroll's country or Leix, and so to the Holy Cross, "where this holy relic is." There Desmond meets him for certain, and from thence they pass towards Waterford and those parts. Tyrone was exceedingly grieved at the late jerk given in Leix, and said that the Moores were but rascals, and it served them well.

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At the coming away of Kinkey, the intelligencer, on Wednesday, Tyrone had not made any O'Connor or M'Geoghan, but was to, before he left Gortacorra.

Tyrone has with him Maguire, Con (his bastard son), Henry Oge M'Shane, Henry Hovenden, and, by this time, O'Rourke. He has 3,000 foot, and between 300 and 400 horse. "He meaneth not to return to Ulster till May, unless he be beaten hence perforce, or drawn down by arrival of some English forces in the north." O'Donnell comes up into Connaught, but whether to meet Tyrone, or no, is not known. Loss of Sir Theobald Dillon's cows. Kinkey, when returning, met all the Connors and their partners going to Tyrone.

James M'Sorley Boy and O'Cahan are left to guard the sea coast. Brian M'Art M'Baron and Magennis keep all from Newry to Carrickfergus.

Cormack M'Baron, Art M'Baron, Tirlogh M'Henry of the Fews, M'Mahon, and they of the Brenny and Farney, are ready with a great army to invade the Pale. They stay till they can hear whether the Lord Lieutenant will fight with Tyrone, or no.

Tyrone himself, at Kinkey's coming away, heard nothing of the Lord Lieutenant's going southward, but expected his coming to Mullingar. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 8.
Kells.

39. Sir Samuel Bagenall to the Privy Council. That the remainder of the money due to him for the raising of the horse appointed to his charge, may, together with his bond, be delivered to Sir Thomas Egerton. The horse were duly mustered by Mr. Tudor and Mr. Ware, whose report has doubtless been received by their Lordships.

After his arrival in Ireland, was appointed, with the forces under his charge, to lodge at Kells, and the borders of the Brenny, and those parts northward, where, although he cannot signify any great service done by him, yet can assure their Lordships that there has been very little or no harm done by the enemy upon those parts, except some small nightly stealths.

"I am a mere stranger to these places where I now lie, and the people such as I dare not trust, so that I almost can attempt nothing, but it is discovered before the rising of my companies; yet, that my willing desire to do Her Majesty service might be known, and myself not to be thought altogether idle, I have had to do with my bad neighbours, both near and far off, although to no great effect, only this, that I made one journey into Magennis his country, where I took from him (Tyrone himself being in sight), a thousand cows, which I brought to the Newry with 60 horses and 120 foot, and there left them to relieve that place, which before was so distressed, that myself saw some of the soldiers of that garrison (drawn out for that service) fall dead in marching with very poverty and want of victuals. The greatest enemies that the soldiers have yet felt, hath (*sic*) been hunger and cold, by which means they are much weakened; for they have as yet, since their arrival in this kingdom, received but two months' entertainment,

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only they have had victuals in slender allowance, and they lodge on the ground without covering. Clothes they have none as yet, although they have been due to them long since, nor can get any, unless they will take half suits, which by no means they will accept." Error in distribution of the victuals first appointed for Lough Foyle.

Since his arrival in Ireland, the rebels are grown stronger by 5,000 men. Thinks this might well have been prevented. "There is no place in all the kingdom free from rebellion (the county of Dublin only excepted), and I doubt the rebels will much endanger this State and all Her Majesty's subjects, unless strong and speedy assistance be sent hither for their utter ruin. The forces here of Her Majesty are so weak and so dispersed, that they cannot join nor come together by any means, and those other men of this country, which have kept from joining with the public traitors, I fear do only stay to see what courses will be shortly taken."—Kells, 1598, February 8. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

Feb. 8.
Kells.

40. Sir Samuel Bagenall to Sir Robert Cecil. For payment to be made to Sir Thomas Egerton of the remainder of the money due for raising the company of horse appointed to Sir Samuel's charge.—Kells, 1598, February 8. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Feb 12.
Dublin.

41. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council to the Privy Council. Concerning a complaint against Captain Edward Fisher, lately commander of the garrison at Carrickfergus, and Captain Constable, for spoil committed on a French ship arrived in that town.—Dublin, 1598, February 12. *Signed. pp. 2½.*

Feb. 13.

42. "Places fit to settle garrisons in, in Ireland." Total of force 16,200 foot and 1,350 horse.—1598, February 13. *p. ½.*

Feb. 13.

43. The Privy Council to the Mayor of Bristol. For the finding of 18*d.* a day for each of the 100 horsemen under Sir Henry Davers, during their abode in Bristol for passage. The money shall be repaid on the Mayor's demand.—1598-9, February 13. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos, 116, 116^b. Copy. p. 1.*

Feb. [13.]

44. Schedule of 2,000 men levied for the service of Ireland; giving counties, numbers, names of Captains, and places of embarkation.—1598-9, February [13]. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 116^b. Copy. p. 1.*

Feb. 14.
Dublin.

45. Captain Thomas Reade to Sir Robert Cecil. Has already presumed to deliver his simple judgment on the state of Ireland, and on the course fittest to be followed in the prosecution of Tyrone, with the numbers both of horse and foot meet to be employed.

Since the first time that the traitor Tyrone entered into action, the war has been committed to the command of two Lords Deputy, Sir William Russell and Lord Burgh; two Lords General, Sir John Norreys and the Earl of Ormonde; and two Lords Justices, Loftus and Gardener; "four of them Captains of great experience and

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valour, all of singular judgment; and their travail and endeavour for the time past hath yielded Her Majesty no other fruit than an increase of her charge, a ruin of her army, a desolation of her Irish subjects, and almost a subversion of all her English inhabitants, and a general and treacherous combination through the kingdom.

"Now, Right Honourable, Her Highness having paid so dearly for her experience, and your Lordship in your singular wisdom, well weighing the mass of money which Ireland hath consumed, and the number of commanders and soldiers which it hath devoured and buried; I speak under the protection of your Honour's pardon; the gravity of that honourable table hath good cause well to consider and withal to advise, that my Lord Marshal, when he shall come into Ireland, be well attended with good numbers and troops of horse and a proportion of foot answerable, and withal means, especially of munition and victuals, and all other things appertinent; lest, hereafter, Her Majesty find, and your Honour see, that the event of this enterprise will breed little effect and small content, for many men's minds will attend the sequel of his proceedings, and there will be much more expected of my Lord Marshal, than hitherto hath been performed by others in great authority. For his Honour is held in regard for a most worthy Captain and grave Councillor, and there is conceived of his Honour's arrival a certain and sure re-establishment of the kingdom, wherein if the vulgar expectation be frustrated, the enemy, and many which now show themselves subjects, will assuredly all join in one action; and then their pride and strength will be such that there will be small hope of a recovery of the kingdom, but by the burthen of an infinite expense."

It is better for Her Majesty to be at an extraordinary charge for a limited time, with assurance of future good, than to be nourished with a hope and a continual prosecution and charge, which will discontent and impoverish her subjects of Ireland, weaken her forces of England, purchase Her Highness dislike, and harbour a daily conjecture of loss, which, if it happen, "will fall very heavy and prejudicial unto the kingdom." Whenever the Earl Marshal shall view and muster the army of Ireland, he will find it both weak and poor, especially in horse; "for there are many of them Irish and most unserviceable, and my Lord will find that the want of good horse will much hinder the advancement of the service in this action which he doth undertake."

Could allege many other causes for an extraordinary force, "as the late and unlooked for revolt in Munster, the daily disloyalty testified by divers, which do enter into action both in Leinster and in all parts of Ireland, the security of the cities, ports, and towns to be provided for, the fear of a disaster to be received, and to prevent the mischief of foreign invasion, and the blow of an unfortunate accident, which may befall." The time of chiefest service rests in the present employment of forces. It is reported that the army, which the Earl Marshal shall have at his command, is to consist of 14,000 foot and 1,000 horse.—Dublin, 1598, February 14. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 2.

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Feb. 14.

Dublin.

46. Ralph Birkinshawe to Sir Robert Cecil. The small time of his exercise in the musters in Ireland, and the difficulties hindering his intent for speedy discovery of abuses therein, have chiefly made him forbear acquainting Sir Robert with his proceedings. Nevertheless, being now newly returned from Navan, Kells, Ardee, and other places, besides Dundalk, sends the certificate of the musters (*wanting*), and, in his next, will send a perfect strength of all the forces in Ireland, except in Munster. Doubts not the course he has held stands for Her Majesty's benefit, and therefore trusts good allowance will be made thereof. "What trouble and pains I have had to bring the musters and payments of the Treasury to this pass, and what malice and dislike I have purchased, and still shall, in amending other men's errors, I forbear to write of, but leave it to your honourable consideration, and the amendment of that is amiss to be reformed hereafter, as God shall enable me, and my poor endeavour may do. For by reason that most men in these parts are wholly bent rather to seek their own private and inordinate desire of gain, before true and faithful service to their prince and country, as also want of severe justice to punish the disordered spirits of some, who, not contented with Her Majesty's most gracious allowance, prey upon the poor soldier, is sufficient cause to abate the courage of a lion, if he had to deal with them, much more, then, to shake in pieces such a poor creeping snail as myself. For in the number of the present soldiers appearing in the certificates, if your Honour might possibly see how many of them go barefoot and barelegged, all rent and torn, suffering the bitter storms of all weathers, it would move your honourable nature to pity them, and yet no cause for any want of Her Majesty's part, whose gracious allowance, both in lendings and apparel, is bountifully come, and would fully satisfy many companies; but, for the greedy desire of some about Sir Samuel Bagenall, they have suffered 1,000 suits of apparel to lie at Drogheda now more than seven weeks, and hitherto refuse to take that proportion which is set down unto them, and what they will do yet, I cannot certainly write; but I protest to your Honour it is so great a proportion as in all equity they ought to have for the time of their service in this country. But for these men's pleasures the poor soldier is mightily pinched, Her Majesty's forces greatly weakened, and the rebels very much encouraged; which, in mine opinion, is worthy to be looked unto. And further, I assure your Honour, if that some of these forces had but in any measure bestirred themselves roundly to serve upon the enemy, as they might have done, the enemy's pride might have been much abated; but only they have kept their garrison (and that 'but homlie neither'), and consumed the small substance of the poor people of the country round about, where they have leave, contrary to the meaning of Her Majesty, and order set down to the contrary." Thought to have made a start over, and to have acquainted Sir Robert with these abuses privately, but the Lords Justices will not suffer him to depart. Beseeches his countenance in these his proceedings, "because I am threatened to have many back-friends, when my Lord of Essex comes," and to be brought in disgrace with

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his Lordship.—Dublin, 1598, February 14. *Signed. Endorsed:—*Received at Richmond the 25th. *Seal. pp. 2.*

Feb. 14.
Dublin.

47. Ralph Birkinshawe to Henry Maynard, General Overseer of the Checks and Musters in Ireland. Has enclosed to Sir Robert Cecil the form of his certificates, according to the musters taken at Navan, Kells, Ardee, Dundalk, and other places; and knows Sir Robert will acquaint him therewith. His continual toil in the musters. Asks that he may hear from Maynard.—Dublin, 1598, February 14. *Signed. p. 1.*

Feb. 15.
Dublin.

48. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his last, has received some letters of intelligence, extracts wherefrom he sends herewith. They discover still the bad intention of Spain against Ireland. Sees it urged greatly by frequent solicitations of Tyrone, who has his instruments for that purpose in Spain. The extraordinary preparations made by the King of Spain bode some extraordinary exploit, intended against some parts of Her Majesty's dominions, which may be probable by the stirring disposition of the young King, who, in the first entry into his government, may think it honourable to revenge his father's quarrels against Her Highness.

"For the civil dangers within the realm here, they do daily increase by the falling away of some of the Irishry in Leinster, and yet, I cannot but think that some of them are thrust out rather through compulsion and violence of the traitors, than of their proper motion, if they were in case to defend themselves. And other is not to be expected of them, till they see Her Majesty strong in the field, able to pull down the pride of the traitors, and preserve them."

The Earl Errol, Great Constable of Scotland, is an instrument underhand to support Tyrone, which cannot be without the King's privy and consent. Has always doubted in the matter, and has advertised Sir Robert therein from time to time.

It is high time the Earl of Essex were in Ireland. His provisions should come either before or with him. Otherwise it will be very inconvenient for him to command a poor, weak, and naked army.—Dublin, 1598, February 15. *Signed. p. 1. Incloses,*

48. i. *Extracts from a letter in cipher, directed to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and dated 6 February 1598. The information is given by an Irish priest.*

He was in Brussels, when the news of the overthrow at Armagh was brought thither, and says that the Cardinal and the Irish there rejoiced at it.

In Spain, Sir William Stanley, and the English Jesuits greatly dissuade the sending of forces into Ireland; and, for that cause, there is great contention between the Spanish seminaries and them.

The Cardinal at his coming away gave him forty dollars, and, as he came through Scotland, the Earl Errol gave him forty shillings, and the King of Scots gave him four pounds. It seems

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that the King of Scots bears secret affection to Tyrone and his actions.

He received many letters from Tyrone and Friar Nangle, with charge to go over sea and deliver them. The letters were to Pope Clement VIII., the King of Spain, the Archduke Albert of Austria, and one, "*Jacobo Auserio de Societate Jesu*," the rebel that follows the matters of Munster, and is called Mr. White by a counterfeit name.

He carried two letters directed to Captain Oliver Eustace at Brussels, and one letter directed to Doctor Lambert at the same place, both these persons being Irishmen.

"I know not what the contents are, neither can I get from the rebels, that have me now in guard, to come to your worship, but, if I can free myself from them, I will either come to you, or send you the letters, if I can possibly; yet I fear these rebels will not leave me, till they have put me into a ship to go my ways. I have sent your worship in the meanwhile the Earl Errol's passport, signed with his hand and seal, which he gave me for my safe passage through Scotland into Ireland. I cannot send your worship word as you desire, where I shall take shipping, for that I am sure I shall not know the same myself, till I be put aboard the ship, and then it will be too late, but at my return you shall know all news, both what I carry with me, and what I bring with me back again."

To the foregoing are added:—

"Spanish advertisements extracted out of a letter written to Sir Geoffrey Fenton from a merchant of Wexford, dated 28 January, 1598."

There is one, Hugh Boy, who bears the name of Tyrone's Ambassador. He solicits at the Court of Spain to have 6,000 Spaniards sent into Ireland this year. He is near the obtaining of his suit, and will land with the men, some at Limerick and some at Carrickfergus. He brought into Spain the first news of the killing of the Marshal.

General restraint throughout Spain of all Flemish ships. Three hundred sail reported to be stayed. Heard that 40,000 men were to be made ready in Andalusia, and 40,000 more in Portugal, but knows not for what purpose. The young King has altered many of his Council; only such as are fit for the wars are in estimation with him. Don Pedro de Toledo, who was General of the galleys in Andalusia, is displaced, and the Adelantado put in his place. Three fleets to be made ready. The Adelantado is preparing one in the bay of Cadiz; the Duke of Medina, one at San Lucas; and another is being made ready at Lisbon. Thirty galleys are to come from Naples to Cadiz, with 8,000 soldiers. In Cadiz there are already 1,000 (sic; ? 10,000) soldiers, and yet they stand in great fear of the English fleet. There are about 200 Englishmen in Cadiz, all chained, and carrying lime and stones, to fortify the city. pp. 2.

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Feb. 16.

Dublin.

49. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Even now Mr. Birkinshawe returned from his circuit for mustering of the garrisons at Dundalk, Kells, and other parts of the north borders. And acquainting me with his proceedings, I find that, of 2,400 foot within that limit, there are 800 deficient; and I fear the residue of the whole army will yield no better, being viewed truly and thoroughly. So as your Honour may see how requisite it is that these deceits be reformed, and some of the deceivers punished in example of the residue; otherwise, Her Majesty will be still robbed in her purse, and betrayed in her service. The remedy of this is, that either the Lord Deputy who is now to come over do call these frauds to a strict account, and countenance Birkinshawe against the malice and murmur of some captains, or else that your Honour in Her Majesty's name do encourage him from thence, with direction to the Lord Deputy and State to reprove sharply such as shall of malice impugn his doings. Birkinshawe is desirous to make a start thither, as well to solicit a reformation in these abuses, as to acquaint your Honour with some other requisite matters greatly concerning Her Majesty's profit, which he cannot so plainly explain by letters as if he were there himself; for that some of them reaching to the issuing of Her Majesty's treasure, and expending of her victuals, there is no other way (as I find by him) to satisfy Her Majesty in those points, than to be present himself, to open all parts and circumstances depending thereupon, the consideration whereof I leave to your Honour, it being in my opinion a very good service to have these abuses discovered and remedied."—Dublin, 1598, February 16. *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond the 24th. p. 1.

Feb. 16.

Dublin.

50. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. "The tediousness of the brokenness of this lost kingdom, in the daily confusions of it." Sends a brief total of Her Majesty's monthly charge, as now it standeth. Intends to send the same at large by Charles Hunt, Sir Henry Wallop's servant, together with the book of the half-year's charge, with the checks comprised in the same.—Dublin, 1598, February 16. *Signed. p. 1. Incloses,*

50. 1. "*A breviat of Her Majesty's monthly charge in the realm of Ireland.*" Total, 15,038*l.* 16*s.* 0*½d.*—1598, February 17 (sic). Signed by Sir Ralph Lane. p. 1.

Feb. 24.

51. "The stages of the new posts laid for the service of Ireland;" being posts by way of Holyhead, and posts by way of Bristol Total for the former, *per annum*, 634*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; for the latter, 273*l.* 15*s.* The post at Holyhead had a yearly allowance of 130*l.*, "as well for serving the packet by land, as for entertaining a bark to carry over and return the packet."—1598, February 24. *Signed by Lord Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue. Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 117. Copy. p. 1.*

Feb. 25.

Richmond.

52. "An establishment expressing the number of all the officers and bands of horse and foot, appointed for a new army in the realm of Ireland, together with their several entertainments by the day

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month, and year; the same establishment to begin and take place from the first day of March in this 41st year of our reign." The calculation is for 1,300 horse, distributed into 26 bands, and 16,000 foot, distributed into 160 bands. The total, including the charge for extraordinaries, is, 277,782*l.* 15*s.*—Richmond, 25 February, 41 Eliz. *Signed by the Queen. Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 127-128. Copy. pp. 2½.*

[Feb. 25.
Richmond.]

53. "A list of divers officers and servitors not contained in the establishment." Total, 13,886*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*; but *Sir Robert Cecil has inserted some marginal notes in the Entry Book, showing that some of the charges are unnecessary.*—[Richmond, 1598-9, February 25.] *Signed by the Privy Council. Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 128-129. Copy. pp. 2½.*

Feb. 25.
Richmond.

54. "The Privy Seal for payment of the army according to the two former lists."—Richmond, 1598, February 25. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 129^b-131^b. Copy. pp. 5.*

Feb. 28.

55. "The charge of the army in Ireland for one year and five long months before the Earl of Essex his time, begun primo Octobris, 1597, and ended ultimo Februarii, 1598." Total, 250,963*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* *p. ½.*

Feb. 28.

56. A brief declaration of the fees, wages, and allowances belonging to sundry noblemen, officers of Courts, and others in the realm of Ireland.—1598, February 28. *Signed by Richard Linch, the Deputy Auditor. pp. 6.*

Feb. 28.

57. Captain Thomas Lee's warrants and reckoning to the last of February, 1598, whereupon remaineth due, 284*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* *Signed by John Browne, paymaster for Leinster. pp. 2.*

Feb.

58. Articles against Captain William Warren. Secret traitors have hindered the Queen's service in Ireland: of these, Captain Warren is the chief friend to the Earl of Tyrone. He gave Tyrone counsel to break down the bridge and fort of the Blackwater, which the Earl did shortly after. The counsel was given in the time of Sir William Fitzwilliams, late Lord Deputy, when Tyrone and Warren supped one night at Dublin in the house of one Mr. Bedlow. Warren also counselled Tyrone to hang Hugh O'Neill, son of old Shane O'Neill, because he knew their secrets. This Hugh was one of the Queen's pensioners in Ireland, when he was hanged by Tyrone, who received pardon for the same. After this murder, Warren counselled Tyrone not to come in to the Lord Deputy, and so Warren conveyed the Earl away out of the house of one Westall, a merchant in Dublin, provided a ship, and in the night sent the Earl away, willing him in any wise to bring over from England as many culivers and muskets as he could get, with lead and all other necessaries. Warren to be asked if Tyrone was with him at his house near Dublin with a seminary priest called Mountford, who had received letters from Spain, and who delivered to Warren a letter that came from one Bath, Warren's son-in-law, who fled to Spain about ten years past, and is a Jesuit.

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Whether did not Warren, about a year past, receive into his said house two Jesuits, clothed in churls' clothing, who came with letters from the Earl of Tyrone, and, after he had kept them certain days secretly in his house, provide shipping, and so convey them into Spain?

Whether did not Warren receive a letter from Art M'Baron, brother of the Earl of Tyrone, about the 20th of November last, by an Irishman, whom he "preferred" to Tyrone about two years past?

Whether did not this Warren bring to his house by Dublin one of Tyrone's pledges, and give him a good horse, and will him to ride to the Earl with all speed, and say that Warren would, for colour's sake, ride after him to take him again? But his coming was to speak with the Earl, and let him understand the secrets of the State. The pledge's name was Hagan, foster-brother's son to Tyrone. This was done in the latter end of Sir William Fitzwilliams's last being in Ireland, when Warren was discharged of certain horsemen.

Whether did not Warren, about that time, receive the sacrament from a Jesuit at Dungannon, together with Tyrone, O'Donnell, and Art M'Baron, and vow to be faithful to them? Warren had three horses given to him then.

Whether did not Warren, in Sir William Russell's time, send word from Dublin to Tyrone of the small number of Englishmen to go to the relief of Monaghan? At that time Tyrone was a traitor, and came first to fight with the English forces. Lord Burgh told Warren at Newry, that he should answer for things that might cost him his head. This treachery was known by Warren's own men, with whom he fell out. If he denies these articles, they can be proved by many. "His own heart doth bear witness against him." *Endorsed*:—"1598, February. A libel against Captain Warren, thrown into my master's [Sir Robert Cecil's] chamber at Whitehall." pp. 2.

[Feb.] 59. Memoranda with respect to the commission for the Lord Lieutenant [Essex].—1598, [February]. p. ½.

Feb. 60. "Schedule of the counties from whence 3,000 men are levied for Ireland, in the month of February, 1598;" giving also the names of Captains and the ports of embarkation. p. 1.

[Feb.] 61. Nicholas Curteys to [Sir Robert Cecil]. The request of the President of Munster by his letter is, that it would please his Honour to protect Curteys against wrong and injury. Has served long in Ireland, "in that poor and troublesome place of Clerk of the Council of Munster," and held his state therein "upon the trust of Lodowick Bryskett and Edmund Spenser (men not unknown to your Honour)." Was for the same drawn to such conditions as took up his whole estate in England, which was then of good value. "Now, by this rebellion I have had all burned, and taken from me. The said Lodowick Bryskett, to press me down to the lowest degree of misery (Edmund Spenser being lately

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deceased, the mean and witness of our mutual trust and confidence), goeth about to take away the said place also ; which if he shall be suffered to do, by reason of my weakness and hard fortune, I having framed myself wholly, and those poor parts God hath given me, unto that service, I shall remain the most distressed man that liveth." ¶Craves relief.—[1598-9, February.] *Holograph.* p. 1.

March 2.

62. "A note of all such principal natures of munition as were sent into the realm of Ireland in March 1598-9, and to what places of the kingdom they were divided, together with their names, who took charge of the same, by warrant from the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex, dated the second of March 1598." *pp.* 2½.

March 4.
Richmond.

63. The Privy Council to Sir Henry Wallop. Understand by letters from Sir Thomas Norreys that Wallop has sent his Deputy for the paying of the forces in Munster to Waterford, and has directed him to forbear any payment to Norreys or his company, "under pretence" that the President receives the revenues from the undertakers and the composition of the Province. Wallop is to send the Deputy, as heretofore he hath been directed, to Cork.

"For the other caution you have given your Deputy, it doth appear the same doth proceed rather of spleen than any sound reason ; for Sir Thomas Norreys doth allege that you have his last accounts, by which it appeareth that he hath nothing in his hands, and the lands being overrun with the rebels, as he reporteth, [there] is little likelihood of anything to be received. But, howsoever it might be, you, in your discretion, do know that the Province is to be maintained by forces, and they cannot be kept to do service together without due payment." Therefore Wallop is to pay them according to the weekly imprests and entertainments appointed for them.—The Court at Richmond, 1598, March 4. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 117^b, 118. *Copy.* *pp.* 1½.

March 4.
Ross in Carbery.

64. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. The occasion of his repair to Ross, and the advertisements he has received since his arrival there, may appear by the enclosed (*wanting*). Thought it not fit to write so much to the rest of the Lords, but is of opinion that as yet there are not any Spaniards landed. According to general report, they have been long and assuredly expected by the traitors. Therefore it will be most convenient that some speedy means be made against them. His assistance to the inhabitants of Carbery in their late encounter with the traitors. Florence M'Carthy's brother was heretofore sworn to the traitor Dermond M'Owen, and therefore it is to be doubted that he was the plotter of this late mishap, and that he himself is voluntarily taken prisoner. Hopes Sir Robert will detain Florence M'Carthy in England, until a quieter time.—Ross in Carbery, 1598, March 4. *Endorsed below the address*:—"Haste, haste, post ; haste, haste, post." *Holograph.* p. 1.

March 4.
Carrickfergus.

65. William Dobine, Mayor of Carrickfergus, [Captain] Maurice Gruffythe, and Moses Hill, Provost [Marshal], to the Privy Council. Have received their letter of the 17th of February, and have

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delivered to Sir Thomas Gerard's deputy the French ship called the *Cartelax*, of St. Malo's, in France, with her apparel and furniture, excepting some few small cords, which the bark of Chester, that carried away the wines, took. Have also delivered to the said deputy the master of the said ship; as for the captain and merchant, they were carried away by Captains Constable and Fisher and are, as they understand, at present in Dublin. To the rest of the French mariners they have given liberty, and passport to depart at pleasure. There were only three tuns of wine aboard, and no other commodities. With the price of the wines, they have paid the soldiers' wages and the charges of the Frenchmen.—Carrickfergus, 1598, March 4. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 5. 66. Sir Thomas Norreys to the Privy Council. Was lately Ross in Carbery. advertised by M'Carty Reogh, Lord of Carbery, that one William Burke, a Connaught man, with 400 more in his company, came into Carbery, to force into rebellion both him and the rest of the gentlemen of that country. These assembled and overthrew the enemy. M'Carthy's eldest son, and Dermott Moyle M'Carthy, brother of Florence M'Carthy, were taken prisoners, and thirty others were slain. The people of Carbery sought for relief and defence, and, considering that the country was large, populous, and rich, Sir Thomas repaired with the seven companies placed in Cork, with three out of Kinsale, together with his own fifty horse, to Ross, in Carbery, where he arrived on Sunday, the 4th instant. Received the enclosed copy this morning. It was sent him by the Mayor of Cork, who, he hopes, has sent the same to their Lordships, having better conveniency from Cork than Sir Thomas has from Ross. Was advertised before his coming forth, and has it daily confirmed since, that James FitzThomas is drawing with his force into those parts, purposely to second the Burkes. Intends not to make any hasty retreat, until he hears more certainly from Dinglecush; not doubting, despite both the Spaniards, if they be landed, and the traitors, to bring off his men safe again to Cork.

On the 13th of February, there arrived from Dublin at Cork one Mr. Norton, Deputy to the Treasury, with 4,000*l.*; and on the 22nd of the same, there landed there, forth of England, one of Sir Henry Wallop's men, with 3,000*l.* At the same time came an officer of victuals, and some store thereof in five or six barks. On the 26th of February, their came to Cork another of the Treasurer's men, with 3,000*l.* more. With him came some apparel for the old companies. This he will have care to see disposed according to the ordinances, and will advertise thereof at better leisure.

On February 26, Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill landed at Cork with certain English geldings, bought by Sir Thomas for the reinforcing of his troops. He said that, six weeks before his coming from Bristol, there were certain horsemen, assigned for the service in Munster, ready to be shipped. Albeit the wind has served well since, they are not yet arrived. If they had come, they might have done good service.

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Has forborne to make any answer to their Lordships' letter of November 28th, received on December 11; for, since the receipt thereof, he has had neither means nor opportunity to visit the principal port towns. "If any foreigners should arrive in any town, where they are not overmastered, I do assure myself there will be found little resistance."

By a letter from the Earl of Thomond (who long since arrived at Waterford, and from thence went to the Earl of Ormonde), understands that he had some letters from their Lordships for him. Has received none, since the above on the 11th of December. Prays for the speedy sending away of the forces for Munster.—Ross, 1598, March 5. *Signed. pp. 2. Incloses,*

66. 1. *Copy of a letter from one John Archdeacon to Lord Barry, sent by his Lordship to the Mayor of Cork, and by him to Sir Thomas Norreys.*

"Here went by the morning Dermott O'Connor's messenger, who departed (as he saith) Dinglecush upon Wednesday last, being the last of February, where he left James FitzThomas and Morrice M'Shane, who arrived there with 2,000 Spaniards and good store of munition. Himself hath seen within the town of Dingle about one hundred of the Spaniards, but Morrice he saw not; which I thought meet to advertise your Honour. The messenger reported also that the Connaughts in Carbery had the killing of M'Carty Reogh's son, O'Donovan, Sir Finnin O'Driscoll's son, Dermott Neill M'Carthy, and Teig O'Norsy's son; and Teig O'Norsy himself taken prisoner." Refers to the bearer for the whole state of the country thereabouts.—Buttevant, 1598, March 2. *Attested as a true copy by Sir Thomas Norreys. p. 1.*

March 6.
Richmond.

67. The Privy Council to the Mayor of Bristol, Edward Gorge, and Samuel Norton, Esquires. The muster by them of the 100 horse under the charge of Sir Henry Davers. Ask for their certificate of the muster, as none as yet come to hand, nor of the muster of the horse under Sir Anthony Cooke and Sir John Brooke. Either there has been negligence on their part, or their letters have miscarried. Desire to know whether the said horse have embarked and departed from Bristol.—The Court at Richmond, 1598, March 6. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 118. Copy. p. 1.*

March 7.
Richmond.

68. Queen Elizabeth to Sir George Carey. To pay to the Earl of Essex, her Lieutenant of Ireland, and his companies of 50 horse and 50 foot, such entertainments as are contained in the establishments signed by her and the Privy Council; and to let the Earl have an imprest of two months' pay; if he demand it. Also to pay him the allowance of 1,000*l.* per annum, out of the composition of the Pale, usually given to the Lords Deputy of Ireland. To pay the customary entertainments to the Lords Justices and the Lieutenant of the army. And further, to pay the allowance of 20*s.* per diem appointed to "our late Treasurer, Henry Wallop, Knight," during the time of his stay in Ireland.—Richmond, 1598, March 7. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 134^b, 135. Copy. pp. 1½.*

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1598-9.
March 7.
Cork.

69. Dudley Norton to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir Henry Wallop has chosen him as his Deputy, to receive and pay within the Province of Munster. "It was long ere I could quit myself from Dublin, through contrariety of winds, with the 4,000*l.* appointed hither from that place. In the end, I departed thence the 27th of January, but could not claw this coast till the 13th of February." On the 22nd, Cobb, a servant of Wallop's, brought 3,000*l.*, and on the 26th, another of his servants, the bearer, Mr. Parkins, brought 3,000*l.* more. Mustering of the companies, and his payments to them. The companies appear strong; they have hitherto been well garrisoned, and "little toiled." As decays have been, the Captains have had means to supply them out of the distressed English there, unto many of whom no other means is left to live, but by being "entertained." Will certify after the end of March. Difficulties as to certain imprests to the officers in October last.

The march of Sir Thomas Norreys to Ross Carbery, and the flight of the enemy. Norreys thought to have fallen suddenly upon them. He yet stays for defence of that part, and to assure it from revolt as well as he may. Thinks he will leave some garrison there, if the people prove worthy; otherwise, to bereave the enemy of relief, he will ransack the country ere he return. He sent Norton back from thence by sea. Arrived last night. Report of Spaniards landed at Dingle. Sends the bearer with a packet from Sir Thomas Norreys. The bearer's charges.—Cork, 1598, March 7. *Signed. Seal. pp. 3.*

March 7.
Dublin.

70. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Right Honourable. Mr. Birkinshawe having now passed through the army, by his own view, and by certificate of the Commissaries, hath gathered an exact estate of the strength of the whole forces, both how they consist in list, and what they are by poll; which collection he is now to send thither. And by it your Honour may see a strange difference between the numbers extant and the persons standing in list, the one being above 14,000, and the other scarce 10,000 men; whereby Her Majesty is charged in her pay with 14,000 and upward, and hath to answer her service in the field not fully 10,000. I have often dealt with Birkinshawe to make this collection, wishing him to do it so exactly as he would answer it upon his credit; wherein my meaning was, that Her Majesty and your Honours might see the true strength of the army for her service in the field, to the end that my Lord of Essex, before he come from thence, might consider by these great odds, how to supply the numbers there, and, before his coming away, to see how he may make up the deficiencies, to the full proportion standing in the lists; for, otherwise, his Lordship will be greatly disappointed, and Her Majesty continue still charged to pay shadows and not men. I wished Mr. Birkinshawe to send you a particular collection, the better to answer your Honour's turn, when these great frauds and differences should be drawn into question there; which I think he doth perform by this packet, and before, it could not be done (though I have both often and earnestly laboured him) by reason

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of many impediments, which he himself is to signify. And now that it is come, your Honour may see how Her Majesty hath been juggled withal hitherto in her musters, and how far her service hath been betrayed in the numbers of her soldiers. But the matter that seemeth most strange to me is, that her ordinary charge for the lendings of the army, amounting to 17,000*l. per mensem*, should rise out of so small a number as 10,000 men, which in truth is all that her Highness hath to fight in her service, though not all, by 4[000] or 5,000, which stand in list, for whom Her Majesty ought not to be charged with any pay, considering they are not persons serviceable.

“The remedy of these deceits must come from thence, for here the long impunity of the evil hath so emboldened and hardened the offenders, as the redress is not to be expected, but by a more severe industry than hath been used yet, and better countenance given to such of Her Majesty’s ministers here, as have laboured both in the detection and reformation of the matter, and for their pains have reaped no better than envy and hard opinion. Here are likewise many other matters, which, being better managed, would be greatly for Her Majesty’s profit, where now, in the course that is used, the profit being carried underhand to private men’s benefit, the discontentment both of the army and subject is greatly increased thereby; for, though Her Majesty, of her princely mind, doth still send hither round proportions of treasure, with precise direction to have it run only to the payment of the lendings, yet I see that Her Majesty continueth still greatly indebted to the army, and the country and towns not satisfied; which how it may grow, if there were a just distribution made of the money, I humbly leave to your Honour’s consideration, for it is beyond my reach. And my Lord of Essex, who I hear hath a meaning to sever the accounts of his time from any before, and to begin his charge from the last of February, though his Lordship have an honourable and wise meaning therein, seeking to keep the reckonings of his time upright, yet if his Lordship bring not money to pay the arrear of the army, the towns, and country, his Lordship shall find that their several clamours will greatly trouble him, and their importunities therein cannot but be holden just. I humbly desire your Honour that I may be secreted in this, otherwise I know my portion here, and hitherto I have had little comfort from thence.”—Dublin, 1598, March 7.

[*Postscript.*]—“Before I could send away this letter, I was written unto this morning, that the Earl of Ormonde had victualled the fort in Leix. All the rebels in Leinster were drawn into one head to impeach his Lordship, so as between them there passed sundry skirmishes as well coming as going, but the worst is fallen upon the rebels, and particularly upon Con O’Neill and his men.”—Dublin, 1598, March 13. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

March 9.
Richmond.

71. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and the Council. For the greater quantity of the victuals lately sent over to be kept until the coming of the Earl of

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Essex.—The Court at Richmond, 1598, March 9. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 118^b. *Copy. p. ½.*

[March 12. Westminster.] 72. "The Commission of Lieutenancy of Ireland for the Earl of Essex."—[Westminster, 1598-9, March 12.] *Latin. Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 120-126^b. *Copy. pp. 14.*

[*Printed in Rymer's Fœdera. There is a docquet of the commission in Volume 6 of "State Papers Domestic: Docquets."*]

[March 12.] 73. The principal points in the commission of the Earl of Essex as Lieutenant-General of Ireland. *With alterations in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.*—[1598-9, March 12.] *pp. 1½.*

[March 12.] 74. Draft commission, on parchment, empowering the Earl of Essex to repair to England on such occasion or occasions as he shall think fit, during the period of his Lieutenancy of Ireland, to report to Her Majesty on the state of that country. He is, with the advice of the Council in Ireland, to leave a sufficient Deputy in his place. *Examined and signed by Edward Coke.* [1598-9, March 12.] *One sheet.*

March 12. 75. Richard Rathburne, Mayor of Chester, to the Privy Council. Chester. Has received from the Mayor of Carrickfergus, Captain Maurice Griffin [*"Gruffythe"* in No. 65 above], and Moses Hill, Provost-Marshal, as well the body of Allin Brynlian, a Frenchman, merchant of the ship, wines, and goods, taken by Captains Constable and Fisher, as also a packet of letters addressed to their Lordships, with an indorsement that the same should be delivered to the Earl of Essex, should he be met by the way. Has also received a warrant from the said Mayor, Captain, and Provost for the safe sending of Brynlian to their Lordships. Accordingly sends him, and has hastened away the packet by the post. Prays their Lordships to give order for the satisfying of the charges incurred in sending Brynlian to them.—Chester, 1598, March 12. *Signed. p. ½.*

March 13. 76. "Ireland.—Several books of payments made by the Treasurer at Wars of that realm, and his ministers, towards the payment of Her Majesty's ordinary and extraordinary charges grown in the same realm by the space of one whole year, ended the last of September, 1598; together with the deduction of checks, victual, and munition made to Her Highness's use, and the arrear of the entertainments due and payable by Her Majesty within the same time."

Among the items are the following:—

"The Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, near Dublin, for the physician's fee allowed unto them by the State, until a physician shall be appointed, viz., for a year, ended ultimo Septembris, 1598.—40l."

"Dame Eleanor Bagenall, the late wife of Sir Henry Bagenall, Knight, Marshal, deceased.—Paid unto her Ladyship for money disbursed by her said late husband to Stephen Jennings, Clerk of the Works, towards the reparation of the Castle of Fedan, as by the said Jennings's bill of the 23rd of March 1597, the Lords Justices'

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warrant of the 14th of September, and the said Dame Eleanor's acquittance, *patet*.—61*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*"

"Thomas Fitzgerald, for bringing certain traitors' heads to Dublin, slain and sent by James FitzPiers, by warrant, 17 Julii, 1598.—66*s.* 8*d.*"

"Captain Richard Greame, in reward for bringing the heads of certain rebels, by him slain, to Dublin, by concordatum of the 30th of June, 1598.—9*l.*"

"George Thornton, by way of reward towards the victualling of the sailors that served in the *Popinjay*, for transporting the Lord Burgh's corpse into England, over and above Her Majesty's ordinary rates, in regard of the present dearth, by concordatum, 23tho Marcii, 1597[-8].—20*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*"

"Marmaduke Whitchurch, in reward, having lost six oxen and their furniture, that drew a piece of the ordnance in the Marshal's journey to Blackwater, by concordatum, 9^o Sept., 1598.—30*l.*"

"Sir Conyers Clifford, knight, Governor of Connaught, for the price of three butts of sack and six hogsheads of claret wine, by him sent to (*sic*) for supply of the army at Ballyshannon, and surprised by the rebels in an island near that place, by concordatum, 22^{do} Decembris, 1597, allowed unto him.—81*l.*"

"John Lee, servant to Sir Henry Bagenall, Knight, Marshal, for the price of 135 swords delivered to sundry old soldiers, that served in the said Marshal's journey to Blackwater, by concordatum, 2^{do} Augusti, 1598.—67*l.* 10*s.*"

"Robert Ratcliffe, mariner. Paid unto him, as so much given to him in reward, for bringing the corpse of the late Lord Deputy, the Lord Burgh, from the Newry to Dublin by sea, by virtue of a concordatum of the Lords Justices and Council, dated 30^o Decembris, 1597.—100*s.*"

Dated, 1598, March 13, and signed by Sir Henry Wallop. Bound in parchment. pp. 131.

March 14. 77. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Asked Mr. Maynard to
Dublin. present to Sir Robert the accounts of his service for the two half years, beginning 1 October, 1597, and ending 30 September, 1598. In this period his office was under his own absolute direction, and he gained for Her Majesty upwards of 21,000*l.* on an army consisting of only 8,000 in list, and costing Her Majesty during the said year 145,000*l.* Has thus surpassed all his predecessors, and answered the charges of negligence and insufficiency brought against him. Prays that he may be freed from the disgraces those imputations have laid upon him, and with which he stands still blemished.—Dublin, 1598, March 14. *Signed. p. 1.*

March 14. 78. Captain Thomas Reade to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his last,
Dublin. nothing has happened worth advertising, except the victualling of the fort in Leix [Maryborough], which was performed by Ormonde with an army of 2,000 horse and foot. There was some fight, but no great hurt on either side. Ormonde has retired to Kilkenny and Tipperary, the said army still attending him. Cannot deliver,

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what the effect of his journey will be. Since the victualling of the fort, the enemy have burned a few towns in Kildare. Tyrone has of late been very quiet, and now makes his abode for the most part upon the hither side of the Blackwater. Sir Conyers Clifford has repaired to Dublin, and there attends the Earl Marshal's coming. The 2,000 who came out of the Low Countries do much decay, for there are many of them sick, and they do die apace. Thinks the Earl Marshal will be much deceived in his opinion of the strength of the army of Ireland, when he musters it.—Dublin, 1598, March 14. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

March 15. 79. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends copy of a letter
Dublin. he has written to the Queen, and beseeches Sir Robert to second it.—Dublin, 1598, March 15. *Signed. Seal. p. 1. Incloses,*

79. 1. *Sir Ralph Lane to Queen Elizabeth. The proofs afforded by his late accounts of the injustice and untruth of the charges brought against him. Has surpassed his predecessors. Prays that his honest reputation may have such reparation as may in proportion counterpoise the indignities and disgraces that, not in hidden sort, but publicly, have been and still are, heavy upon him.—Dublin, 1598, March 15. Copy. pp. 1½.*

March 15. 80. Thomas Lalley to Robert Blake. Cannot resolve him more
Madrid. at this instant of that thing which he demanded, by reason that it is not resolved of as yet. To take or send the inclosed letter [*wanting*] to M^rWilliam, and Blake will have license to go to Madrid again with favour. Hopes to be able then to do him more pleasure than now. If anything grieves him, he is to advertise Lalley, who will do what lieth in him. To use diligence in delivering the inclosed letter, and he shall not be the worse for it. Blake will hear of him by the next post more at large.—Madrid, 1598, March 15. *Addressed to Blake at Seville. Copy. p. ½.*

March 15. 81. Thomas Lalley to David Kirwan. Incloses a letter, "to be
Madrid. delivered to the man to whom I have directed the other letter." To use great diligence therein. Kirwan will be sure to be safe and welcome at Madrid, on his return, if he brings "the man's [M^rWilliam's] answer" with speed. Hopes there to be better able to do him good. "Bring me news of all my friends, and such things as I willed you last."—Madrid, 1598, March 15. *Addressed to Kirwan at Seville. Copy. p. ½.*

March 16. 82. "The state of the several petitions and claims of Florence M^cCarthy and Nicholas Browne, to all the inheritance of the late Earl of Clancar." *A note is appended:—*"This cause was heard at the Court, the 16th day of March, 1598, before the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Buckhurst, and Mr. Secretary." *Signed by Sir Anthony Sentleger, and Sir Roger Wilbraham. Copy. pp. 1½.*

[March 16.] 83. Copy of the foregoing, without the note.—[1598-9, March 16.]
p. 1.

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[March 16.] 84. Petition of Florence M'Carthy to [Sir Robert Cecil]. Cannot pay the rent of 120*l.* asked for his country, nor reduce the people thereof to conformity, because, upon knowledge of that rent, they will judge that neither he nor they will ever be able to live thereby. That rent was but promised by Sir Valentine Browne, never paid; "no Irishman being ever heretofore so taxed, nor none there would take any land at that rate; the undertakers (who for want of experience or knowledge of that country promised it) being never able to pay it." Will be contented to take the country according to the value in the survey thereof by Sir Thomas Norreys and the Council of Munster, or for such, over and above the same, as the Solicitor-General of Ireland thinks he might pay. Desires that he may receive the provision of meal, butter, and flesh due to his father-in-law [the late Earl of Clancar] from certain septs in that country. All of those parts are out in action, and are able to make above 1,200 men in arms. All the means he had are consumed in his twelve years' imprisonment and suit, and all his country is spoiled through his stay in England. Although he can get men to recover the same, he is not able to arm, clothe, furnish, or horse any part of them, or to discharge himself from his imprisonment, unless he receive a convenient charge, and be well furnished and enabled by Her Highness.—[1598-9, March 16.]. *Endorsed by M'Carthy*:—"The humble petition of Florence M'Carthy." *One sheet.*

[March 16.] 85. Note by Florence M'Carthy [to Sir Robert Cecil]. *To the same effect as the preceding petition.*—[1598-9, March 16.] *Copy. p. ½.*

[March 16.] 86. Another copy of the preceding note.—[1598-9, March 16.] *p. ½.*

March 17. 87. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends copy just received of a letter from Mr. Edward Gough, of Clonmel, to Sir Nicholas Walsh (*wanting*). Sir Robert may thereby see the pride of the rebels, especially those of the clergy, and their traitorous hearts and practices against Her Majesty and the nation. It is given out that Creagh has been appointed Primate of Armagh by the Pope, and Archer, Archbishop of Dublin. "The gentleman that writeth the letter is accounted to be honest, but a papist, as generally all this nation are."—Dublin, 1598, March 17. *Signed. p. ½.*

March 18. 88. The Privy Council to Lord Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue. The increase of the army in Ireland "to a larger proportion than hitherto hath at any time been accustomed." The establishments signed by Her Majesty and the Privy Council. Rate set down for the payment of certain officers of the Chancery, Exchequer, &c., who heretofore have been paid out of the revenues of Ireland, "which during this tumult and rebellion may haply not be answered and paid out of the same, as in former times hath been." The warrant of February 25 (*see No. 54 above*) for defraying of all the foregoing charges. Estimate of 50,601*l.* 18*s.*, for twelve weeks,

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beginning March 1. Direct them to give an imprest for that sum to Sir George Carey, now appointed Treasurer at Wars in Ireland. Any amounts already advanced to particular Captains to be afterwards defalked.—[1598-9,] March 18. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 118^b.-119^b. *Copy*. pp. 2.

March 22. 89. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener
Richmond. and the Council. For the delivery of the sword to the Earl of Essex, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—Richmond, 1598, March 22. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 132^b, 133. *Copy*. p. 1.

March 22. 90. Queen Elizabeth to Sir Henry Wallop. Revoking him, and
Richmond. informing him of the appointment of Sir George Carey, of Cockington, co. Devon, as his successor. To stay for a time in Ireland, until the Earl of Essex gives him license to depart. Provision made for his entertainment.—Richmond, 1598, March 22. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 134, 134^b. *Copy*. p. 1.

March 22. 91. "Instructions for George Carey of Cockington, in the county
Richmond. of Devon, Knight, appointed by us to repair into [our] Realm of Ireland, with our cousin, the Earl of Essex, and to remain there as our Treasurer at Wars in our said Realm. Dated 22^o Martii, 1598, at Richmond." *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 135^b.-139^b. *Copy*. pp. 9.

March 24. 92. Sir Henry Wallop to the Privy Council. In answer to their
Dublin. letter of March 4 (*see* No. 63), states that by their letter of the 7th of November last, he was required to send a deputy to Waterford. This he did; and finding no mention in the said letter how the entertainment of the Presidency should be answered, but that the treasure should pay only the lendings to the forces then appointed to come from England, he wrote to Sir Thomas Norreys, advising him "in friendly sort" to procure a warrant from the Privy Council to Wallop. According to another letter from their Lordships of 2 December last, he sent 4,000*l*. to Cork, in charge of a sufficient deputy, but owing to contrary winds, the money did not arrive there until February 13. Having recalled the deputy from Waterford, he gave order to the one at Cork that the Lord President's footband should immediately receive the lendings like the rest of the forces, and that the entertainment of the Presidency should be answered as soon as warrant was received from their Lordships. Doubting that it might be some time before such warrant could be received, Wallop made suit to the Lords Justices and Council, and obtained their warrant for his satisfaction. "This I did (my good Lords) in love to my Lord President, whose friendship I have of long time embraced, without thinking, or having cause to think, of any matter of spleen." The accounts of Sir Thomas Norreys were not in his hands, when he sent his deputy first to Waterford. In the middle of February, Mr. William Clavell, an agent of the Lord President, came to Waterford from Cork, and arrived at Dublin about the 20th of February, being sent about the passage of the accounts, which are not yet in Wallop's hands, nor finished. Has been much wronged by the informations against him

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in this, as in many other like matters. Dublin, 1598, March 24.
Signed. pp. 2.

[March 24.] 93. Portion of a letter [to Sir Robert Cecil], requesting the immediate dispatch to Ireland of Sir Robert Napper and Sir Anthony Sentleger. After a long discontinuance, the terms begin to be revived. "And the last Michaelmas term, it was a hindrance of the subjects' causes that these two judges were absent. But if their places should be destitute this term, it would more discourage the subjects, and do harm to the Queen's affairs. For your Honour may guess what will be the proceedings of those Courts, in the absence of the Chief Baron, who is to stand for Her Majesty's revenues in the Exchequer, and when the Chancery is destitute of the Master of the Rolls, who is the only lawyer in that Court.— [1598-9, March 24.] p. ½.

1599. 94. Instructions for our Cousin and Councillor, Robert, Earl of
 March 25. Essex, Earl Marshal of England, &c., Lieutenant and Governor-
 Richmond. General of our kingdom of Ireland, &c.—Given at Richmond, 1599,
 March 25. *With alterations in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.* Copy.
 pp. 10½.

March 25. 95. Copy of an addition to the Instructions of the Earl of
 [Richmond.] Essex.—[Richmond], 1599, March 25. *Attested by Windebank.*
 pp. 2½.

March 25. 96. Another copy of the Instructions for the Earl of Essex.—
 Richmond. Richmond, 1599, March 25. *Attested by Windebank.* pp. 14½.

March 25. 97. Copy of an addition to the Instructions of the Earl of
 [Richmond.] Essex.—[Richmond], 1599, March 25. *Attested by Windebank.*
 pp. 3.

[March 25. 98. Copy of the clause in the Instructions of the Earl of Essex
 Richmond.] with reference to the conferring of knighthood.—[Richmond, 1599,
 March 25]. p. 1.

March 25. 99. Another copy of the Instructions for the Earl of Essex.—
 Richmond. Richmond, 1599, March 25. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 212-217.
 pp. 10½. *There is a note by Sir Robert Cecil's Secretary on fo. 133
 of the Entry Book, as follows:—"The Lord Lieutenant's instruc-
 tions are foreborne to be entered, but are remaining in my Master's
 private keeping."*

March 25. 100. "An Order agreed on by the Lords for license to be given to
 Richmond. such as the Earl Marshal shall nominate, to transport malt, beer,
 and oats into Ireland."—The Court at Richmond, 1599, March 25.
Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 119b, 120. Copy. p. 1.

March 26. 101. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. "After the
 Kilkenny. victualling of the fort of Maryborough (as in my last letters I
 signified unto you), upon certain intelligence brought unto me that
 Captain Michael Marshall, who had the command of the fort, was
 by some of his own company trained forth, himself with four others
 slain and cut off by the traitors, and that certain practices and
 treacheries were wrought by others of the warders within for the

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betraying of the fort, the traitors having provided ladders for the scaling of the same, as I was credibly informed; for which purpose all their forces in these parts of Leinster were assembled together; I could not but, with such forces as I gathered unto me, undertake the relieving thereof. And in setting forwards, the rebel in several places had made trenches and sconces to stop my passage; notwithstanding I made my way through them with no more loss of Her Majesty's soldiers (I thank God) than 10 slain, and some 13 hurt; having had the killing and wounding of 160 of the traitors, besides principal leaders and others slain and cut off, since my last certificate of the 18th of January, as in a schedule herewith sent may appear." Victualled the fort for nine weeks, drew forth such soldiers of Captain Marshall's company as he suspected, and left in their stead others of better trust, under the command of Captain Francis Rush. Pursued Con O'Neill into Ossory, killed one of his principal leaders and nine others, and preyed and burned much of the traitors' goods in those parts. Pretended then some service towards Donnell Spainagh's country, and, when the traitors drew that way, diverted his course to an important castle of Mountgarrett's, called Ballyne, manned with Ulster and Connaught men. This he took, and executed all the ward, save some nine persons. Then he left the castle well warded and furnished for Her Majesty's use. Two other castles of Mountgarrett's destroyed, lest they should be held for (*sic*) Her Majesty.

"I beseech you to take knowledge of the miserable estate of the companies employed in these parts of Leinster, for want of their clothes and other necessities, who are daily employed in Her Majesty's service, and very ill regarded by the Lords Justices, and, for these ten months past, never received but two months' lendings; nor so much as payment made unto the poor incorporate towns due for their diet, which hath brought them to extreme poverty; for redress whereof I have often by my letters solicited the Lords Justices, yet could I never be supplied from them, who have had the disposing of such means as have been sent hither for the relief of Her Majesty's army."—Kilkenny, 1599, March 26. *Signed.* pp. 1½. *Incloses,*

101. 1. "A note of such principal traitors and others as have been slain and executed by martial law, from the 18th of January, 1598, unto the 25th of March following, within the Province of Leinster." Total, 881. p. 1.

March 26.
Cork.

102. Sir Thomas Norreys to the Privy Council. Remained in Ross until the 16th instant, but could not hear any confirmation of the arrival of the Spainards. Compelled the traitors that invaded Carbery to withdraw, and took pledges of all the gentlemen and inhabitants, saving three, who refused to come to him. Caused their castles and houses to be razed, and their people and lands to be spoiled. Has taken order that M'Carthy [Dermott Moyle] and the rest of the country shall maintain at their own charges 300 men continually in arms. It is said that this Dermott Moyle does

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nothing without the counsel of his brother, Florence M'Carthy ; but could not get any particular proof thereof. Thinks it very convenient that Florence should remain in England.

Returned home through Kinelmeak, where the O'Mahons dwell, and burned all their corn, and spoiled the country. Purposes within a few days to march into the country of the Archtraitor, James FitzThomas, of Desmond. Has great want of horsemen. Understands they have been long at the seaside, and hopes daily for their arrival. Prays that some portion of the victuals may be directed to Limerick, whence the army, when in the field in that country, and the garrisons of Kilmallock and Askeaton are to be victualled. It will not be safe for any shipping to arrive in the Shannon until the traitors' galleys and other boats, wherewith they have lately taken several merchants' ships, are taken from them. Has not above twelve barrels of gunpowder. Of other munition or furniture there is none at all. Craves some speedy supply.

The victualler at Cork knows not what rates to lay down for the issue of the victuals, so the Treasurer's deputy cannot make due defalcation. Thus the soldiers cannot receive their due, to their great prejudice and discontent.

"The Captains by chance met in this town with the Bishop of Downes, a grave and learned preacher, who is very willing to employ his good endeavours amongst them, and they, in like sort, desirous to gratify him with a pay out of every band ; but the Commissary for the musters will not in any wise allow thereof, without your Honours' order, which, in respect that it is usual in all armies, and in hope that the grave man may do some good amongst us, I presume humbly to crave.

"The new companies having now served four months, and most of them being but thinly clothed when they came from thence, are now grown very ragged. May it, therefore, stand with your Lordships' good pleasure to order some apparel to be sent for them, before the arrival of which there will be due out of their entertainment, which is reserved to that end, so much as will answer it." Desires a certain allowance for extraordinary charges. Is debarred from the receipt of the entertainment granted to him. Prays that Mr. Justice Saxey may, with expedition, be returned to Munster.

There have arrived in Cork harbour, Sir John Brookes and Sir Anthony Cooke, with the horse under their charge ; also several barks of victual.—Cork, 1599, March 26. *Postscript*.—On the closing of this letter, there arrived two barks of munition in Cork harbour. *Signed. Endorsed* :—Received at Greenwich, 11 April. pp. 2.

March 26.
Cork.

103. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Encloses copy of Sir Henry Wallop's instructions to his deputy at Cork. Craves authority for disbursements in extraordinary charges. Payment of his own entertainment and that of his retinue forbidden in the instructions. Has not received one penny of the revenues due last Michaelmas. His charge much increased, and himself greatly

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disabled. Prays that he may receive his entertainment out of the treasure assigned to Munster. Arrival of Sir Anthony Cooke and Sir John Brookes with 100 horse. Received letters, dated 3rd December, from Her Majesty and Sir Robert, sent by the Earl of Thomond, who lies sick at Kilkenny. Sees thereby what course he is to hold with the White Knight, Patrick Condon, Donogh M'Cormack, and such others of the traitors, as are not maliciously combined against the State. Most of them have already made means to be received to favour, wherein they have proceeded more coldly, for that hitherto Her Majesty's forces have been unable to keep the field. Intends now to do this, although the strength and multitude of the traitors is such that, when he shall leave all needful towns and places guarded, the remaining forces will be hardly able to encounter them. Lord Roche, who has hitherto carried himself most peevishly and traitorously in this action, now that Sir Thomas is drawing towards him, seeks means of favour. Entertains him with hope, to see what he will fall unto. If it seem for the furtherance of the service, purposes to accept him, although he is of little force, and altogether unable to make any long resistance. Yet his precedent will be both an example and an excuse to others, who are willing to run the same course. Is in hope to reduce many of them to their former obedience, when they shall see Her Majesty resolved to follow the war both here, and in other parts of the kingdom, against such as persist. "This I know will be very displeasing to the English lately here inhabiting, who will never think themselves secure, so long as there is one of this country left alive, but, before it be brought to that pass, Her Majesty shall make too dear a purchase of the rents and services, which her Irish lands will yield. I know that I neither am, nor shall be, free from their injurious imputations, from which I most humbly crave to be protected by your honourable favour, until, in your Honour's judgment, you shall find cause to esteem me unworthy thereof. I protest unto God and your Honour, that it is an exceeding grief unto me to think on the insupportable charge that Her Majesty and the State of England must endure for this unworthy country; which if with the hazard or loss of my life, or by any my endeavours, I might be able in some measure to diminish, I should account it a high happiness."

Has received no answer to his demands of the Privy Council, viz., to have 500 foot and 50 horse sent to Dinglecush; to have some pinnaces appointed to guard the coast, and to take the traitors' boats and galleys in the Shannon. Arrival of two barks with munition.—Cork, 1599, March 26. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed:—*Received at Greenwich, 11 April. pp. 2 *Incloses,*

103. i. *Copy of Sir Henry Wallop's instructions to Dudley Norton, his deputy, for the payment of the army in Munster.—*1598, January 20. pp. 2.

[March 26.] 104. Note of the horse and foot in Munster, with names of officers.—[1599, March 26.] *Copy.* pp. 2.

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March 26. 105. Richard Rathburne, Mayor of Chester, to Lord Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue. Concerning a provision of salt for Ireland. Two ships of British salt arrived lately in Ireland. The lading of one was sold at 20s. a hogshead of sea measure, and the other was taken up by Mr. Newcomen, at the said rate or under. The price of the best sort of Wich salt will be about 30s. a hogshead, to be delivered in Ireland, "and yet the same (as I am informed) nothing so good as British salt for victualling."—Chester, 1599, March 26. *Signed.* p. ½.

[March 26.] 106. *Portion of some manuscript history.*

"Patrick Condon and his son followed the former rebels. This Patrick, a foul great lubber, was born when his mother was but eleven years old. He was in rebellion once before with David Barry. Notwithstanding, Her Majesty dealt graciously with them both, giving them both life and lands; yet this Patrick fell to lick up his former vomit of rebellion. He found himself grieved with Arthur Hyde, an English gentleman, whom the Queen's Majesty graced with great favours for his due desert. There was long suit between them in England and Ireland. This Patrick, being weak, was mightily backed by one Henry Pine, of Moghelly, an English gentleman, which furnished the Spaniards with pipe-staves, and Patrick with money, enriched himself, and forgot English sympathy. Patrick was still in his purse, James Desmond, his gossip, in his bosom, both traitors, and at length Henry suddenly goeth for England, leaving with them the charge of all he left behind (as it may be conjectured), to prevent the subsequent mischiefs which the former traitors afterwards practised. When the Lord Lieutenant General was in Munster, he sent his son and heir unto him with his submission, which was received, and shortly he came himself. This Patrick was then lame, for he and other rebels fell out, and there he took his maim."

M'Donogh, a rebel in Duhallow. Finnin M'Owen M'Dermond and the O'Mahons, rebels in Carbery.

"Patrick M'Morish, Lord of Lixnaw in Kerry, and his son, and Thomas Oge of the island. He [Patrick] wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, excusing himself, in June, 1598, that he was not able to come to the general hosting, neither perform the things expected at his hands. This Patrick, being in England, was greatly graced by Her Majesty. He was made a pensioner, and sent over into Ireland with letters of great credit, and employed in service of great trust. No sooner was he landed, but he went into open action. Shortly after he was taken, and brought to the Castle of Limerick, where he became, in dishonest sort, too familiar with the keeper's wife, and by her means made an escape. But she with her husband were recompensed for it shortly after, for they both lovingly hanged together. In a while after, this Patrick was taken again, and brought to the Castle of Dublin. Sir William Fitzwilliams, being Lord Deputy, had his hands oiled with the oil

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of angels, and away goeth Patrick. Last of all, this rebellion no sooner began, but he was as forward in action as the forwardest.

“Donnell M'Carthy, a bastard of the Earl of Clancar, once in rebellion before and pardoned, and Owen Oswlevan More, in Desmond. This Oswlevan excused himself for not coming to the general hosting.

“Maurice, Lord Roche, Viscount Fermoy, with all his country, together with David his son, as the Lord Lieutenant was certified the 21st of November. This Lord Roche practised with Captain Edmund Tobin's company, to repair to him, promising them good usage. David, his son, after a subtle sort, would be of his father's counsel, practise with the rebels, and make fair weather with the President.”

Lord Roche's letter to the Earl of Ormonde, dated “Castletown, the 18th of March, 1598.” The injuries offered him. His jealousy with Ormonde for denying his request for munition. Had written to the Earl of Thomond of his grievances, supposing he would acquaint Ormonde with the same. Received no answer, and knows not whether Thomond has so done. So thought good to signify to Ormonde how he has been “oppressed and mightily abused of the one side and the other. For it is well known that the Lord President, not content to usurp upon my lands, sought also mine own life very earnestly, spoiled my tenants, killed both men, women, and children, and hath been the only overthrow of this country and cause of revolt; all which I am able and ready to prove before your Honour or any competent judge. On the other side, by the adversaries' part, my whole country was ransacked and spoiled, without spare of churches, monasteries, no, nor so much as mine own mansion houses were left, without utter ruin and spoil of all that came to their hands, without spare of place or persons. If I should ask my Lord of Thomond what he or any reasonable man might do in this sudden and cruel perplexity, surely he would not answer with more indifferency than that, in such rare and sudden chances, men (by natural instinct) are to take the next means to preserve themselves and save their lives. It was time for me, where all the chattel[s] and goods of my country were taken, castles and towns were rifled [and] burned, the ward slain, and mine own life sought for, to look to myself in extreme necessity, being refused of aid and help, as your Honour and the Lord President know. I entered into no action, nor did anything against the duty of a loyal subject, if it be not disloyal to seek that is natural to every one, his own preservation, and to entreat for the same of an enemy.” Prays Ormonde's letters to stay the Lord President's proceedings against him, until such time as Lord Roche may justify himself. Expects a speedy and comfortable answer.

The Earl of Ormonde's answer to this letter, dated “Kilkenny, the 26th of March, 1599.” Has received his letters containing his excuse for entering into the condition wherein he now stands. Is sorry he has changed his name from a Viscount to a traitor. “There ought no cause to have drawn you into such action, and you may

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not but condemn yourself of the greatest folly that ever man of your sort entered into, who so well knew of Her Majesty's powerable forces, and that upon just complaint you be assured to have justice." Is glad he had no munition. Ormonde gave him a warrant at Cork for a barrel of powder. Lord Roche said he could not get it there, so Ormonde wished the warrant returned, that it might be revived at Waterford. Has heard nothing since from Lord Roche, so the allegation is frivolous, and does not serve his turn. Lord Roche had better put himself wholly on Her Majesty's mercy, which Ormonde sees no way to obtain but by his doing first some special service.

Edmund FitzGibbon, called the White Knight, John Barry, brother to David, Lord Barry, and others, rebels.

One paragraph, relating to Chief Justice Saxey of Munster, is struck out here, as it is given in a former portion of this history (see p. 326). A proverb is here added at the close of the paragraph, "When the thieves go to execution, the Judges ride away." pp. 4.

March 26.
Lisbon.

107. Sir Nicholas Gerrard to ———. The King's ship has returned to Lisbon owing to contrary weather. The Governor will not let any land. They will go with the first wind in their favour, for the King has commanded to be earnest in sending them away. Two ships from Ireland have come to Lisbon, one from Waterford, and the other from Limerick. Understand by them that all Connaught is at O'Donnell's commandment, except Galway. He burned and spoiled Roscommon, and came to Killaloe and the Shannon. Ormonde came and resisted them, so O'Donnell retired to his country with great spoils. "And when the Englishmen saw that O'Donnell was gone to his country, they came, five companies of the townsmen of Galway, and of the Englishmen, to make a prey on them that was (*sic*) in the country. And O'Donnell left a gentleman with 400 men, keeping the country, unknown to them that came from Galway; and, after the Englishmen had a great prey of cows with them gathered, they was (*sic*) met; and they shot a 100 muskets at the forepart of the cows which the English had, and the cows, with the noise of the shot, turned back on the Englishmen, and brake on them, so that there went not thirty of the whole company back to Galway. So there is no Englishmen in no place in Connaught, but only within the walls of Galway."

O'Neill is said to have 15,000 men; O'Donnell and others, 15,000 more. The Queen and O'Neill. His confederates refused pardon and lands, on condition of serving against him. If the King's ship return, there is good hope he will send a good army to Ireland this summer. Will write at large on the ship's return. Has asked certain to write to his correspondent. The Catholics in the north of Ireland and in Connaught till the land now better than ever they did hitherto, and the Englishmen durst not come to trouble them; for there is a sufficient keeping on the country, and the Englishmen are not able to meet them in the field. O'Donnell broke down

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the bridge between Killaloe and Limerick.—Lisbon [1599], April 5, [i.e., March 26 April 5.] *Holograph.* pp. 2.

March 27.
Chester.

108. Richard Rathburne, Mayor of Chester, Thomas Holcroft, Sheriff, and Sir Henry Cholmondeley, to the Privy Council. Have this day viewed 270 horse, provided by the Earl Marshal of England for Her Majesty's service in Ireland. "The choice whereof we find to be such, and so well furnished with riders and all other necessities, as at any time heretofore has not been presented to any of our views, nor seen in these parts of the realm." Other horse are expected, so cannot return further certificate at present.—Chester, 1599, March 27. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 27.
Richmond.

109. A general commission, addressed to the Earl of Essex, the Council in Ireland, and all other officers to whom it may appertain, granting licenseto the Earl to return to Her Majesty's presence at such times as he shall find cause. Essex had made suit for such license, "as well to see our person, as to inform us of such things as may be for our important service." The Queen is fully assured, "that you will never adventure any such return, until you have so settled things there, as no danger may rise by mean of your departure, and leaving our kingdom under the rule of any other, a matter whereof we command you to take special care, as you will answer it." The Earl, with the advice of the Council, is to leave in his place two, as Lords Justices, but only for the ordinary administration of civil justice and the defence of the kingdom, as the Earl is to continue absent from Ireland only for a short time.—Richmond, 1599, March 27. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 132, 132^b. *Copy.* pp. 1½.

March 27.
Richmond.

110. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. After long suit made by Sir Henry Wallop, has been pleased to discharge him of his place as Treasurer at Wars, "although our affairs do rather require the continuance of such persons as he is, whose long service there hath given him so good knowledge and experience in that kingdom." Has chosen Sir George Carey to supply his room. Essex, on his arrival in Ireland, is to see Carey settled in the office, with its honours and emoluments. Wallop is to remain in Ireland for a time, and to receive 20s. a day allowance. Recommends him to Essex. Commissions for the yearly hearing and determining of the accounts of the Treasurer at Wars.—Richmond, 1599, March 27. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 133–134. *Copy.* pp. 2.

March 27.
[Richmond.]

111. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. To grant a lease of 50*l.* sterling per annum for forty years to Sir Robert Napper, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The oversight and superintendency of the Court of Exchequer, heretofore granted to Sir Robert Gardener, hereby revoked, and the said Chief Baron to be restored to grant all *mandamuses*, in as large and ample a manner as his predecessors have ever done.—[Richmond,] 1599, March 27. *Draft.* *Attested by Windebank.* pp. 2.

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March 27. 112. Copy of the preceding.—Richmond, 1599, March 27. *Entry*
 Richmond. *Book*, No. 204, fos. 139^b–140^b. pp. 2. *A like warrant was issued*
in favour of Sir Anthony Sentleger, Master of the Rolls, with the
exception of the last clause.

March 28. 113. Colonel Charles Egerton to Sir Robert Cecil. Craves pardon
 Dundalk. for not having written since Christmas last. It was not altogether
 his negligence. Would gladly have written, “but that the ways
 and passages betwixt this town and Drogheda were so laid this
 winter by the enemy, that letters could very hardly pass.” Besides,
 the enemy has shown every day about Dundalk, and has continually
 attempted the people and their goods. The Earl of Tyrone himself,
 very lately, with 1,000 foot and 300 horse, placed four ambuscades
 about Dundalk in the night, thinking the next day to entrap them.
 But hitherto, in all their attempts, they have returned with the loss
 both of men and horse, while they at Dundalk have received no
 hurt of body or goods. Is advertised that Tyrone intends to make
 all possible means to speak with the Earl of Essex after his arrival,
 hoping thereby to be taken to mercy and favour. Also, that upon
 the approach of Her Majesty’s forces into Ulster, Sir Arthur O’Neill,
 Sir John O’Dogherty, Con, O’Donnell’s son, who is chiefest of that
 name saving O’Donnell, Maguire, and Tirlagh M’Henry, intend to
 offer their service to Her Majesty. There is likewise a general
 report that O’Rourke will also be found very conformable, and, as
 for “the common sort of men of war with the enemy,” is verily
 persuaded that, after Essex’s arrival (if it were thought so con-
 venient), the most part of them would easily be drawn to serve Her
 Majesty for entertainment. “It seemeth they have but little hope
 to be relieved by the Spaniards this year.”—Dundalk, 1599,
 March 28. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

March 31. 114. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of
 Richmond. Ireland. For Sir Edward Moore to be restored to his place in the
 Council, and for Sir Warham Sentleger to be sworn thereof.—
 Richmond, 1599, March 31. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 140^b, 141.
Copy. p. 1.

March 31. 115. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. About January
 Carrick. last, he sent certain merchants of Waterford, in a bark of that city,
 to Dinglecush, with secret instructions to understand of the state
 and strength of the rebels in those parts, and to endeavour to inter-
 cept any passengers intending to pass from thence into Spain, from
 the traitors. While they were at Dinglecush, James FitzThomas,
 whom the rebels call Earl of Desmond, made stay of the said bark
 and company to transport from thence one Andrew Roche, a pirate,
 with letters from him directed to the King of Spain. After being
 at sea, the merchants apprehended Roche, and brought him to the
 Mayor of Waterford, who sent him with his letters to Ormonde.
 Incloses Roche’s examination, and the originals of the said letters
 (*wanting*). Has made stay of the prisoner until the landing of the
 Earl of Essex, for he has undertaken to perform some acceptable
 service for Her Majesty. Had former intelligence that the said

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Roche was a notable pirate and rebel, and apt to be employed in these traitors' actions; whereupon he had long written to the Lord President of Munster to lay wait for him. Doubts not the President did what he could.—Carrick, 1599, March 31. *Signed.* p. 1. *Incloses,*

115. I. "*A copy of a letter sent from the Earl, alias James Desmond, to the King of Spain.*" [Ormonde says he inclosed the original.]

The great misery and "violent order," wherewith they have long been oppressed by the English nation. "Their government is such as Pharaoh never used the like. They content not themselves with temporal superiority, but by cruelty they desire our blood and perpetual destruction, and to swear the Queen of England supreme over the church. I refer the consideration to your Majesty's high judgment, the rather for that Nero was far inferior to this Queen's cruelty (sic)." Has, with his followers, and at the request of the Bishops and clergy, drawn his sword, and proclaimed war against the English, first for the Catholic religion, and then to maintain his own right to the Earldom of Desmond. His uncle, Gerald, took part in the wicked proceedings of the Queen of England, but was afterwards prosecuted and slain, and his country thereby planted with Englishmen. "And now by the just judgment of God, and by His providence, I have utterly rooted out those malapert boughs out of the orchard of my country, and have so much prevailed in my proceedings, that my dastardly enemies dare not show their faces in any part of my country, but have taken my towns and cities for their refuge and strength, where, as yet, they remain our prisoners." Want of means to assail them, as cannons and powder, which his country cannot yield. Craves for a supply of necessaries to assist him in his godly enterprise, and, after the quiet of his country, satisfaction shall be made for the same, and himself and all his forces will be ready to serve the King in any country. Prays for a competent force of soldiers to be sent to him, and for the King's commission to command them. "I praise the Almighty God that I have done more, by his goodness, than all the rest of my predecessors, for I have reclaimed all the nobility of these parts of Ireland under the dutiful obedience of Christ's Church, and my own authority." Would have sent these noble personages to the King, but that the ship was "not of sufficiency and strength" to carry them. Daily expects His Majesty's assistance.—"From my camp, March 3, 1599." p. 1.

115A. Another copy, with slight alterations, of the preceding letter; erroneously dated May 13, 1599. pp. 2.

March.

116. "*Docquet of Irish suitors.*" The following sums are noted as due:—Sir Conyers Clifford, 1,040*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*; Sir Warham Sentleger, 2,542*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; Sir Edward Herbert, 516*l.* 9*s.* 6½*d.*; Captain Henry Cosby, 217*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*; and Chief Justice Saxey, 150*l.* *Endorsed*:—March, 1598[–9]. pp. 1½.

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[March.]

117. "The establishment of the officers;" *being a copy of the first portion of No. 52 above, probably made for the use of one of the officials under Sir George Carey.*—[1599, March.] p. 1.

[March.]

118. "The names of all such gentlemen as have subscribed to follow me [*i.e.*, the Earl of Essex] in this journey," with the numbers of horse and foot. A note is added:—"There be fifty other gentlemen that have faithfull[y] promised their assistance, and to follow me in this journey, which are in the country preparing themselves, but because they have not subscribed, I forbear to name them."—1599, [March]. *Endorsed*:—"E. Essex, 1599." *Copy.* p. 1.

[March.]

119. A Book on the state of Ireland, addressed to Robert, Earl of Essex, by "H.C." The signature of "Tho. Wilson" is at the foot of the first page of this manuscript. The preface is initialled "H.C." Book I. treats of divers outrages committed in the King's County, "from the latter end of harvest, 1597, until March next ensuing"; Book II. of matters concerning South Leinster; Book III. of Connaught and Ulster; and Book IV. of "matters touching the common weal of the country, and where it hath continued in the best sort, and how decayed again, with other necessary notes concerning the recovery of the same, with a declaration of the voluntary rebels' startings out, who hath been maintained by Her Majesty's purse a long time together." The whole in the form of a dialogue between Peregrine and Sylvyn.

Book I.—Ireland, "a country of wrath"; "it hath not the addition of the syllable *Ire* in vain" (p. 1).—The Earl of Tyrone, "the great Devil of the North" (p. 2, and p. 25).—"The Northern Lucifer," or "Beelzebub" (p. 2).—Attack by Brian Reogh on Sir Edward Herbert, of the Durrow (pp. 2–4).—Donnell M'Art O'Molloy "hurt with an enchanted weapon" (p. 4).—"Old Tyrrells and new Tyrrells, a whole country full, in a county called Westmeath" (p. 5).—"The old Tyrrells came over at the first conquest of Ireland, and were of the kindred of Walter Tyrrell, that killed William Rufus. And the new were lineally descended from James Tyrrell that murdered Edward the Fifth and his brother (and they came over long sithence the first)" (p. 6).—Tyrrell is, "in Irish, *Treeth*, which signifieth, banished for murder or treason" (p. 6).—Further outrages by Brian Reogh (pp. 6, 7).—His former imprisonment in England (p. 7).—Fighting in Leix (pp. 9–14).—The Connors, "cousins german to the weathercock of Paul's" (p. 14).—"Almost weary of this Ireland stuff" (p. 15).—"Richard Tyrrell, another mining devil" (p. 15).—Narrow escape of Sir Edward Herbert (p. 16).—Lieutenant Vickers (pp. 17, 18).—"There was heard one speak with a hollow voice, much like to the old grey-bearded verger, that speaks through the trunk in the Cathedral church at Gloucester" (p. 20).—Divisions of the English leaders in Offally (p. 21).—Cruelty of the rebels to Henry Sumpter, an old soldier, and his family (pp. 21, 22).—"All was fish that came to net"; "as clean plucked as though he had come from the poulterers'" (p. 22).—Outrages by Richard Tyrrell (pp. 20–25).—Taking of Mr. Luther's cows, &c. (p. 25, and p. 34).—Lack of due precautions in the King's County (p. 26).—Teig

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M'Murrough (pp. 28, 29).—Murtoogh Oge M'Tirlogh (pp. 32, 33, 34).—Outrages on Mr. Fludd and his family (pp. 32, 35-38, 48, 49).—"Gallymanfry knaves" (p. 41).—Nicholas Tuite (pp. 42, 43).—"As the old proverb is, it was not for nothing the cat winked, when both her eyes were out" (p. 45).—"He must be in trance once a day, or else his liquor fails him"; "it is his profession once in a day to be of the colour of the Car[di]nal's hat without Newgate" (p. 46).

Book II.—Partly in the form of a letter from "Signor Bonycomo" to his friend "Vadwyne Cleary."—"Called a chapel of ill counsel" (p. 60).—Defeat of Captain Thomas Leigh's men between Athy and Stradbally (p. 60).—Defeat of Captain James Butler (p. 61).—Donnell Spainagh, Brian Reogh, &c. (pp. 61-64).—Defeat of Sir Henry Wallop's band near Enniscorthy (pp. 63, 64).—Defeat of the rebels near Dublin (pp. 65, 66).—Fight between Captain James Butler's and Brian Reogh's men: Butler slain; Brian mortally wounded (pp. 66, 67).—Outrages in King's County and Queen's County (pp. 67-71).—Further movements of Richard Tyrrell (pp. 68-71, 77-79, 83-86, 88).—Philipstown burned (p. 71).—Part of Enniscorthy burned (p. 72).—Terence M'Teig O'Connor (p. 74).—His defeat (p. 75).—"Gaped to see which way the world would wag" (p. 78).—Victualling of the fort of Maryborough by Ormonde (pp. 78, 79).—"I could wish that some temporal Martin Luther might be posted over into that country [Ireland] to suppress pardons, protections, and dispensations; for, as I have heard not long time sithence, they have been as current there for the quantity of the place, as they are in Rome, and some of the chiefest pillars upholds (*sic*) those libertines" (p. 80).—If Sir Richard Bingham had lived but a short time after his arrival, he "would have taught them to sing their anthem before evensong" (p. 81).—"Martlemas men," dwelling not far from Trim, the best victuallers of the Connors (p. 81, 82).—"To rule the roast" (p. 82).—"There lacked Provident Care the porter to stand by Captain Careless his shoulder" (p. 83).—"I smell him as far as the Old Bailey" (p. 85).—Capture by the rebels of the castles of Croghan and Ballybritton (pp. 89-92).—The fort of Philipstown (pp. 93, 94).

Book III.—Partly in the form of a dialogue between an old soldier of Connaught and a traveller in that Province.—How divers officers there have prayed for "old Sir Richard Bingham, though now *antragh*, as the Irish proverb is, too late" (p. 96).—Connaught "must needs be quiet, for a man may travel long enough there, before he see anybody to fall out with him for a night cess" (p. 96).—The retreat from Ballyshannon (p. 97).—Tibbott Ne Longe (p. 95).—The native soldiers of the Province (pp. 99, 100, 102).—The government of Sir Richard Bingham (pp. 101, 102, 104, 105).—"By the pity of a pilchard" (p. 102).—Athlone; Ballymote; Sligo (pp. 102, 103).—"Some of your old Kilkenny visions" (p. 103).—Tulsk (p. 105).—Brian O'Rourke (pp. 105, 106).—"One wolf will not prey upon another" (p. 106).—The inutility of the truces in Ulster (p. 107).—Sir William Russell (pp. 108, 109).—Lord Burgh (pp. 109-113).—His success at the Blackwater

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(p. 109).—Bravery of Captain Williams and his men (pp. 110–112).—The defeat of Sir John Chichester near Carrickfergus (pp. 114, 115).—The defeat and death of Sir Henry Bagenall near Armagh (pp. 116, 117).—The Blackwater fort surrendered to Tyrone (p. 117).—"Is it not time to top this lofty pine [Tyrone]?" (p. 118).

Book IV.—The old Acts of Parliament in Ireland (p. 119).—The former exclusiveness of the English in Ireland (p. 120).—By reason of combination with the Irish, "in crept their language to be almost general amongst us, and that within a short time, scorning our old English speech, which our ancestors brought with them at the first conquest" (pp. 120, 121).—Fostering (p. 121–123).—Gossipry (pp. 123–125).—Marriage (pp. 125, 126). County of Wexford; Waterford; Galway; county of Ormonde, its great trade (pp. 126, 127).—Wise action of the Earls of Ormonde, in bringing over merchants and others (p. 128).—"Idleness, the chiefest mistress that attends upon the mere Irish"—(p. 128).—Gavelkind (pp. 128, 129).—Tyrone and other rebels (pp. 130, 131).—"Those northern miscreants within these few years knew not what the due order of fighting was, and now it is a professed art amongst the cowherds of Ulster. God send some good man to unarm these roughs, and put them to cow-keeping again, for any other work that is good, they can do none" (p. 131).—The Scots and the rebels (p. 131).—Help to the rebels from Irish merchants, "black and grey," that dwell in England (p. 131).—Reasons for the desertion of English soldiers in Ireland (pp. 133–135).—Proportion of Irish in the army (pp. 135–138).—Importance of keeping Ireland, "being the part (although chargeable) that doth serve for a back-armor to England. It is very certain that, if that back part of the armor should miscarry, and be cut off from England (as God forbid it should), it would make the old brutes of Wales to look about them more than they do now" (pp. 138, 139). The Venetians and the Cretans (pp. 139, 140).
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10. *MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreae Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia.* *Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER.* 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet Laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest are given in an appendix.

11. *MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V.* *Edited by CHARLES A. COLE.* 1858.

12. *MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati.* Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.* 1859-1862.

The *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. *CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES.* *Edited by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H.* 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa, it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292. It is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the Kingdom.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1859-1861.
15. THE "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c. of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.
16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449-1298; necnon ejusdem Liber de Achiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1859.
17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.
 This work, written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Cadwalla at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.
18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399-1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.
19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.
 The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. His work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards, and it has great value for the philologist.
20. ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.
 These annals, which are in Latin, commenced in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster.
21. THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I.-IV. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V.-VII. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. Vol. VIII. *Edited by* GEORGE F. WARNER, M.A., of the Department of MSS., British Museum. 1861-1891.
 These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable for the anecdotes which they contain.
 The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland, the first in 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about 1188, and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Cambriæ* and *Descriptio Cambriæ*; and Vol. VII. the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh. Vol. VIII. contains the Treatise *De Principum Instructione*, and an Index to Vols. I.-IV. and VIII.
22. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.
23. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography.

24. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER. 1861-1863.

The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III., correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. **LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE.** *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The letters of Robert Grosseteste range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. **DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.** Vol. I. (in Two Parts); *Anterior to the Norman Invasion.* (*Out of Print*). Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1862-1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. **ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III.** Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

28. **CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.**—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELowe ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIAE PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290: Vol. II., 1290-1349: Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^{mo} FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIAE JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSSCRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YFODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I.: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand: a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blanford: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham: with a Continuation.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V.

29. *CHRONICON ABBATILÆ EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMILÆ ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418.* Edited by the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from about 690 to 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history.

30. *RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ.* Vol. I., 447-871. Vol. II., 872-1066. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863-1869.

Richard of Cirencester's history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. It gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book ii. c. 3.

31. *YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.* Years 20-21, 21-22, 30-31, 32-33, and 33-35 Edw. I.; and 11-12 Edw. III. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Barrister-at-Law. Years 12-13, 13-14, 14, 14-15, and 15, Edward III. Edited and translated by LUKE OWEN PIKE, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1891.

The "Year Books" are the earliest of our Law Reports. They contain matter not only of practical utility to lawyers in the present day, but also illustrative of almost every branch of history, while for certain philological purposes they hold a position absolutely unique.

32. *NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY, 1449-1450.*—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normandie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conférences between the Ambassadors of France and England. Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1863.

33. *HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ.* Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by W. H. HART, F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863-1867.

34. *ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ.* Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1863.

In the *De Naturis Rerum* are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century.

35. *LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest.* Vols. I., II., and III. Collected and edited by the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A. 1864-1866.

36. *ANNALES MONASTICI.* Vol. I.:—*Annales de Margan, 1066-1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066-1263; Annales de Burton, 1004-1263.* Vol. II.:—*Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519-1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291.* Vol. III.:—*Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1-1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundescia, 1042-1432.* Vol. IV.:—*Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016-1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066-1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1-1377.* Vol. V.:—*Index and Glossary.* Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registry of the University, Cambridge. 1864-1869.

The present collection embraces chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432.

37. *MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.*

This work is valuable, not only as a biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs.

38. *CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST. Vol. I.:—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI. Vol. II.:—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864-1865.*

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London.

In letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury.

39. *RECUEIL DES CRONIKES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. Vol. III., 1422-1431. Edited by WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864-1879. Vol. IV., 1431-1447. Vol. V., 1447-1471. Edited by Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A. 1884-1891.*

40. *A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAURIN. Vol. I. Albina to 668. Vol. II., 1399-1422. Vol. III., 1422-1431. (Translations of the preceding Vols. I., II., and III.) Edited and translated by Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A. 1864-1891.*

41. *POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. Edited by CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III.-IX. Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865-1886.*

This chronicle begins with the creation, and is brought down to the reign of Edward III. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth.

42. *LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. Edited by the Rev. JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.*

These two treatises are valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians. Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonised French.

43. *CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866-1868.*

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country.

44. *MATTHE PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067-1253. Edited by Sir FREDERICK MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866-1869.*

45. *LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023. Edited by EDWARD EDWARDS. 1866.*

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde

Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify the statements, which, in substance, he adopts.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and mediæval English.

46. **CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS**, from the earliest times to 1135; and **SUPPLEMENT**, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, M.R.I.A.* 1866.

47. **THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A.* 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum;" in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The language is a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. **THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OF THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN.** *Edited, with a Translation, by the Rev. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin.* 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an ancient original. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas.

49. **GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192**, known under the name of **BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian.* 1867.

50. **MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD** (in Two Parts). *Edited by the Rev. HENRY ANSTEE, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford.* 1868.

51. **CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDENE.** Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* 1868-1871.

The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1143, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1143 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds to some extent with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49). From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work.

52. **WILLELMI MALMESBURIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE.** *Edited by N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum.* 1870.

53. **HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172-1320.** *Edited by JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland.* 1870.

54. **THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1041 TO 1390.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, M.R.I.A.* 1871.

55. **MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES, Vols. I.-IV.** *Edited by SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L.* 1871-1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy.

56. **MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.** *Edited by the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.* Vols. I. and II. 1872.

57. *MATTHEI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA.* Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registry of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872-1884.
58. *MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA.*—THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF COVENTRY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872-1873.
The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable.
59. *THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.* Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.
60. *MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.* Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873-1877.
61. *HISTORICAL PAPERS AND LETTERS FROM THE NORTHERN REGISTERS.* *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.
62. *REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE.* THE REGISTER OF RICHARD DE KELLAWE, LORD PALATINE AND BISHOP OF DURHAM; 1311-1316. Vols. I.-IV. *Edited by* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1873-1878.
63. *MEMORIALS OF SAINT DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.* *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.
64. *CHRONICON ANGLIÆ, AB ANNO DOMINI 1328 USQUE AD ANNUM 1388, AUCTORE MONACHO QUODAM SANCTI ALBANI.* *Edited by* EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, Barrister-at-Law, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.
65. *THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS.* A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET, IN ICELANDIC. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary by* M. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875-1884.
66. *RADULPHI DE COGGESHALL CHRONICON ANGLICANUM.* *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1875.
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